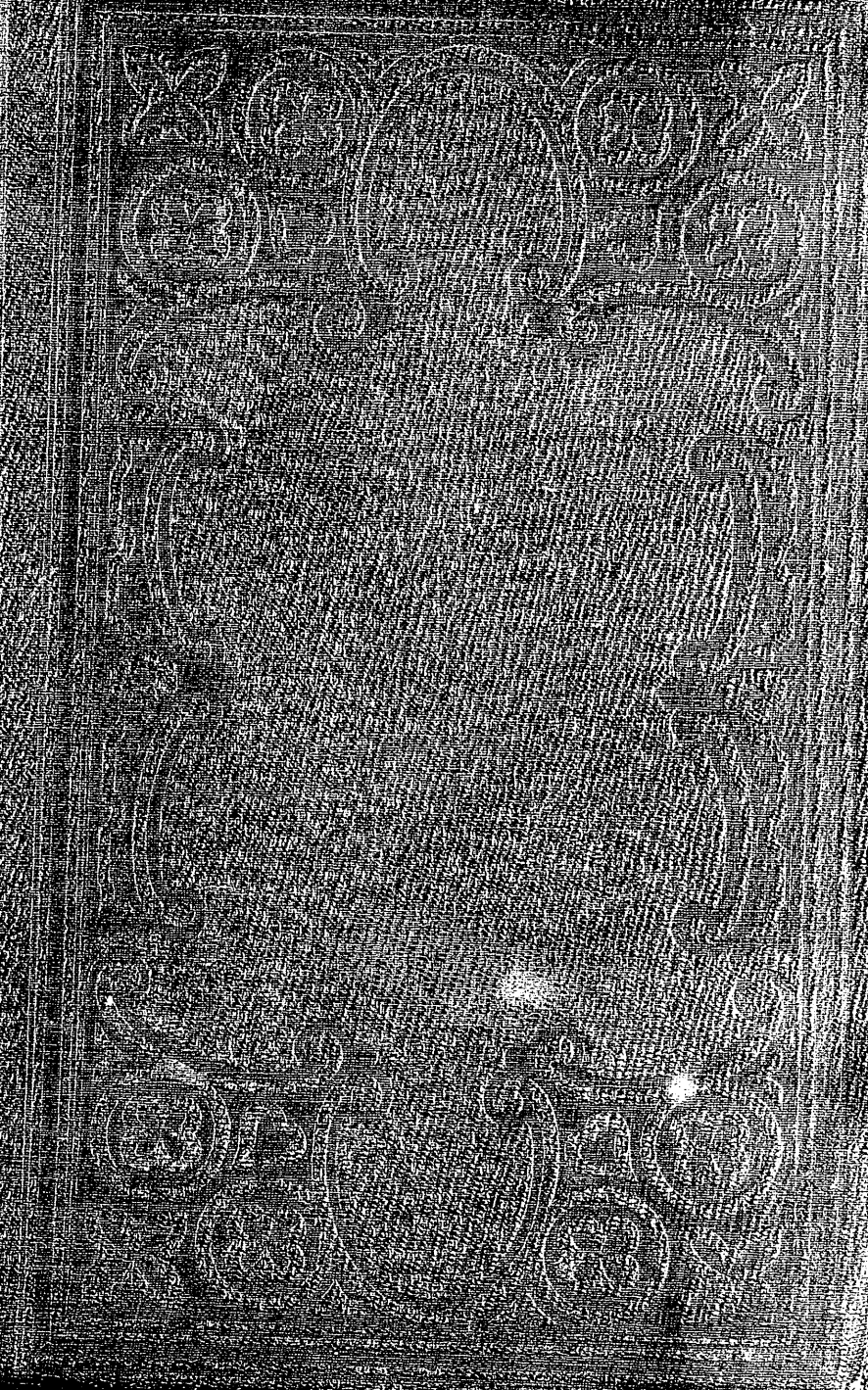




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To the Rt. Rev.

G. W. Freeman, D.D.

Bishop of Texas,

With the Fraternal regards of

The Author.



“THE END OF CONTROVERSY,”
CONTROVERTED.

A
REFUTATION
OF

Milner's "End of Controversy,"

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

ADDRESSED TO

THE MOST REVEREND FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore.

BY JOHN H. HOPKINS, D. D., LL. D.,
Bishop of Vermont.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:
PUDNEY & RUSSELL, No. 79 JOHN-STREET.
STANFORD & SWORDS, 637 BROADWAY.

1854.

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1784e

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PUDNEY & RUSSELL, Printers, 79 John-Street, N. Y.

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LETTER I.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

SEVERAL years have elapsed since you and I had some public correspondence together, which, I presume, you have not altogether forgotten, notwithstanding the accession of your present ecclesiastical dignity during the interval, and the consequent increase of your official cares and responsibilities. You, doubtless, recollect a certain humble volume of mine, called *The Church of Rome, &c.*, which you honored by a reply, entitled *The Primacy of the Apostolic See and the Authority of General Councils Vindicated*, in a series of letters, addressed to me in person. You recollect, also, that you subsequently printed an Address to all our Bishops, predicated upon the flattering prospects of the recent movement in a small section of the Church of England, in which you urged us to read MILNER'S END OF CONTROVERSY, and hasten to transfer ourselves to the Church of Rome, lest our flocks should go before us ;—that, in answer to this Address, I invited you to a public discussion of the controversy between our respective Churches, which you declined, and suggested, instead of

that, a discussion in the Church papers ;—that this suggestion was declined on my part, as alike unsatisfactory, and, in my circumstances, impracticable ;—and that I promised to perform my side in the form of books or pamphlets, if it should please Divine Providence to continue my life so long.

This promise I have partly redeemed by one volume of Lectures on the British Reformation, and another on the History of the Confessional, to say nothing of some smaller works in which the doctrines of your Church were touched on incidentally. But, having been urgently requested to prepare a reply to the particular book which you so strongly recommended to our Bishops—namely, MILNER'S *END OF CONTROVERSY*—and calling to mind the fact that you seemed to regard it with such special confidence, I thought it due to your patronage of its authority, that I should address myself to you, and thus accommodate, as well as I could, your former desire for a written discussion, since an oral controversy proved to be so distasteful to your feelings, and a newspaper controversy was equally distasteful to mine.

There were some other reasons, however, which had their share of influence in producing my decision. One of these was suggested by the obvious propriety of returning your courtesy in addressing your first book on the Primacy to myself, in the form of a series of letters. Another was furnished by the opportunity which I should thus have of noticing that work in a more permanent shape. And a third—not the least, in my esteem—was derived from the consideration that I should in this way be more constantly reminded of the rules of Christian moderation and kindness, which ought to govern every writer of religious con-

troversy ; and be better protected from the temptation to severity or bitterness, by which far holier men than I pretend to be, have, unhappily, so often suffered themselves to be led astray.

I was the more solicitous upon this last point, because the circumstances which have marked the past ten years have been calculated, on both sides, to sharpen the edge of accusation, and give new intensity to the strife of ecclesiastical warfare. More than a hundred clergymen of our Mother Church of England have entered your Communion, many of whom were men of distinguished character for talents, zeal, and learning. More than a dozen amongst our own ranks have followed the example ; and now a Bishop has been added to the list. Of these I have no heart to speak unkindly. That I regard them as fearfully deluded and misguided men, is very certain ; but I pity and compassionate them too deeply to utter one sentence of uncharitable denunciation. On the other hand, some sixty thousand of the laity, with several priests, have left your Church for our Reformed Communion ; and other vast defections are stated by some of yourselves as having insensibly taken place amongst the multitudes of your people who have emigrated from Europe to the United States. Many other movements which I shall not here detail are now in progress, which have assuredly roused the spirit of keen and searching examination into your doctrines and principles, throughout Christendom ; and perhaps there has been no period since that of the great Reformation in the 16th century, when the Roman controversy has excited so general and powerful an interest as we behold at this day. At such a time, the wisest men are in danger of sacrificing charity to zeal. At such a time, caution looks like indifference, and

moderation is apt to appear like a covert treachery to truth. And therefore, at such a time, it behooves us to search our own spirits with jealous care, and watch with more than usual self-distrust over the temper of our controversies, lest the excitement of the age disturb the fairness of our judgments, and we be betrayed into the sad error of defending the cause of God with the unholy weapons of human passion and infirmity.

In addition to this, however, I am aware of a very peculiar temptation in the character of the volume which I have undertaken to answer—for of all the writers whose works have passed under my notice, Milner is the most provoking. In this respect he presents a singular contrast to yourself, and that may possibly be one cause of your apparent affection for his book, since it is an old maxim that love delights in contraries. But, doubtless, you have other reasons for recommending it to our study, because it certainly deserves its fame as an extraordinary specimen of subtle, dexterous, and perfectly reckless misrepresentation. I am not at all surprised, therefore, that it is the general favorite with your priesthood, as the most available instrument for proselyting the ignorant or the unwary. Its author was learned in all that belonged to his vocation, and especially in the various perversions of history which his predecessors had furnished to his hand. He was also a thorough adept with respect to all the concessions which the English divines had made, or seemed to make, in favor of your system. And these he displayed with peculiar talent, boldness, vigor, and sophistical ingenuity; never hesitating to denounce and ridicule our Reformers with unflinching hardihood, nor even to deny or mystify the more obnoxious tenets and practices of Romanism, when they

stood in his way. Nor is this the whole which constitutes the attraction of his volume. He contrived to invest it with a sort of dramatic interest, by adopting the fiction of a society composed of Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Churchmen, whose imaginary letters to the author are written with great skill, so as to give him an admirable opportunity of contrasting the uncertainties of Protestantism with the boasted unity of the Church of Rome. And out of these materials he constructed a book which, though neither so learned nor so profound as many others, is far more engaging and effective to the ordinary mind than any controversial work that I have seen on your side of the question.

To expose in full detail all the misrepresentations of Milner would demand more time and space than I purpose to occupy. A large portion of his book is taken up with the alleged sayings and doings of Luther, Calvin, Beza, the Anabaptists, the Quakers, and others, which I do not conceive myself called upon to notice, partly because there are enough of other advocates to take care of those various points which concern them ; and mainly because my design is limited to the vindication of the Church of England and our own, which is of the same Communion. This, indeed, is his principal object of attack ; and to its defence these pages are alone devoted. Nor even with respect to this will my limits allow me to remark on every little error. But I shall undertake to point out and rectify all his important sophistries and falsifications ; so that any fair-minded and intelligent man can form a just judgment of the truth, in history and doctrine, provided he will dispense with the attractions of a story, and give his attention to the real questions in controversy, notwithstanding there may be no-

thing said about *James Brown and the Society of New Cottage*, or any similar display of dramatic fancy.

And here, permit me to explain and justify the phraseology which I shall be obliged to employ throughout these letters. I acknowledge you, most Reverend Sir, to be a prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, because I acknowledge in your Communion the existence of two elements which these epithets properly express. The first of these, in honor and validity, is the *Catholic*, which has come down from the beginning in the great DOCTRINES OF THE GOSPEL FAITH, embodied in the primitive creeds as derived from the Scriptures, and in the APOSTOLIC ORDER OF THE MINISTRY, both of which we claim for the Church of England and our own, in all their primitive purity. With this Catholic element we hold no controversy. On the contrary, we revere it as the constituent principle of the Church of Christ, being only another name for the divine truth which is given for the salvation of the world. But the other element, which is so directly expressed by the term *Roman*, we maintain to be just what the word implies—not Catholic, not the Gospel, not properly belonging to the Church of Christ, but introduced by degrees—invented, not revealed; adopted by men of good intentions, but who were deluded by false views of expediency; and growing up from a small and seemingly harmless beginning, until it overspread the Church with a noxious growth of antichristian errors. This is what I mean by ROMANISM, because it was adopted, supported, and enforced by Rome. It was against this that the English Reformation was directed. It is against this that we are Protestants. With this we are bound to hold a perpetual controversy. And to this, we attribute all the evils of superstition, licentiousness, idolatry,

persecution, dissension, and strife, which have infested the Church from the opening of the seventh century, and will, doubtless, continue to infest it until the second advent of the glorious Redeemer.

You will not, therefore, impute to me any want of courtesy or personal respect, because I shall be obliged to employ the terms *Romanism* and *Romanists* throughout this discussion, in reference to all those features of your system which we hold to be unauthorized innovations on the true Apostolic and primitive doctrine. You say that these things were CATHOLIC. We deny the claim, and hold ourselves prepared to prove that they were *Roman*, by your own witnesses. I call them your own witnesses, because you claim them as such, because you have had them in your own possession all along, because your own historians accuse the old writers of having tampered with their testimony, and because your Council of Trent forbids you to interpret the Scriptures by any other standard. Yet enough of their genuine evidence still remains to prove our principles, on a fair and candid appeal; and by that appeal I, for one, am prepared to stand or fall.

With regard to Milner, whose book, so strongly recommended by your authority, is to be my subject in the following pages, I wish to say nothing personally unkind or disrespectful. Placed in the prominent position of Vicar Apostolic, with the title of Bishop of Castabala, in order that he might perform episcopal offices in England, and relied on to sustain the interests of the Papacy in the midst of Protestants, I am aware that all possible allowance should be made for his peculiar circumstances. Certain it is that he had the greatest earthly temptations to present his Church in the fairest guise, and procure for her the

largest attainable sympathy; for the bonds which chain a Roman prelate to his allegiance are the most potent in the world. Habits, feelings, and prejudices formed in early youth, strong though they be, are far from forming the firmest links of attachment. Over and above these, there are interests involving every personal privilege; vows which cannot be broken without serious peril to liberty, and even to life; and a stringent oath of fidelity to the Pope, framed upon the model of feudalism. While on the other side, there is the dazzling eminence of wealth, and pomp, and power which awaits the successful aspirant, since the nod of the reigning pontiff can place the Cardinal of Rome amongst the princes of the earth, and open to him the road to the lofty throne of Papal supremacy, where he may be revered as a king of kings, and have his feet kissed by the noblest lips of Europe, and fancy himself authorized to wield the vicarial sceptre of the omnipotent Son of God!

All this must form a force of worldly influence to which no man but a Roman priest of talent can be exposed; and no other can estimate the vast control of the human will which it is so wonderfully adapted to exercise. Thank God! we who are the ministers of a Reformed Church are under no such temptations; but, for that very reason, we should the more carefully avoid a personal judgment on the fettered supporters of the Roman system. Far be it from me, therefore, to condemn the departed Milner of intentional misrepresentation. It is not for me to say how much of his book was the product of conscious dishonesty, or how much was the offspring of willing delusion. Sorry should I be to charge his character with a tithe of the villany which he has so recklessly imputed to the martyred

Reformers of the English Church. Sorry should I be to brand him with the systematic hypocrisy of which he did not hesitate to accuse the whole body of her Bishops and clergy. My duty is not to judge the author, which is the sole prerogative of the great Searcher of hearts, but to vindicate the truth from his numerous falsifications. For the spirit in which he wrote, he has accounted long ago to an infallible tribunal; and for the spirit in which I shall answer, I must account ere long, in the course of nature. I humbly trust, in the favor and goodness of the Almighty, that I may perform my task in such a temper of Christian fidelity, united with Christian kindness, as shall bear the solemn test of retrospection at the hour of death, and be acceptable to the God of truth and love in the day of judgment.

L E T T E R I I .

T H E R U L E O F F A I T H .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

You will probably concur with me in the opinion, that there is nothing in the Introductory Address to Milner's elaborate volume which requires attention, because it contains nothing to the purpose of our actual controversy. True, indeed, there is an abundance of what I consider positive misrepresentation, ably, artfully, and rhetorically put together, and well calculated to prepare the incautious or the ignorant reader for very false impressions. But all that demands specific notice will recur in a more appropriate place, and I am anxious to avoid useless repetition. For the same reason I shall pass over the first four letters, which contain the author's correspondence with the imaginary Society at New Cottage, through their principal representative, James Brown, Esq. ; as also two brief but sound discussions on the general evidences of Christianity, and sundry exhortations to fairness and impartiality ; together with an extract from Francis Walsingham's Fifty Reasons for becoming a member of your Communion, sufficiently characteristic of Milner's adroitness and subtlety. The value of this extract, however, will appear in due time ; and therefore I shall pass on to the fifth letter, where we have the proper commencement of theological argument.

Here, then, the author sets forth three fundamental maxims, which I shall quote in full, as follows :—

“First,” saith he, “our Divine Master, Christ, in establishing a religion here on earth, to which all the nations of it were invited, left some RULE or method by which those persons who sincerely seek for it may certainly find it.”

“Secondly—This rule or method must be SECURE and never-failing, so as not to be ever liable to lead a rational, sincere inquirer into error, impiety, or immorality of any kind.”

“Thirdly—This rule or method must be UNIVERSAL ; that is to say, adapted to the abilities and other circumstances of all those persons for whom the religion itself was intended—namely, the great bulk of mankind.”

By adhering to these maxims, Milner assures his supposed correspondent that he will quickly discover the *right Rule of Faith*. And the rule thus settled will, of course, lead to a correct decision of all our controversies. Thus far I assent entirely to his propositions. And now we have to attend to their application.

In his next letter, accordingly, which is the sixth, he proceeds to set forth sundry methods for settling this *Rule of Faith*. The first consists in a supposed *private inspiration*, communicated to the individual ; and this he asserts to have been professed formerly by the Montanists, the Family of Love, the Anabaptists ; and at present by the Quakers, the Moravians, and different classes of the Methodists. I am far from endorsing this statement as laid down without any qualification. But, as my object is limited to the vindication of our own branch of the Holy Catholic Church, I shall not spend my time in controverting it.

The second of these rules the author defines to be “the written Word of God, or THE BIBLE, according as it is understood by each particular reader of it.” And such he de-

clares to be the professed rule of "the more regular Protestants—the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Socinians, and the CHURCH OF ENGLAND MEN." This statement is an absolute misrepresentation; but I shall confine myself to that part of it which concerns our own Communion, as I have already intimated, and shall prove incontestably that it is utterly untrue.

The third rule, as Milner lays it down, is, "THE WORD OF GOD AT LARGE, *whether written in the Bible or handed down from the Apostles in continued succession by the Catholic Church, and as it is understood and explained by that Church.* To speak more accurately—besides their rule of faith, namely, Scripture and Tradition, Catholics acknowledge an unerring judge of controversy, or sure guide in all matters relating to salvation, namely, THE CHURCH."

These are the words of our author; and in order to ascertain how far the Church of England is entitled to the benefit of this last rule, I shall first settle the question of fact, in reference to our claims, and then state the different views of what is properly the Word of God, according to the English and the Roman systems. We shall then be enabled to ascertain which of the two enjoys the benefit of the *unerring judge of controversy*, THE CHURCH, in the most direct and practical form of application.

First, then, I assert that the Church of England maintains the Rule of Faith to be THE BIBLE ALONE, *not* as it is *understood by each particular reader of it*, but ACCORDING TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, EMBODIED AND DISTINCTLY SET FORTH IN HER OWN ESTABLISHED STANDARD OF DOCTRINE AND WORSHIP, THE PRAYER BOOK.

For this assertion I appeal to the Thirty-nine Articles of

our religion: of which the first declares our faith in the Holy Trinity; the second, in the divinity, incarnation, and atonement of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; the third, His descent into Hades; the fourth, His resurrection; the fifth, the divinity of the Holy Ghost; the eighth, the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds; the sixth, the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, as containing all things necessary for salvation; and the twentieth, the *authority of the Church in controversies of faith*, as well as in the ordering of rites and ceremonies; which authority is again declared in the thirty-fourth Article, to say nothing of a large amount of doctrine in the other Articles, on Justification, Original Sin, the Sacraments, &c. So that there is not a single topic decided by the Councils and the Fathers, in the pure and primitive ages of the Church, which is not here distinctly set forth with the most admirable exactness and precision, leaving no room for heretical private judgment in any important point of Christian doctrine.

And next, I appeal to the fixed order of the Liturgy and Offices of the Church of England and our own, which not only sets forth the Creeds and all the cardinal tenets of the ancient faith in the plainest terms, but keeps them constantly before the eyes and on the lips of our people; not wrapping them up in Latin, which none but the priest in general pretends to understand, but proclaiming them in the language of the country, and thus giving regularly the decisions of the *unerring Judge of Controversy, the CHURCH*, to every man, woman, and child belonging to the body of the faithful.

And yet, in the face of all this, your favorite, Milner, had the hardihood to publish the charge, that the Rule of Faith in the Church of England is, *THE BIBLE, according as*

it is understood by each particular reader of it ! I respectfully invite you to point out a more glaring example of theological misrepresentation than this, which yet is but a specimen of the author's style of management throughout the whole volume. Still, nevertheless, I will not say that he was a *conscious slanderer*, because I am aware that there are many conditions of the human mind which manifest a morbid hallucination on certain subjects, altogether beyond the reach of evidence or reason. The physicians tell us in their books of numerous examples of *monomania*, in which men were incurably insane on some particular topics, while they seemed to be in the full possession of their faculties on every other. I am anxious to lay hold of any hypothesis which can save the moral principles of the writer from the charge of wilful falsehood, although the casuistry of your Jesuits, as I shall have to show by-and-by, undertakes to justify even this, in the service of Romanism.

But while we have thus secured to us the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures by the voice of the primitive Church, faithfully embodied and proclaimed intelligibly to all in our established standard, and look to it as an *unerring Judge of Controversy or sure guide in all matters relating to salvation*, we entirely repudiate that part of your system which places oral tradition on an equality with the Scriptures as the Word of God. And for this we appeal to the same *unerring Judge of Controversy*, the primitive Church, by which you profess to be directed. The proofs will be cited in their proper place ; and, meanwhile, I shall only ask your attention to a brief comparison of our respective Churches, on the point presented by our author, namely—the advantage, and even, if you please, the necessity of possessing

the unerring Judge of Controversy, THE CHURCH, as a sure guide in all matters relating to salvation.

Remember, then, I pray you, that the Church of England claims this authority, as well as the Church of Rome, the chief difference being in this all-important point, that England claims it in strict *subordination* to the Bible, while Rome claims it *independent* of the Bible, on the ground of what she calls *Apostolical tradition*. But, putting this aside for future discussion, and looking to the practical security and efficiency of the respective systems, in reference to those who are committed to our pastoral charge, I submit the following questions to your consideration :—

1. Does not the Church of England give the *unerring judgment of the Church* to all her people, *directly, in their own language*, in the Book of Common Prayer, along with the Holy Scriptures, so that *THE VOICE OF THE LORD and the voice of the Church* are constantly heard alike, by pastors and flocks, without the possibility of concealment or evasion? While the modern Church of Rome does not give her judgment *directly* to the people at all, but keeps her Council of Trent in Latin, keeps her public Liturgy in Latin, keeps her selections from the Bible in Latin, so that the people never hear either the Word of God or the judgment of their Church, save only so far as their particular priest sees fit to deliver it.

2. Does not the Church of England thus secure to all her children the benefit of *her own teaching*, and enable them to test, by that unerring judgment, the fidelity and soundness of each particular pastor? While the Church of Rome obliges her people to depend absolutely on the priest alone.

3. Does not the Church of England instruct even her

little ones, by giving them her own Catechism, and commanding her ministers to make that the text-book of their instructions? While the Church of Rome has only gotten so far as to prepare a Catechism for her *parochial clergy*,* and leaves the Catechisms for the people to the discretion of each particular Bishop, although she does not deny, any more than we do, that individual Bishops and priests are liable to err.

4. Does not the Church of England secure, in this way, the whole of her instruction, in a plain, public, open form, accessible to all, and available for all? While the Church of Rome directs her priests, admitted to be fallible, to hide their most important teachings in the impenetrable concealment of the Confessional.

5. Granting, then, what is certainly true, that both our systems claim to have a *Judge of Controversy, or sure guide in all matters relating to salvation*, namely, THE CHURCH, is it not perfectly demonstrable that the Church of England has secured that important privilege to her people in modes which are incomparably superior to those of Rome—more primitive beyond all comparison, more sure, more operative on the masses of our congregations, more direct, more available as a preservative both of the priests and the people in the way of truth and holiness? With you, so far as the laity are concerned, the priest is everything. With us, they hear the Church and the priest together. With you, the priest is admitted to be fallible, and yet you bind the people to his dictates as if he were infallible, in the secret tribunal of the Confessional, where, should he be tempted to go astray, there is no way provided for the remedy. With us, he has no powers beyond the public sanction of

* The *Catechismus ad Parochos* of the Council of Trent.

the Church, and no opportunity to abuse those powers without the certainty of exposure. In a word, with you the Church only teaches her priests; while with us, she teaches and constantly regulates the whole body of the faithful. Hence, on a fair comparison, the very rule which your favorite Milner lays down as the peculiar boast of Rome, proves to be incomparably more applicable to England.

Now, then, let us see how our author's three fundamental maxims will operate, in relation to the two systems.

"*First,*" saith Milner, "*our Divine Master, Christ, in establishing a religion here on earth, to which all the nations of it were invited, left some RULE or method by which those persons who sincerely seek for it may certainly find it.*"

To this we fully agree. This rule is the faithful reception of His Gospel, as proclaimed by His Apostles, recorded in His Word, and visibly established in His Church, to which, as to His spouse and His body, it is committed. Hence, *the Church* must provide the necessary instructions, by which *all persons may certainly find the way of salvation*. This is done by the Church of England, as I have shown, directly and intelligibly; while it is committed to the individual priest by the Church of Rome.

"*Secondly,*" continues our author, "*this rule or method must be SECURE and never-failing, so as not to be ever liable to lead a rational, sincere inquirer into error, impiety, or immorality of any kind.*"

To this also we assent most cordially. And therefore the Church of England points to the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, as they were interpreted by the primitive Church; and, that the rule may be *secure and never-failing*, provides for the constant, public proclamation of it, in all her services, by all her ministers, to all her people, and to

every rational and sincere inquirer, in the language which all can understand; while the Church of Rome shuts up her own teaching in *Latin*, and leaves the anxious inquirer to the teaching of the individual priest; who has not a single book to put into the hands of the people which bears the stamp of his Church's authority, unless they can read *Latin*; and who may mislead them grossly into error, impiety, and immorality, especially if he belongs to the Jesuit school, in the secret and irresponsible work of the Confessional.

"*Thirdly,*" saith Milner, "*this rule or method must be UNIVERSAL, that is to say, adapted to the abilities and other circumstances of all those persons for whom the religion itself was intended, namely, the great bulk of mankind.*"

Perfectly right, beyond controversy. And therefore the Church of England, like the Primitive Church, translates the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and, like the Primitive Church, commands her clergy to read them to the people, and puts the ancient creeds and worship into the same familiar words, and prepares a simple but comprehensive Catechism for instruction in the elements of the faith, and weaves all the truths of the saving Gospel into her public services, so that the *great bulk of mankind*, however ignorant of the dead languages, may have a *rule or method* which is indeed *UNIVERSAL*, and adapted in all respects to their *abilities and other circumstances*: while the Church of Rome provides no Scriptures, no Creeds, no Catechism, no worship, in the vulgar tongue, for the bulk of any people upon earth, accommodates her teaching in no respect to the intellectual wants of the ignorant, obliges her ministers to pray and sing in a language which the people cannot understand, and casts the whole practical work of instruction

upon the priest, whom she acknowledges to be liable to error.

Thus, then, I claim for the Church of England a full and honest conformity to the very rules laid down as fundamental by your favorite, Milner himself. I vindicate her from his false and absurd calumny; and I assert the high superiority of her system, over that of Rome, with respect to *the authority of the Church as a Judge of Controversy*, and her office *as a sure guide in all matters relating to salvation*.

I trust that I have made myself intelligible, and yet I am sensible that I am liable to be quite misunderstood, in one respect, not by readers like yourself, but by the ordinary carelessness of such minds as have not been accustomed to accurate reflection. It may be necessary, therefore, for the sake of others who may read those pages, that I should guard my meaning from the risk of misapprehension.

When I say that the Church of Rome has furnished no instruction of her own, in any shape, to any people in the world, except in the Latin tongue, I do not at all deny that there are thousands of books in circulation, and in all languages, written by various individuals, for the purposes of either aiding the devotions of the members of that Church, or of recommending her communion to those whom it is desired to proselyte. Of these last, Milner's *End of Controversy* is one, and a great favorite with her priests and Bishops, wherever the English language is spoken. But none of those books are stamped with the *Church's authority*, and therefore the inquirer can never be sure that he derives from them full and authentic information. Most of them, in order to succeed with Protestants, disguise and mystify their readers with statements that are

either quite defective, or absolutely untrue, of which several examples will come under notice in the present work. And the Church of Rome, though she avails herself of them all, is not formally committed to any of them.

In complete contrast with this, the Church of England gives all her authority to one small but comprehensive volume, the Book of Common Prayer, with the 39 Articles, and the offices; made obligatory on all her clergy, used in all her services, and thus set forth as the established standard of her teaching, for which she is entirely accountable, to which every one can appeal without danger of mistake for her true teaching, and try, by that, the correctness of every writer who professes to comment upon her system. With this remark, I trust that the previous statements will be perfectly comprehended by every reader. To you, most Reverend Sir, I should not offer it, because you understand thoroughly the advantages derived from the accommodating license of your writers, when they prepare their delusive baits for Protestant appetites. But other eyes may peruse this discussion, and other minds may need to learn what I should deem it officious and impertinent to direct to an eminent prelate in the Church of Rome. For just as you addressed to me, with perfect correctness, a series of letters designed for the public, so I address to you this humble work, in confutation of a book which you have taken under your special patronage, in the hope of protecting others against its fabrications and its sophistry, but certainly with quite as little expectation of affecting your course, as you probably entertained of changing mine.

L E T T E R I I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE Reformation of the Church of England, in the 16th century, threw off the usurpation of the Pope, together with the whole mass of perilous innovations in faith and practice which had grown up in the Church of Rome during a thousand years before. It was the result, under the favoring providence of God, of a general awakening of the minds of men throughout Europe, forced into reluctant action by an accumulation of abuses and oppression on the part of the priesthood, of which the last was the issuing of indulgences by Pope Leo X., whose agents roused the indignant eloquence of Luther. The movement, however, had its real commencement in the latter part of the 14th century, when the famous Wickliffe boldly attacked the authority of the Pope, the jurisdiction of the Bishops, and the temporalities of the Church. He also assailed the doctrine of transubstantiation ; but his most important work was the translation of the Bible into English, after it had been, for so many ages, a sealed book to the great body of the priests, and to all the laity.

The preaching and the writings of this extraordinary man, aided by his translation of the Scriptures, bore fruit far and wide. Not only did he succeed in gathering around him a numerous body of adherents, amongst the nobles as well as the middling class in England, whom the Romanists stigmatized with the name of Lollards, but he was the

origin of the effort towards reform in Bohemia, for which John Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned by the Council of Constance, and suffered the agonies of martyrdom. Wickliffe himself, of course, was adjudged to be a heretic, and the sword of Rome was raised against his followers with its usual persecuting vigor. The *Lollards' Tower* yet remains, attached to the Archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, where I have had the melancholy privilege of beholding the time-worn monuments of the cruelties which gave it that name. And as I gazed upon the gloomy walls which imprisoned so many of the martyrs of the Bible, and saw the iron rings bolted in the oaken floor, to which they had been chained in the bloody ages of Papal supremacy, I could not but feel, with an emotion of unspeakable gratitude, the contrast between the mild and gentle government of the Reformed Church of England, and the savage and crushing despotism which had passed away.

But although Rome succeeded, apparently, in extirpating the influence of Wickliffe by her favorite weapons of the dungeon and the stake, yet it can hardly be doubted that a lasting impression had been made upon many thousand minds, which contributed largely to the ultimate triumph of the true Reformation in the 16th century. In many respects, the notions of that eminent man were crude and erroneous, and the thorough and effectual work required the co-operation of various laborers before it could be brought to a mature result. Luther, in Germany, led the way, followed by Zuinglius and Calvin; and, far from wondering that their views were in some respects mistaken and defective, I am rather disposed to wonder that they should have been so nearly right, and, in most points, so harmonious. The reformers of England had the vast advantage of

being last in the field. From the commencement of Luther, in A. D. 1517, to the accession of Edward VI., in A. D. 1547, thirty years elapsed, during which they were gradually finding their way to the ground of the primitive Church, in doctrine, worship, and discipline, and several years in addition were spent before the true system of Christianity, recovered from the corrupt innovations of past ages, was prepared for the adoption of Parliament. In A. D. 1553, Edward VI. was succeeded by the bigoted and persecuting Mary, who labored hard to overthrow their work, and re-establish the old bondage of the Papacy. But the good providence of the Almighty made use of her bloody reign to fasten the heart of the nation more strongly to the principles of the Reformation ; so that when Elizabeth came to the throne, in A. D. 1558, the establishment of the pure Gospel of Christ as laid down in the Scriptures, and the system set forth by the Apostles as it existed in the primitive Church, were hailed with general joy and acclamation.

To impeach this Reformation, therefore, and persuade his readers that it was in all respects an unjustifiable and even execrable violation of the laws of religious truth and duty, is the great object of Milner's book ; and it must be confessed that he assails it with a dexterity and hardihood which prove him to be a master in the art of reckless vituperation. To trace him in his more important misrepresentations, and vindicate the truth of history and religion from his attacks, is a weary and ungrateful task, but one which bears its own reward in the highest sense of duty.

I proceed, therefore, to our author's mode of assigning the cause, and describing the instruments and results, of the British Reformation. And this is his statement of what

he considers the commencement of the work by Henry VIII. in his 8th letter, p. 66: "Becoming enamored of one of his queen's maids of honor, Ann Bullen, and the reigning Pope refusing to sanction an adulterous marriage with her, he caused a statute to be passed abrogating the Pope's supremacy, and declaring himself the supreme head of the Church in England. Thus he plunged the nation into schism, and opened a way for every kind of heresy and impiety. In short, *nothing is more evident than that the king's inordinate passion, and not the Word of God, was the rule followed in this first important change of our national religion.*"

Saving only the facts that the English Parliament abolished the supremacy of the Pope, and declared the king to be the supreme head of all estates in England, whether civil or ecclesiastical, this whole statement is utterly false from beginning to end. But to demonstrate this falsehood will require a little patient attention to the truth of history.

The real aspect of the matter is as follows:—Queen Katherine, who was the first consort of Henry VIII., was the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and was married, from motives of State policy, to Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII., a youth of sixteen years of age, who died soon afterwards. This marriage had no issue, and the king, in order to keep up his alliance with Spain, and prevent the widow from carrying her rich jointure out of England, resolved to have her wedded to his next son, Henry. The ecclesiastical law, however, was opposed to such a union, and there was no remedy for this but the obtaining the Pope's dispensation. The Pontiff, Julius II., who was much more of a soldier and a politician than of a divine, made no difficulty about granting the king's request,

and the marriage between Henry and Katherine was solemnized accordingly, while he was yet in his minority.

But the validity of the whole proceeding was denied at the time by many. Not only several of the Cardinals, but also Warham, who was then Archbishop of Canterbury, and as eminent for his learning as for his office, dissented from it openly, as did others of the English Bishops and divines, on the ground that the marriage of a brother's wife was forbidden by the law of God in the Book of Leviticus, and therefore the Pope had no power to give such a dispensation. These objections made the young prince uneasy, and his father also. Indeed, the king became so convinced of the unlawfulness of the marriage, that he commanded his son, in the presence of many of the nobility, to protest against it when he came of age. In compliance with his wishes, the protestation was drawn up, the prince read it himself before a public notary, June 27th, 1505, and it was lodged in the hands of Fox, the Bishop of Winchester. By this instrument, the prince declared that, "whereas he, being under age, was married to the Princess Katherine, yet now, coming to be of age, he did not confirm that marriage, but annulled it, and would not proceed in it, but intended, in full form of law, to void it and break it off, which he declared that he did freely, and of his own accord."* The affection which he had for his consort, however, induced him to postpone any further measures, until the death of his father, and his consequent accession to the crown, again brought up the question. It was debated warmly before the Council, where the majority decided that the marriage should not be dissolved. And as this decision accorded

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, b. 2, vol. i. p. 45.

with Henry's personal feelings at the time, they were again married publicly, and both crowned soon afterwards.

This union, disputed from the first, had several issue, of which two were sons, who died at an early age, and the third was Mary, the same who was afterwards queen, and the only offspring of Henry and Katherine who came to maturity. It so happened, however, that her father, having entered into a negotiation with the King of France to marry this, his only child, either to Francis himself, or to his son, the Duke of Orleans, was struck with mortification and alarm when the Bishop of Tarbe, who was the French Ambassador, objected that the Princess Mary was illegitimate, being the fruit of a marriage contracted against the divine law, from which no human authority could grant a dispensation.* This revived the former scruples of Henry. Those scruples were further strengthened by his favorite, Cardinal Wolsey, and by Longland, the Bishop of Lincoln, who was the king's confessor. He examined the Book of Leviticus, and found it there recorded, that if a man took his brother's wife, he should die childless, and he began to look upon the untimely death of his two sons as a punishment, according to this very menace, for his unlawful marriage. He read the most learned casuists, and especially Thomas Aquinas, and saw that they were against him. He then commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury to take the opinion of the Bishops of England upon the question. And the result was that *all, with the solitary exception of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, declared in writing, under their hands and seals, that the marriage was null and void from the beginning*, since the Pope, although he had full power to grant a dispensa-

* Burnet, History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 49.

tion from the laws of the Church, had no warrant to authorize the violation of the law of God, which, as they maintained, expressly forbade the taking of a brother's widow.*

The king being now completely convinced that the French Bishop was right, and that his marriage was illegal, his next movement was to apply to the Pope, through Cardinal Wolsey, for a decree to annul it, or to grant him a divorce. For this, the arguments chiefly insisted on were the unlawfulness of the marriage, and the manifest fact that the question affected the succession to the English throne, since it was evident that the Princess Mary, if illegitimate, might have her title disputed, and Henry, in his present circumstances, could have no other issue. Such an application was certainly just and reasonable. We all know that Napoleon, the first French Emperor, found it an easy matter to obtain a divorce from Josephine, in order that he might marry an Austrian princess, on the mere ground that he might thus have a hope of an heir to his imperial sceptre, although, in that case, there was no question as to the validity of his marriage. Why, then, should the request of Henry VIII. have met with so much difficulty? He had hitherto proved himself a devoted servant of the Papacy. He had even published a book against Luther, in return for which act of royal authorship the Pope had sent him the golden rose, which was the chief compliment to princes, and had added to his other titles the new and flattering appellation of "Defender of the Faith." How, therefore, did it happen, that the Pontiff adopted a course so unaccommodating towards this, his favorite son, in the 16th century?

* Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 50.

The answer is perfectly plain upon the face of history. Clement VII., the reigning Pope, had been engaged in a war against Charles V., the Emperor of Germany, and was actually, at the very time, a prisoner in the monarch's hands, negotiating for his own release, and for a treaty of pacification. And Charles was the nephew of Queen Katherine, and held that the honor of her powerful house was implicated in the question. Her own pride of character, and that of all her kindred, naturally revolted at the idea that her marriage should be pronounced unlawful from the beginning, thus bringing an ineffaceable stain upon her own wedded life, and through her, casting humiliation upon the majesty of Arragon. And hence the emperor was violently opposed to the course of Henry VIII., and the Pope was at the mercy of the emperor. If Katherine of Arragon had been an unprotected female, like Josephine of France, or if Henry VIII. had been the virtual master of the Pope's dominions, as was the Emperor Napoleon, the question would probably have been settled in his favor at once, without the slightest prevarication.

As it was, however, the evidence is sufficiently complete that the Pope was well inclined towards Henry's application. He had effected his escape from confinement, but still felt himself obliged to temporize, delay, and evade a direct decision of the main question, from policy, lest he should provoke the resentment of Charles, and involve himself in new troubles. Nevertheless, he went very far in favor of the king's request. This is fully proved by the Roman Catholic historian, Lingard, notwithstanding the decided bias towards his Church, which is apparent through his whole elaborate work. I need hardly say, Most Rev. Sir, that his testimony, even to your mind, ought to be conclusive.

I pray you to observe, therefore, particularly, his distinct statement, "that the Pope signed two instruments presented to him by the envoys of King Henry—the one *authorizing Cardinal Wolsey to decide the question of the divorce in England*, as the Papal legate, and the other "*granting to Henry a dispensation to marry, in the place of Katherine, any other woman whomsoever, even if she were already promised to another, or related to himself within the first degree of affinity.*" The Pontiff further expressed his opinion in favor of this latter course in these extraordinary terms: "The king is said by some to have chosen a most circuitous route. *If he be convinced in his conscience, as he affirms, that his present marriage is null, HE MIGHT MARRY AGAIN. This would enable me or the legate to decide the question at once. Otherwise it is plain that by appeals, exceptions, and adjournments, the case must be protracted for many years.*"*

Here, then, I beg you to mark how completely your reckless partisan, Milner, is contradicted by the Pope himself, on the clear testimony of your own historian. "Becoming enamored," saith this, your favorite author, "of one of his queen's maids of honor, Ann Bullen, and the reigning Pope *refusing to sanction an adulterous marriage with her,*" &c. But, in fact, the Pope was so far from refusing the application of Henry, that, on the contrary, he *authorized Cardinal Wolsey to decide the question of the divorce*, as the Papal legate in England, being perfectly aware at the time that Wolsey held the marriage to be invalid, and was, besides, the obsequious and devoted servant of the king. And moreover, he sent a dispensation to Henry, *allowing him to marry, in the place of Katherine, any woman whomsoever,*

* Lingard's History of England. Dunigan's Ed. of 1848, vol. vi. p. 128-9.

even if she were already promised to another! Did that look like a refusal of the Pope to sanction his marriage to Anne Bullen?

This, however, is not the only evidence which the same Pontiff has furnished on the particular point of Milner's calumny. "It had been intimated to Pope Clement," saith your historian, Lingard, "that the real object of the king was to gratify the ambition of a woman who had sacrificed her honor to his passion, on condition that he should raise her to the throne. But after the perusal of a letter from Wolsey, the Pontiff believed, or at least professed to believe, that Ann Boleyn was a lady of unimpeachable character, and that the suit of Henry proceeded from sincere and conscientious scruples."*

Thus we have your favorite, Milner, presenting the action of the Pope in one light, while the Pope himself presents the very contrary! What sense of truth or decency could have governed a writer who was thus ready to blacken the character of the dead in the face of the highest testimony, if, by so doing, he thought that he could stain, directly or indirectly, the Reformed Church of England? For no ingenuity can reconcile his statements with the facts. According to Milner, the king desired the Pope to sanction an adulterous marriage: according to the Pope, the application of Henry proceeded from sincere and conscientious scruples. According to Milner, Ann Bullen was accessory to the monarch's sin: according to the Pope, she was a lady of unimpeachable character. According to Milner, the Pope refused the request of Henry: according to Lingard, he was so far from refusing, that he author-

* Lingard's History of England, Dunigan's Ed. of 1848, vol. vi. p. 133.

ized Cardinal Wolsey, the king's most zealous partisan, to decide the case, as Papal legate. According to Milner, the Pope would not sanction Henry's marriage with Anne Bullen: according to the historian, the Pontiff gave him a dispensation to marry, instead of Katherine, any woman he chose; and even advised him to take that course, as the quickest and easiest mode of settling the question! How plainly does this prove that the Pontiff, at this time, felt confident of a final decision in favor of Henry; and how utterly impossible to justify his own course, if he had doubted the substantial justice and propriety of the monarch's application!

But however cordial the Pontiff may have been, the critical circumstances in which he found himself, with reference to the emperor, effectually deterred him from a firm or decided course of action. His Cardinals were divided in opinion, and many of the more influential insisted that he must delay and temporize until the imperial troops should be driven out of Italy. Wolsey himself shrunk from the responsibility of deciding the question of divorce without a colleague, and requested that Cardinal Campeggio might be united with him in the Papal commission. The application was granted. After a considerable delay, Campeggio arrived. The Court opened their sessions, and the queen being summoned, refused to answer any authority below that of the Pope himself, and appealed. The cause was evoked to Rome, on the demand of the emperor, and thus three years were wasted, and the king found himself no nearer to a decision than he was at the beginning. About this time, Cranmer suggested that the opinion of the foreign universities should be taken; and as it had now become apparent that the Pope, influenced by political expediency, had

changed his course, and united his interests with the emperor, Henry resolved to submit the question to the principal learned Faculties and Canonists of Europe, and abide by their decision.

The result was as follows :—The judgment of the English Bishops (all of whom, except Fisher, had affirmed, under their hands and seals, the nullity of the king's marriage with Katherine) was ratified and approved—

1. By the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.
2. By the celebrated Faculty of the Sorbonne, at Paris.
3. By the divines of Bologna.
4. By the University of Padua.
5. By the divines of Ferrara.
6. By the University of Orleans.
7. By the Faculty of Canon Law at Paris.
8. By the Faculties of the Civil and Canon Law at Angiers.
9. By the Faculty of divines at Bourges.
10. By the University of Thoulouse.
11. By the most famous Jewish Rabbins. These were consulted because the question involved the construction of Leviticus, which was a portion of the Jewish law. And they all decided that the Mosaic rule, by which a man should marry his deceased brother's wife, in case there was no issue by her former husband, (the main argument of the imperial party,) was a *local law*, confined to Judea on account of its connection with the original division of the land, and therefore not operative upon the Jews who resided in any other country ; while the law forbidding the marriage of a brother's wife, on the contrary, was a *general law*, which bound them everywhere.
12. And lastly ; the same judgment was given, on their

individual responsibility, by a large number of eminent canonists and divines in Rome itself, in Venice, and many other places.

Such being the result, the king determined at length to pursue the course advised by the Pope himself at the beginning, and married Ann Bullen privately on the 14th day of November, 1532. But neither did this marriage, nor the consultation of the universities, nor the refusal of Henry to obey, in person, the citation of the Pontiff to Rome, in the matter of the divorce, which was still pending, produce, as yet, any open rupture. Hence, the Pope made no objections against Cranmer, who was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Warham. And the usual bull for his consecration, together with the *pallium*, was sent from Rome without delay, notwithstanding the perfect knowledge that the king's course had been prompted by this favorite counsellor's suggestions.

The declaration of the king's supremacy, however, followed soon afterwards, and annihilated, at one blow, the Papal power in England. Yet, *all the English Bishops consented to it*, except Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, and *all the English laymen* of eminence, except Sir Thomas More. Nor can it be censured on any ground of Scripture or of reason. Neither can it be truly denied that the act was justifiable, according to the practice of the primitive Church. To understand it rightly, however, it is necessary to advert to the state of matters under the Papacy.

For a long period prior to this assertion of the king's prerogative, the clergy enjoyed a complete immunity from the administration of secular justice. They were only amenable to the Church, and the courts of the king could not call them personally to account for any enormity. Whatever

crimes they might perpetrate, whatever disorders they might commit, whatever evil example they might set before the community, they could laugh to scorn the powers of national law so long as they enjoyed the Papal favor. Not only were they thus secure in their own persons, but they were the guardians of all the villains in the land; for every Church, with a certain space around it, was a sanctuary of refuge, and if the thief, the murderer, or the robber, could get within the line of its protection, the officers of justice were set at naught, and thus the priests became the standing obstacles to right, and the safeguard of the grossest iniquity. We shall see, by and by, the application which had been made by Henry VII. to the Pope to have this nuisance done away, and the very small success which attended his urgent petition.

Besides these evils, the supremacy of the Pope operated directly upon the wealth and the safety of the nation. Enormous sums were annually carried out of the kingdom to Rome, in the shape of Peter-pence, first-fruits, offerings, and presents, to say nothing of the frequent demands of subsidies, and the expenses of parties and witnesses who were obliged to submit to the appellate jurisdiction of the Pontiff. The prerogatives claimed by the Pope, moreover, gave him the power of filling the English Sees with foreigners, and the expenses attendant upon the legatine authority were often oppressive and severe.

For all this, there was not a particle of real authority in the Bible, in reason, or in the primitive Church. It was perfectly undeniable that the whole despotic system was a usurpation, which came in after the time of William the Conqueror. It was certain that the Christian Bishops of the early ages were subject to the civil ruler, to the emperors and magis-

trates, in all the temporal relations of their lives and properties. It was demonstrable that they held the sovereign to be the supreme head of the clergy as well as of the laity in all the ordinary interests of law and justice, and that even in matters of faith, from the time of Constantine, the monarch's assent was necessary to give practical validity to the decrees of Councils. Such was the supremacy which Henry VIII. determined to reclaim: the same supremacy which was exercised by the kings of ancient Israel—the same supremacy which was exercised by the Christian emperors for more than ten centuries. And therefore he was clearly right, on every ground of argument which stands properly connected with the question.

Thus, then, Most Reverend Sir, I trust that I have fully disproved the assertions of your favorite, Milner, in reference to the acts of Henry VIII. I have shown that the Pope did not refuse to sanction the marriage of the king with Ann Bullen, but sent him, on the contrary, a dispensation to marry any woman whatever; that instead of the Pontiff imputing to either of them an adulterous design, he expressed himself satisfied that Henry's scruples were sincere and conscientious, and that Ann Bullen was a lady of unimpeachable character; that instead of the *refusal of the Pope* producing the act declaring the king's supremacy, the application for the divorce was still pending at Rome at the time when that act was passed, and thus far the Pope had *refused* nothing, but had only put off the decision, by policy and prevarication; that instead of the king's "inordinate passion" being the cause which induced Henry to insist on his supremacy, as Milner so positively asserts, he had actually married Ann Bullen after the judgment of the universities had been pronounced in his favor, A. D. 1532, and this

marriage produced no rupture with the Pope, who showed his desire to accommodate the king by forwarding, at his request, the bull for Cranmer's consecration the year after.*

But in the face of all historical evidence, Milner boldly insists that the conduct of Henry VIII. was the sole result of an adulterous attachment to Ann Bullen. "Nothing is more evident," saith he, "than that the king's inordinate passion, and not the Word of God, was the rule followed in this first important change of our national religion." How marvellous that he could not see how such a charge, if true, rebounded against his own infallible Church! For the course of Henry was approved, 1st, by all the English

* The dates, as given by the historian Burnet, will show the course of the whole matter precisely :—

A. D. 1501, Nov. 14. Prince Arthur married Katherine of Arragon.—
(Vol. i. p. 45.)

" 1502, April 2. He died.—(Ib.)

" 1503, Dec. 26. Pope Julius granted the bull of dispensation, in order that Prince Henry might marry the widow, and they were united accordingly.

" 1505, June 27. Prince Henry, by his father's command, protested against the marriage, being then of age.—(p. 47.)

" 1509, April 22. The old king died, advising his son to break off the marriage.—(Ib.)

" " June 3. The Council advise the contrary, and the king preferring that course, he was married again publicly.—(Ib.)

" 1527, April. The French King's Ambassador demurs about the Princess Mary's legitimacy.—(p. 48.)

" " " Cardinal Wolsey and Longland, the king's confessor, revive the old scruples of the king, who examines the question for himself.—
(p. 49.)

Bishops except Fisher ; 2d, by the Pope himself at the beginning, though two years afterwards he was gained over by the emperor ; 3d, by the foreign Universities, Faculties, Divines, and Canonists of Europe ; 4th, by many of the Roman Cardinals. And Henry, all this time, was a devoted Romanist, and all who concurred with him belonged to the same communion ! Did Milner's anxiety to blacken the Reformation blind his eyes to the inevitable consequence of his own assertion ? Did he forget that if Henry VIII. pursued his course without any just ground, and only to gratify an inordinate passion, the whole of these Bishops, Cardi-

A. D. 1527, April. The English Bishops, except Fisher, all concur against the marriage.—(p. 50.)

“ “ Dec. 5. The application for the divorce sent to the Pope, (p. 60,) but the king's agent could not gain admission to him, as he was the emperor's prisoner.—(p. 62.)

“ “ “ 9. The Pope escapes to Orvieto.—(Ib.)

“ 1528, January. About the beginning of the next month, the Pope signs the documents referred to by Lingard.

“ 1529, July 25. The cause evoked to Rome.

“ 1530, — The Universities consulted.

“ 1532, Nov. 14. The king married Ann Bullen.—(p. 166.)

“ 1533, Feb. 21. The bulls signed at Rome for Cranmer's consecration.—(p. 170.)

“ 1533, Sept. 14. Queen Elizabeth born.—(p. 177.)

“ 1534, Mar. 20. Act abolishing the Pope's power passed in Parliament.—(p. 190.)

“ 1534, Mar. 23. Sentence of the Pope against the divorce in Rome.—(p. 180.)

Burnet, moreover, states expressly, that Henry “was beforehand with the Court of Rome ;” that “*the Pope's power had then been for four years together much examined and disputed,*” and therefore the subject was thoroughly canvassed before the Parliament decided upon the act of abolition.—(p. 181.)

nals, Divines, Universities, Canonists, and even the Pope himself, were guilty as his accomplices? Did he forget that all this took place several years before the Reformation? That all the actors in it were the members and the clergy of his own Church? That Henry VIII., in every point except the supremacy of the Pope in England, remained a bigoted and persecuting adherent to Romanism to his dying day? That, in fact, the true work which restored the Church of England to the privileges of the primitive apostolic faith did not begin until the accession of Edward VI., in A. D. 1547; so that thirteen years elapsed after the Act of Supremacy, in 1534, during which all the Romanists in England, save Fisher and More, submitted to Henry's dictation?

And now, Most Reverend Sir, permit me to say, that although I have occupied so large a space in proving the falsehood of Milner's statements, as well for the sake of historical truth as to demonstrate the utter treachery of the guide which you have recommended to us, yet I do not hold Henry VIII., in any proper sense, as a reformer of the Church of England. In the matter of his divorce from Katherine, the general sense of Rome was with him. In the matter of his supremacy to the exclusion of the Pope, it was not so much a point of religion as a point of government. All the Bishops, save Fisher, took the new oath without scruple, and all the clergy, save the Franciscans, did the same. Hence, Fisher and More did not suffer as *heretics*, but as *TRAITORS*, under the act of Parliament. And the whole charge against them was confined to the secular offence, of opposing what was now the established law of the land.

I fully admit, however, that although Henry VIII. was no reformer, he was undoubtedly an instrument in the hand

of God to *prepare the way* for the Reformation. To this end, he overthrew the supremacy of the Pope and the monastic system in England. As Jehu was appointed to execute the judgment of heaven against the house of Ahab and the worshippers of Baal, and executed the task, while he was himself a friend to idolatry: so Henry was appointed to destroy the usurped power of the Pope and the superstitious influence of the monasteries, notwithstanding he was, in all things else, the friend and patron of Romanism. The Church of Christ, as planted by the Apostles, was like a noble temple, round which the hand of barbarous and wanton innovation had erected an unsightly pile, thus spoiling its effect, and concealing its fair proportions. To tear down the walls of this, and bear away the rubbish, would be the first step towards the restoration of the original fabric. And such was the work which, in part, was assigned to Henry. The repairing and refitting the temple itself, so as to exhibit to every eye its pristine beauty, was a very different task, and was committed, in the wisdom of God, to a very different instrumentality.

L E T T E R I V .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I HAVE already said that the act of Henry VIII., in abolishing the Pope's supremacy in England, and taking possession of the monasteries, produced no reformation. He may have been, as your writers paint him, a lustful and bloody tyrant. But with that we have nothing to do. He was bred and educated in the school of Romanism. He was even more than commonly well read in the religion of his day, and exhibited his erudition, to the admiration of the Pope and the Bishops, in his book against Luther, which gained him the title of "Defender of the Faith." I doubt not that if he had continued, in all respects, an obedient son of Rome, the world would have heard very little of his cruelty or his despotism. As to the first, it was a small matter in comparison with the tortures and fiery death inflicted by your old Inquisition, and universally sanctioned throughout Europe previous to the Reformation. And as to the second, it did not exceed the common measure of sovereigns in that age, and for centuries before. Towards his wives, his conduct was only severe when he believed them to be faithless. None of them, from Katherine of Arragon down to Katherine Parr, ever complained of his ill-treatment. The famous Charlemagne had four wives at once, and yet his name was inserted by many Churches on the catalogue of saints. Your Louis XIV. kept mistresses constantly, under the eyes of his queen, yet he was a prodigious favorite

with your Bishops and clergy. Compared with either of them, or with the ordinary list of your sovereign princes, Henry VIII. was a pattern of continence and decorum. With all this, it must be granted that he had an extraordinary power of gaining and keeping the affection and confidence of his subjects ; so that the sole motive to which I must attribute the pre-eminence of his evil character amongst your writers, is their determination to stigmatize him because he brake the bands and yokes of Papal domination.

The true work of reformation, however, was reserved for the reign of his son, Edward VI., who came to the crown when he was only eleven years old, and died at the early age of sixteen. Against him Milner can say nothing, save that he was a boy ! But this boy was a prodigy of learning, wisdom, and piety, which I might defy the history of Europe to equal. We all know that many cases have occurred of boys, whose precocious development of intellect in mathematics, music, and dramatic skill, has astonished the oldest and most accomplished minds of their time. We all know that it has sometimes pleased the Almighty to manifest His grace to children in a manner quite as wonderful, of which the youthful Samuel, called to be a prophet at an earlier age than Edward was called to be a king, was a marked example. We even find the principle recorded in Scripture, where the Psalmist, addressing the Deity, saith : " In the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise"—a passage which the great Redeemer rendered memorable by employing it in His stern rebuke of the Pharisees, when they found fault with the children crying in the temple, " Hosanna to the Son of David." The sneers of Milner, therefore, with respect to Edward's youth, are not merely absurd, but savor of impiety. That sur-

prising boy was a man in intellect, and a saint in virtue. Precocious in all respects, the victim of consumption, which cut him off so soon, and which is well known to be usually connected with a premature unfolding of the reasoning faculties, his attainments and his character were the constant subjects of astonishment and delight to all around him. And as his name has thus far bid defiance to the calumny of Romanists, I doubt not that it will shine as a bright star upon the page of history, long after the memory of those who mock his youth shall have sunk into oblivion.*

The leading men amongst the reformers who carried on the work under the patronage of their saint-like young sovereign, were Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper. And although there may be some flaws found by an ingenious and unscrupulous adversary, like Milner, in their personal consistency, yet I may safely challenge their enemies to name an equal number of English Romanists in their day who stood upon the same exalted height of Christian virtue.

I come now to another tissue of misrepresentations, which your bold and reckless advocate has crowded, with his usual skill, into a single paragraph, although it will require many paragraphs to expose their falsity. Thus he avers that "the unprincipled Duke of Somerset," who was the uncle of the youthful king, and held the highest office in the government, "pushed on the Reformation for his own ambitious and avaricious purposes, suppressing the remaining colleges and hospitals which the prodigality of Henry had spared, and converting their revenues to his own and his associates' uses. He forced Cranmer and the other Bishops

* Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. pp. 2, 3.

to take out fresh commissions for governing their dioceses during his nephew's—that is, his own—*good pleasure*. He made a great number of important changes in the public worship by his own authority, or that of his visitors; and when he employed certain Bishops and divines in forming fresh Articles and a new Liturgy, he punished them with imprisonment if they were not obedient to his orders. He even took upon him to alter their work, when sanctioned by Parliament, in compliment to the Church's greatest enemy, Calvin."

The whole of this, however, is a mere string of misrepresentations. For, 1st, the Reformation was prosecuted vigorously, saith Burnet in his history, by CRANMER, who had upon his side several of the Bishops—Holgate, of York; Holbeck, of Lincoln; Goodrick, of Ely; and above all, Ridley, of Rochester, afterwards of London. Old Latimer was discharged from imprisonment, to which Henry VIII. had consigned him on account of his opposition to the Six Articles of the Papal doctrine which that monarch had resolved to maintain, but declined any public station, and employed himself solely in preaching the doctrines of the Reformation. Somerset was "*firmly united with Cranmer in his design*," saith the historian; but Milner's statement makes him the *leader*, instead of the Bishops, to whose office it belonged. This fabrication, therefore, was set forth by your favorite in order to deceive his ignorant or careless readers into the false idea that the work was the mere product of an ambitious and avaricious politician. Yet nothing can be more contrary to the truth of history.*

2d. The remaining *colleges and hospitals* which Milner

* Burnet, vol iii. p. 32.

states to have been suppressed by Somerset, and the revenues applied to his own uses, must be an allusion, not to the act of Somerset, but to the Act of the first Parliament, which gave the CHANTRIES, COLLEGES, AND CHAPELS, to the king, to be applied "to the maintenance of grammar-schools, to the support of preachers, and the increase of vicarages."* This act was opposed by Cranmer and seven other Bishops; but it passed, notwithstanding. It is a manifest perversion, however, to represent it as if it were the work of Somerset's single authority.

3d. The third fabrication of Milner states, that "he *forced* Cranmer and the other Bishops to take out fresh commissions for governing their dioceses during his nephew's—that is, his—*good pleasure*;" the truth being that the act was passed by the whole Privy Council, appointed by the will of Henry VIII., in pursuance of the course adopted during the reign of that monarch, Cranmer being one of the Council, and recommending the measure, both by precept and example, as a prudent precaution under present circumstances. But it was intended only as a temporary thing, and it was neither, as Milner asserts, the *single act of Somerset*, nor was it *forced* at all.†

4th. The appointment of visitors, with injunctions, the preparation of the first Book of Homilies to supply the lack of sermons to the people, the order to read publicly certain portions of Scripture, &c., were also the work of the whole Privy Council, under Cranmer's advice, and in no respect the act of Somerset's sole authority.‡ And the imprisonment of Bonner and Gardiner was rendered necessary by

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 60-1.

† Burnet, History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 7. ‡ Ib. p. 35-7.

their resistance to these injunctions, with which all the other Bishops had complied.

5th. And the last of these statements is equally untrue, that "Somerset took upon him to alter the work of the Bishops, *in compliment to Calvin, the Church's greatest enemy.*" What he meant by Calvin's being the greatest enemy of the Church, is indeed ambiguous. If the word Church be referred to the *Church of Rome*, the epithet may be consistent with the idea of Romanists, who suppose their Church to be incapable of improvement; but certainly quite inconsistent with those even among themselves (and there are, thank God, many such) who earnestly long to see her reformed. If, on the other hand, our author intended to say that Calvin was the greatest enemy of the *Church of England*, it is a very gross mistake. For he was in friendly correspondence with the reformers throughout. He even thought seriously of uniting all the Reformed Churches to that of England, and is reported to have proposed the measure in a letter to King Edward, which the Papal party suppressed. But it was Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Episcopal colleagues, who were the leading persons in the whole work, according to their office; and the resolutions of the Privy Council, under the will of the late king, together with the hearty assent of Edward himself, were the authority by which they acted in every change of the existing system.

A few specimens of this, as given by the historian Burnet, may be here set down by way of illustration. There were in the Churches some images of the blessed Trinity, in which the Father was represented sitting on the one hand, as an old man, with a triple crown, and rays about him; the Son on the other hand, as a young man, with a

crown and rays ; and the Blessed Virgin between them, and the emblem of the Holy Ghost, a Dove, spread over her head. And there was a great variety of other images, all which the Council resolved should be removed ; and Somerset, who was the Lord Protector during the king's minority, and, by virtue of this office, the President of the Council, *wrote to Cranmer*, that *he* might give order accordingly.* Again, we find that *Cranmer* compiled a Catechism.† And again, the Parliament, A. D. 1548, in order that there might be a perfect uniformity throughout the whole kingdom, gave their sanction to the Liturgy and Offices which *the king, by the advice of the Lord Protector and the Council, had appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other learned and discreet Bishops and divines*, to draw up.‡ We see, therefore, throughout, the utter falsehood of the statement that the Reformation, in Edward's time, was the *work of Somerset, for his own ambitious and avaricious purposes*. And thus we have another specimen of the reckless spirit of your favorite author.

From this tissue of misrepresentations Milner proceeds to another. "When Elizabeth came to the throne," saith he, "a new Reformation, different in its Articles and Liturgy from that of Edward VI., was set on foot, and moulded, not according to Scripture, but to her orders. She deposed all the Bishops except one, * * * and she required the new ones, whom she appointed, to renounce certain exercises which they declared to be agreeable to the Word of God, but which she found not to agree with her system of politics."

Of this set of assertions thus much is true, viz., that Eliza-

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 79.

† Ib. p. 93.

‡ Ib. p. 122.

both deprived every Bishop save one, the reason being that only one would consent to her coronation, and hence the rest exposed themselves to be dealt with as traitors. Under those circumstances, they should have been thankful that their lives were spared; and the notion that she should have allowed them to continue as Bishops is simply ridiculous. But it is perfectly false that the Reformation, re-established under Elizabeth, differed from that which was finally settled under Edward VI., in a single doctrine or principle. The few alterations which were made were mere matters of verbal expediency, designed to remove needless offence to the remaining Romanists, who had shown a general willingness to attend the Church, and who would doubtless have soon conformed entirely, if the Pope's excommunication of the queen, together with the strenuous efforts of Jesuit missionaries, had not roused their zeal into opposition.

As to the "*exercises*" which Milner says she required the new Bishops to "*renounce*," they were not exercises authorized by the Bishops at any time, but were mere irregular meetings, gotten up among some of the laity, conducted in the Puritan style, under the name of *Prophesyings*, and of course liable, in that day, to produce disorder. Archbishop Grindal thought them likely to be edifying, or at least harmless; but most of the other Bishops, as well as Elizabeth herself, were of a different opinion, and therefore he was requested to discourage them. With what propriety, then, could this be called a *renunciation* required of the new Bishops? How could they *renounce* what they *never had adopted*?

These examples exhibit the character of Milner's book throughout. He seems to have been utterly incapable of

writing with candor or truth, when the facts or instruments of the Reformation were in question. And there is an easy, dashing, confident air in his style of falsification, which shows him to have been a perfect master in the art. But yet his effrontery is astonishing, when we look at the contrast between the treatment of Bishops under the Romish kings, and that which they received under the reformed sovereigns of England. When Charles V. seized the person of the Pope himself, and held him a prisoner—when Henry VIII. successfully insisted that all his Romish Bishops should agree to abolish the Papal supremacy, and substitute his own, and suppress the monasteries—when Queen Mary, instead of being content with deposing Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, and confining them for a season, burned them alive at the stake, with more than two hundred other victims—the despotism of princely power does not draw a single remark from your determined partisan. But when Elizabeth deprives the Bishops who refused to acknowledge her right to the crown, and orders Archbishop Grindal to execute his office in putting a stop to an irregular exercise of the laymen, which neither the Church nor her Bishops had ever authorized—these are shocking proofs of the despotism which produced the Reformation! Yea, they demonstrate that the poor Bishops were not allowed to have any voice at all in questions of religious doctrine or worship, but that the mere dictation of royalty regulated the whole! And yet Milner must have known that the entire preparation of the work was in the hands of the Bishops, and that not a single instance can be found in which any point of doctrine or worship was changed or established, unless it was done by their express judgment and sanction.

But, to sum up the hypothesis of your favorite completely, I must quote another passage where he puts forth his view of the Reformation. "The more strictly the subject is examined," saith he, "the more clearly it will appear, that it was not in consequence of any investigation of the Scriptures, either public or private, that the ancient Catholic" (i. e., Roman) "religion was abolished, and one or other of the new Protestant religions set up, in the different northern kingdoms and States of Europe, but in consequence of the *politics of princes and statesmen, the avarice of the nobility and gentry, and the irreligion and licentiousness of the people.*" Here is the theory of the Reformation, as represented by all Romanists, with a few rare and candid exceptions. And I pronounce it utterly untrue, as I shall prove in due time from the testimony of their own witnesses. I shall only for the present point out its historical absurdity, and total inconsistency with common sense and reason.

Your bold and unscrupulous author assigns, as his first cause of the change, "*the politics of princes and statesmen.*" But what political motive could have influenced Luther in Germany, Zuinglius in Zurich, Calvin in Geneva and France, Cranmer in England, Knox in Scotland? Were they politicians, princes or statesmen? What political motive could have induced those who were the rulers of those nations to quarrel with the Pope, with the emperor, with the vast internal force of the priests and monks, and with the large body of their own subjects, at the imminent risk of a fearful civil war, if they should fail to convince the majority of the people that their cause was just and righteous? What single instance can be pointed out, where the Reformation was connected, directly or indirectly, with

the field of politics, with the overthrow of any existing dynasty, or with a proposed change of civil government? On the contrary, it is manifest to the slightest reflection that every motive of earthly policy must have been hostile to the effort which sought to overthrow the established religious system of all Europe. As at the beginning of the Gospel dispensation "the rulers and kings took counsel together against the Lord and against His anointed," so it was in the great movement of the 16th century. And if the mighty hand of God had not roused up, in a wonderful manner, the slumbering consciences of men, the *politics of princes and statesmen* would have trampled on the preachers of His truth, and consigned them all, for the sake of temporal peace, to the flames of martyrdom.

But leaving the question of policy with respect to the other branches of the work, and confining myself to my proper field of the Reformation in England, I ask for the evidence that this could have been carried forward by such a motive. What earthly interest could have prevailed on Henry VIII. to cast off the Pope's supremacy in the year 1534? Was it the privilege of marrying Anne Bullen? The Pope had given him a dispensation, and even advised him to take any woman he pleased, and he had actually married her two years before. Was it the wealth to be derived from the suppression of the monasteries? The Pope had granted his bull to Cardinal Wolsey for this very act, and there was no obstacle in the way of the king's good pleasure. Was it to stop the drain by which the Papal exactions and subsidies drew off so much of the wealth of England? This could have been effected by act of Parliament, without any difficulty. No earthly policy, therefore, can possibly account for Henry's course. It was the work

of Divine Providence, who raised up this man of energy and passion to prepare the way for the restoration of His truth, in mercy to mankind.

And where is the argument derived from the politics of princes and statesmen, in the genuine Reformation established under Edward VI. by Cranmer, Ridley, and their colleagues? The body of the whole nation was devoted to all the doctrines and practices of Romanism, which Henry VIII. had left, saving the Papal supremacy, in their full vigor. The worship of the Virgin and the saints, of images and relics, purgatory, priestly celibacy, transubstantiation, communion in one kind, masses for the dead,—all was there, and all defended by the strongest arguments of positive law, and vested rights, and worldly expediency. Moreover, Edward VI. was in his minority, and the main powers of government rested, until he should be of age, in the Council, to whom the will of Henry had committed them. Was this a time which the *politics of princes and statesmen* would choose for such an undertaking? Or could the whole range of earthly policy point out a single advantage to be gained by such an effort? When, since the world began, did it ever enter the head of a politician, that a direct assault upon the established religion of a nation was the most likely way to advance his temporal power? Most absurd and preposterous, therefore, is the attempt to account for the facts by an hypothesis like this. It was the work of God, and He raised up His chosen instruments to accomplish it, not by earthly policy, but in the face of it.

Equally manifest it is that Cranmer and his colleagues had nothing to gain, of this world's treasures, by venturing their all in such a cause. What interest had they in reducing to the Scriptural standard the inordinate privileges

of their own order? Was it the desire, as the Romanists would tell us, of having a wife? I shall prove, in due time, that the Church of Rome was far more liberal than the Reformed Church of England has ever been, in allowing the pleasures of female intercourse to her clergy, provided only, that it was not in the lawful way of marriage. Was it the enlargement of their official power? The Reformation did not enlarge, but diminished it. Was it the increase of their wealth? The Reformation dried up many of the old sources of priestly profit, and did not open a single new one to replace them. Under the rule of Romanism, they might look forward to the princely rank of the Cardinals, the rich rewards of legatine authority, or even the splendid majesty of the Papal throne. And the Reformation cut off all these dazzling prizes of ambition, with no earthly hope of a higher advancement before them. How plain, therefore, the result, that their motives must needs have been derived from the spiritual power of the faith, which not only purifies the heart, but overcomes the world!

And surely the argument loses nothing of its force, when we come to the reign of Elizabeth. For the cause of the Reformation seemed hopelessly lost, under the reign of her predecessor, Mary. The Pope was reinstated in his old prerogatives. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and more than two hundred others, had endured the agonies of a fiery martyrdom. The Parliament had submitted the whole nation to the Roman yoke, and the general acquiescence proved, to all appearance, that the people, at heart, had received but little benefit from the measures adopted in the reign of Edward, and were rather disposed to be content with their old attractive superstition. On what ground, therefore, under these circumstances, could the *policy of princes and*

statesmen rest the attempt to re-establish the Reformation? What argument of worldly wisdom could induce Elizabeth to incur the Papal sentence of deposition, which the immense resources of Philip of Spain stood prepared to make effectual? What advantage could she reap from embroiling herself with her subjects, especially as the decision of the Pope, in the case of her father's marriage to Katherine of Arragon, made her of necessity illegitimate, and she might be sure that this defect in her title to the throne would be urged against her, if she excited the hostility of Rome?

This consideration alone must have determined her to do nothing in favor of the Reformation, if she had really been disposed to settle the choice of her religion by *the policy of princes*. You remember, Most Reverend Sir, how one of Elizabeth's contemporaries, Henry IV. of France, abjured the Protestant Church in which he was educated, and became a Romanist, in order that he might put an end to the civil war in which a powerful Papal faction had involved him. Much more might Elizabeth, who had been brought up by Henry VIII., and found the kingdom fully committed to Rome, have held that her safety required her to favor no change in the existing system. So manifest, indeed, in every point of view, is the absurdity of Milner's hypothesis, that it is impossible to account for his venturing to palm it upon the merest tyros in English history, if he had not already learned, by experience and observation, that any falsehood, well told and firmly adhered to, will gain some belief from the easy credulity of mankind.

The next motive assigned by your favorite author, which induced Elizabeth to re-establish the Reformation, is "*the avarice of the nobility and gentry*." But how could that ar-

gument apply, when there were no more monasteries to suppress, and no more abbey-lands to surrender? It is admitted, on all hands, that this part of the work was done by Henry VIII., under the Papal sanction, and the remaining chantries, colleges, and chapels, were swept away by act of Parliament, in the reign of Edward. It is also unquestionable that when the nation returned to Romanism in the reign of Mary, the titles of those who had come into possession of what had formerly been Church property, were all solemnly confirmed. On what, then, was the avarice of the nobility and gentry to speculate? At no period, indeed, could such an inducement have produced a religious change, because the retention of these lands might have been secured just as easily, without renouncing Romanism. Many monasteries have been suppressed in France and Spain, although those countries still continue wedded to the Papal system. But the allegation loses even the semblance of support from history in the time of Elizabeth, although that is the very point where proof is most necessary to sustain the statement of your author.

The last reason which Milner assigns for the Reformation, is "*the irreligion and licentiousness of the people.*" He does not seem to have reflected upon the evidence thus given by himself, to the results of the Romish system. For here, he is speaking of the *causes* which produced the change in the national faith; namely, "*the politics of princes and statesmen, the avarice of the nobility and gentry, and the irreligion and licentiousness of the people.*" And it is very certain that the *causes* of the Reformation must have been in existence before the Reformation itself. If, then, such was the fact—if the people were, as he describes them, irreligious and licentious—should not the Church of

Rome take the responsibility? And does not this very admission prove, though unwittingly, that there was abundant need of a thorough reformation?

And yet it is perfectly absurd to suppose that wicked princes, and an avaricious and unprincipled nobility, and a licentious people, would ever, of themselves, seek to exchange the yoke of Romanism for the doctrines of the Bible, because the priests of Rome were far more indulgent to moral iniquity than the Word of God, and therefore an alteration like this would never have been agreeable to the lovers of transgression. Hence it is obvious that the prevailing corruption could only be assigned as the cause of the Reformation in one way; and that is the very way which we assert, and which Milner could never have consistently admitted. We doubt not that the dreadful state of Christendom was operative, in the mercy of the Most High, who raised up the instruments for the work, and gave them success, in the face of difficulties and opposition. The author takes good care to pass by the irreligion and licentiousness of the priests and monks, which exposed them to the contempt and hatred of the people. He gives no place to the knowledge of the Scriptures, which had been translated into English by Wickliffe, more than a century before, and, through the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. and the whole of Edward's, had been allowed to be read without restraint. Light from the Word of God had thus become widely disseminated in many quarters. The doctrines of the Reformation were openly preached on the Continent, by Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, and their followers, and with a large measure of success. A multitude of hearts and minds in England were well prepared to receive them. And therefore, when the hand of Divine Providence had

opened the way, and raised up the instruments, the pure principles of religious truth were enabled to achieve the victory, not through the *policy of princes*, nor through the *licentiousness of the people*, but in despite of them.

L E T T E R V .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

It is an awful and deplorable fact, that ever since the fall of man, human depravity, urged by the artifices of Satan, has always succeeded in corrupting the religion of divine truth, so as to obscure the light of heavenly wisdom, and lead the most favored portions of our race into the darkest abuses of their privileges. Thus it was in the period of the patriarchs before the flood. The posterity of Seth were called the Sons of God. They became united to the daughters of men, and in the course of a few generations, all piety seems to have disappeared, with a very few exceptions, until the earth was filled with violence, and only Noah remained, a preacher of righteousness, while the deluge swept away the multitudes of the ungodly.

In due season the world is again replenished, the old proclivity begins to take its course towards idolatry, and the Lord, in mercy, calls Abraham away from his kindred, and places him by himself in Canaan, to be the father of a new and pure race of worshippers. In the lapse of time, his descendants depart into Egypt, and multiply into a nation. But they become degenerate, and adopt the idolatrous habits and notions of the heathen. God sends Moses to deliver them, and through this chosen instrument, they are instructed, guided, and governed, in the midst of signs and wonders, and under his successor, they achieve the con-

quest of Canaan. Yet after this, they relapse into pagan corruption and licentiousness. They are chastened and reclaimed, and rebel again. And through their long and eventful history, up to the captivity in Babylon, we see the same propensity to idolatrous worship, and its invariable companion, immorality. At length, they crucify the Son of God, and are delivered up to the terrible retribution by which their city, Jerusalem, is razed to its foundations, and the Jewish race becomes dispersed throughout the earth, as we see it to this day.

Now there is a wonderful similarity in all this, to the history of the Church, under the last, or Christian dispensation. The literal Israel was, in many respects, the type of the spiritual Israel; and the same sad tendency to decline from the truth of God, through a fondness for idolatry, accompanied by immorality and licentiousness, may be seen in both. The chosen people became infected, even at the period of their highest prosperity, through the marvellous inconsistency of Solomon himself, in building heathen altars to gratify his wives and concubines. And the consequence was a great schism in Israel, for the ten tribes revolted against Judah and Benjamin. Thus, too, the Church of Christ, after some centuries had passed away, borrowed the system of the heathen in the worship of the saints. And the schism between the Eastern and the Western Church was consummated. In the case of ancient Israel, we find that the priesthood became idolaters, dumb dogs, drunkards, avaricious, oppressive, not feeding their flocks, but devouring them. And in the Church, we shall see, by-and-by, the very same sins amongst the clergy. Yet still, the Lord did not utterly abandon Israel, but had always a few faithful hearts, even in the worst of times, who did not bow

the knee to Baal. Moreover, He kept them in mind of their iniquity by the rebukes of the prophets and others, and at no period did He suffer the prevailing corruption of the multitude to destroy entirely the succession of His true people, and the certainty of His promises. And in like manner, He did not abandon His Church, but when false doctrine, despotism, and superstition, were all triumphant, there were still some sincere and honest souls to continue His own pure truth, and the prevailing degeneracy was boldly reprov'd by many witnesses. Another point of striking coincidence may be noted in the fact, that when the Pharisees, who became the majority in ancient Israel, made void the law of God, they justified themselves by their traditions. And such was the very course followed by the Church for ages before the Reformation. Moreover, we find that Israel never openly abandoned the Word of divine truth, but only sinned by adding to it their own corrupt inventions ; just as the Church never gave up the true Gospel of Christ, but only transgressed by adopting new articles of faith and practice. Lastly, we see that idolatrous Israel killed the prophets, and stoned them who were sent unto her. And alas ! the Church became stained with the blood of many a martyr, only with the horrible improvement of the most refined cruelty, in the agony of studied torture, and the fearful death of flames.

I premise these remarks, before I enter upon the proof of the state of the Church previous to the Reformation, in order to show, that there is nothing in the fact of its dreadful corruption, which is not in perfect analogy with all the previous history of Israel. But there is yet another point of correspondence worthy of special attention. The degeneracy of Israel was especially foretold by Moses, in the

book of Deuteronomy; and the degeneracy of the Church was as plainly foretold by the Apostles. St. John saith that already, in his own time, there were many *Antichrists*. St. Jude warns the faithful against *false teachers* who were attendants upon the Christian feasts. St. Paul expressly declares that there should arise *men speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them*, that there would be *wolves in sheep's clothing, not sparing the flock*, that there should be a *falling away*, and that *the man of sin should come, sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself that he was God*. The last book in the Scriptures contains warnings to the Seven Churches of Asia, proving that some of them had begun to adulterate the faith. Afterwards we read a wonderful series of events, represented, indeed, by symbols and figures, but clearly showing that there would be a power rising up in dreadful hostility to all pure religion, that the true Church would be *driven into the wilderness*, and that her proper influence would be usurped by the *scarlet whore*, which is explained to be the *city sitting on seven hills*, that is, Rome, confessedly. And the result is set forth in the prevalence of iniquity, and in a fearful succession of wars and calamities, until the period of her final destruction at the second coming of the Saviour. Now it is abundantly manifest that all this would lead the candid reader of Scripture to expect precisely what has occurred in the experience of centuries. And therefore, in the condensed history of Church corruption which I shall proceed to place before you, we shall find nothing more than the fulfilment of prophecy. The facts which I shall notice will all be taken from your best authorities, Fleury, your celebrated ecclesiastical historian, the Fathers, and the collection of the Councils by the Jesuit Hardouin; and for every one of my

proofs, I shall cite the volume and page, with the most careful accuracy. The comments upon the facts are, of course, my own.

I make no apology for presenting this extended series of historical facts, as a necessary branch of knowledge for every man who seeks to understand aright the work of the Reformation. The physician who would deal successfully with a chronic disease, must acquaint himself with its origin and growth, through the previous years of its gradual and insidious progress. Much more should the intelligent inquirer into the course of our reformers be well informed concerning the rise and constant expansion of ecclesiastical corruption. And if I record only the evils and terrible abuses which mark your system of priestly and Papal usurpation, you will remember, I trust, that the nature of my task prescribes the track of duty. First, because the work of the English reformers, like that of the physician, was to eradicate the chronic diseases which had fastened upon the constitution of the Spouse of Christ, and therefore, in order to do justice to the reformers, a full knowledge of those diseases is a necessary preliminary. Secondly, because Milner's whole effort is to create the false impression that the Church was sound and healthy in the main, and labored under no disease which would not have cured itself, if it had been let alone. And thirdly, because, in answering a writer who deals in the most constant calumny and abuse of the English Reformation and all concerned in it, while he studiously keeps back the real principles which governed the great work, and, under Providence, crowned it with such success, there is no method so thorough and so fair as to place before the reader, from your own witnesses, the actual history of your Papal system, in its great practical

results, during the previous ages. Hence, this portion of my labor is imposed upon me by justice to our reformers, justice to the studied perversions of Milner, and justice to the goodness of God. For no man can be a proper judge of the subject, nor capable of estimating as he ought, the blessings of a pure faith and a true Christian morality, until he has a clear view of the progress and the strength of those accumulated corruptions, which had brought the Church to such a fearful state in the 16th century.

With these views, Most Reverend Sir, I have imposed upon myself a large amount of labor, which I would willingly have avoided, if I could. It may help to refresh your own memory, but I write rather with a view to benefit those who have no interest to serve save the establishment of truth. Let me ask, then, an attentive perusal of what I may properly style,

A BRIEF BUT AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF ECCLESIASTICAL CORRUPTION.

During the 1st century after the death of St. John, which is the second century of the Christian era, the Church, as a general rule, was pure in doctrine and in morals, simple in her worship, Scriptural in her teaching, and strict in her discipline. Tertullian speaks with confidence of the virtues of believers. He mentions the custom of using the sign of the cross,* but places the worship of the cross amongst the false accusations brought against Christians by the heathen.† He declares that they used no incense, except in the burial of the dead. He argues all questions of doctrine by appealing to Scripture, and tells the heretic to

* Fleury, Hist. Ecc. Tom. 2, p. 132.

† Ib. 22-35.

consult the sense of the Churches where the original epistles of the Apostles were still to be seen. And he boasts, with honest pride, of the purity and innocence of Christians.* Origen, fifty years later, complains of the neglect and inattention of his day, through the increase of worldliness, and lays down the rule that the ministry must prove everything from Scripture, not according to their private judgment, but by the sense of the Holy Spirit, comparing each passage with the rest.† Cyprian, about the same time, mourns over the progress of degeneracy, charges the Bishop of Rome with arrogance, and asserts his independence.‡ And Eusebius, towards the close of the 3d century, laments the corruption of the primitive morality in strong terms of censure.§

In the commencement of the 4th century, Constantine, the Emperor of Rome, became a Christian, the persecutions against the Church ceased, her Bishops became elevated in power and wealth, and the troubles of the Church were rapidly multiplied through internal strife, while the desire to facilitate the conversion of the heathen, whose nobility and people still clung to their ancient mythology, opened a wide door to the entrance of attractive pomp, and gainful superstition. The Church throughout the vast empire of Rome became divided into patriarchates and dioceses, the Bishop of Rome held a high place of honor, as being Bishop of the metropolis, and the claim of spiritual supremacy was advocated with vigor and address, although many ages elapsed before it was established. Strong efforts were made from time to time to enforce the rule of clerical celibacy, but Fleury acknowledges that the customs of the

* Fleury, Hist. Ecc. Tom. 2, p. 22-35.

† Ib. 159.

‡ Ib. 176, 313.

§ Ib. 436.

Churches were various upon that point, and that the attempt made in favor of it at the Council of Nice was victoriously repelled.* The institute of Monachism was introduced to the favor of the Church mainly by the influence of Athanasius; yet your historian truly saith, that in the year 341 the profession of a monk was despised at Rome as a novelty.† The image of the Saviour was sometimes set up, but only in the sacristy, and no adoration was paid to it.‡ The Liturgy called by the name of St. Basil shows that the Virgin Mary and the saints were not the *objects*, but the *subjects* of prayer; § for there the communicants offered their supplications, not *to* the departed saints, but *for* them, and the Virgin is named particularly, plainly proving that the Church then believed her to be with the rest of the faithful dead, in the place of departed spirits, instead of supposing, as in after ages, that she was the queen of heaven, and exalted to the throne of God. The doctrine of the Church, too, remained pure, so far as concerned the great points of Christian truth. But yet superstition was rapidly advancing, and the complaints of priestly corruption and general licentiousness were on the increase. The election of Pope Damasus was the occasion of a public riot, in which his partisans besieged the Church where the friends of the other candidate were assembled, broke down the doors, and uncovered the roof, and in the shameful battle that ensued, one hundred and thirty-seven persons were slain, of both sexes. || The splendor of the Roman Bishops had grown so rapidly, that the heathen historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, pronounced the Episcopal style of living

* Fleury, Hist. Ecc. Tom. 3, p. 125.

† Ib. 283.

‡ Ib. Tom. 4, p. 46.

§ St. Basil, op. Tom. 3.

|| Ib. Tom. 4, p. 153.

to be superior to that of a king.* The Emperor Valentinian, about the year 366, ordered that the Pope, with his colleagues, should examine the causes of the other Bishops,† which was the real commencement of the appellate authority so confidently claimed for the Roman See. Towards the close of the 4th century, Chrysostom defended the new system of monkery, on the ground that Christians had become so corrupt, especially in the large cities.‡ Jerome, before him, had bitterly complained of the prevailing degeneracy, and became a monk in order to escape from it. St. Augustin lamented that many Christians in his day (about A. D. 389) were superstitious; that they adored the sepulchres and pictures of the saints, and ate and drank to excess at funerals, under the excuse that it was an act of religion.§ He further recorded the fact, that the Church was becoming full of human inventions.|| But there was no compulsion in the keeping of the monastic vows, and the Church employed neither force nor persecution.¶ The Casuists treated every question of doctrine by the authority of Scripture.** There were no lighted candles by day in the churches.†† And although the respect paid to relics and martyrs had attained a high degree of extravagance, yet Augustin and all the other great names of that age maintained the true Gospel doctrine that God alone was to be adored, and that there is but one Mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ.‡‡

The fifth century was not likely to improve the state of

* Fleury, Tom. 4, p. 154.

† Ib. 577.

‡ Ib. Tom. 5. p. 114.

** Ib.

†† Ib. 398.

† Ib. 154.

§ Ib. 600.

¶ Ib. 303.

‡‡ Ib. 277.

the Church, but on the contrary, it witnessed a rapid deterioration. The testimony of Salvian is set forth by Fleury, proving that among the Roman Christians there was much heathen idolatry remaining; that the greater part were only Christians in name, and worse than the barbarians in life and conversation.* The Council of Constantinople declared, that as the Fathers gave the first rank to the See of Rome because it was the mistress city, therefore Constantinople should have the same privileges, as it was the residence of the emperor and the Senate. But to this the Pope would by no means consent, insisting that the Council of Nice had acknowledged his authority, and that the Nicene Canons could not be abrogated by any other.† And now began the contest of ambition between the rival Bishops of Rome and Constantinople, which finally ended in the great schism of the 9th century. Monachism increased rapidly. Superstitions multiplied, and the primitive purity and peace of the Church were fast disappearing from the cities and towns, and could only be found in retreats and solitudes.

In the sixth century, towards the close, we see Pope Gregory the Great attributing all the public calamities to the ambition of the Bishops, "who concealed the teeth of wolves under the face of sheep."‡ This pontiff rebuked with great force the claims of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had taken the title of Universal Bishop, and contended that his own See was the See of Peter, to whom the Saviour Himself had given the primacy. The custom of image worship was growing in the Church, and Serenus, the Bishop of Marseilles, indignant at the idolatry of the

* Fleury, Tom. 6, p. 219.

† *Ib.* 428.‡ *Ib.* Tom. 8, p. 84.

people, caused the images to be taken away and broken to pieces. For this Gregory rebuked him, but nevertheless he only pleaded that the images should be used as memorials of the actions of the saints, and approved the zeal of Serenus in preventing the people from performing any act of worship to them.*

The seventh century exhibits the Bishops of Spain taking part in the temporal government of the kingdom along with the nobles.† And we begin to see the fruits of clerical celibacy in the rule established by the Council of Toledo, that the illegitimate children of the clergy, from the Bishop down to the subdeacon, should be slaves in the Church where their fathers served.‡ It is to be presumed that this canon was intended to discourage and amend the incontinence of the clergy, but the adoption of such an extraordinary law proves plainly the prevalence of the evil. So general had the worldliness of the clergy become, that in the latter part of this century, the most eminent Bishops of France took great part in political matters, and in time of war marched at the head of their troops, like the lay barons.§

Towards the close of this century, A. D. 682, the first instance occurs of a Council of Bishops undertaking to absolve the subjects of a king from their allegiance, on the pretext of penance. But the example, once given, passed into the hands of the Popes in due season.|| The year 680 was marked by the first instance of saints being invoked, in order to be freed from the plague.¶ St. Sebastian's relics were carried from Rome, an altar was erected in his

* Fleury, Tom. 8, p. 125.

† Ib. 448.

|| Ib. Tom. 9, p. 71.

‡ Ib.

§ Ib. 535.

¶ Ib. 89.

honor, and as the pestilence ceased soon after, the saint received all the credit, and superstition advanced with greater speed than ever, in the worship of the saints and their images.

The 8th century was made memorable by the effort of the Emperor Leo to put down this image worship, and tumults and insurrections in many places were the consequence. In A. D. 741, Pope Gregory offered to withdraw his allegiance from the emperor, and give Charles Martel the Consulate of Rome, if he would deliver the city from the Lombards. The plan did not immediately succeed. But after the death of both the parties, Pepin, the son of Charles, Mayor of the Palace to the King of France, consulted Pope Zachary on the propriety of deposing his royal master, Childeric, and the pontiff gave him the counsel he desired, on the strength of which Pepin mounted the throne in A. D. 752. The successor of Zachary, Pope Stephen, two years afterwards, renewed the application for defence against the Lombards in person. Pepin, sensible that the authority of the Pope was his best title to the throne, granted his request, conquered the Lombards, and relieved Rome. But in order to secure the monarch's efforts most effectually, the Pope imposed upon his credulity a letter purporting to be written by St. Peter himself, promising him prosperity and success, with the final blessing of salvation, if he became the protector of Rome, and threatening him with everlasting fire if he refused.* The result was, that the king not only expelled the Lombards, but made a donation of Rome, together with twenty-two small cities, to St. Peter, to the Church, and to the Popes, in per-

* Fleury, Tom. 9, p. 350-353.

petuity. Thus was a beginning made to the Papal temporal sovereignty ; but it was effected by a double treason, one of the Pope against his sovereign, the emperor, and the other by Pepin against his sovereign, Childeric, to say nothing of the impious fraud of the pontiff in the pretended letter of St. Peter.

The next event which I shall notice was the institute of Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, who established a kind of monastic rule for his priests, in which Confession was commanded for the first time in the history of the Church ; and the concealment of any sin, or seeking to confess to any but the Bishop, was to be punished by scourging and imprisonment. This step of spiritual tyranny was taken in A. D. 763.*

In A. D. 768, King Pepin ordered tithes to be paid to the clergy by all. Before this, the tithe was enjoined, but not compelled, just as it was in the case of ancient Israel.† The state of education was such, that the son of Pepin, the famous Charlemagne, did not know how to write his name, but used a cross or a cipher for his signature.‡ To mark the progress of superstition, it may be observed, that S. Ambrose Autpert, one of the most learned and eminent divines of France, would not express any opinion as to whether the Virgin was raised up to heaven in her body or her soul.§ It was reserved for a later age to invent, and to celebrate by an authoritative yearly festival, the fable of her assumption. But one of the most important events of the eighth century was the forgery of the Decretals, by which all the primitive Bishops of Rome, from Clement to Silvester, were made to utter the most extravagant doctrines

* Fleury, Tom. 9, p. 390.

† Ib. 433.

‡ Ib. 416.

§ Ib. 434.

concerning the power of the Pope, the supremacy of Rome, and the authority to judge the other Bishops, while the Pope himself could be judged by none. Yet such was the ignorance of the times, that this forgery was successful throughout the whole Latin Church, and remained unquestioned for eight hundred years together.* Another strong proof of this prevailing ignorance is found in the course of the Bishops at the second Council of Nice, where pretended miracles, performed by images, were cited from false documents, without any suspicion of mistake.† It was this Council which decreed in favor of the worship of images, A. D. 787, after several other Councils had decided against it. The capitular of the distinguished Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, expressly forbade private or solitary masses,‡ and in this respect, it only laid down the ordinary rule of the time. But the very contrary became the practice of the Church long afterwards, and solitary masses still continue in the Church of Rome to be a large source of gain to the clergy. By the capitular of Charlemagne, in A. D. 790, the convents of nuns were ordered to be closed, and they were forbidden to write billets of gallantry. The baptism of bells was also prohibited,§ but subsequently this became one of the standing ceremonies of Rome, and remains to this day.

The opening of the ninth century exhibits the Church throughout the dominions of Charlemagne, rejecting the second Council of Nice, and pronouncing against the worship of images,|| in the Council of Frankfort; but this abuse also became universal. The Parliament of Worms pre-

* Fleury, Tom. 9, p. 458.

† Ib. 487-8.

‡ Ib. 459.

§ Ib. 520.

|| Ib. 523.

sented to the emperor a request from all the people, that the Bishops should no longer go out at the head of their troops, but should stay in their dioceses, and assist the army by their prayers. And Charlemagne willingly granted the petition.* But it is remarkable that this application came not from the clergy, but from the laity. And it was so little regarded afterwards, that we shall find some warlike Bishops even amongst the Popes themselves. This same emperor endeavored, with great zeal, to purify the morals of the clergy; and his reproofs of their worldliness, their avarice, and their prostitution of sacred things for the sake of gain, are remarkable monuments of his own good sense, and of the corruption which infested the Church in the ninth century.† After his death, which occurred in A. D. 814, some Churches invoked him as a saint, notwithstanding he had four wives and five concubines.‡ It is a sad proof of the low state of monastic piety in his time, that at the monastery at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was the favorite royal residence, the refractory monks were ordered to be punished by the whip, naked.§ The first prominent appearance of purgatory is in this century. A certain monk in France, named Vetin, or Guetin, had a dream, in which he said that an angel showed him the souls of the departed, tormented in a river of fire, amongst whom he recognized many of his former acquaintances. There were Bishops and priests, and women whom they had abused; and the angel said to him, "The majority of Bishops seek temporal interests, apply themselves to the affairs of court, and take pride in the magnificence of their apparel and their tables, without caring for the salvation of souls. They even

* Fleury, Tom. 10, p. 48.

† Ib. 145

‡ Ib. 103.

§ Ib. 183.

abandon themselves to pleasure and debauchery, and thus become incapable of interceding for others.”* The monk died two days after this dream, and the narrative was forthwith written in prose and in verse, and circulated far and wide among the clergy.† The rage for relics rose so high that some used fraud and artifice to steal them from their possessors, and a large amount of legends were prepared in honor of the saints to whom they were supposed to belong.‡ The Parliament of Aix-la-Chapelle, under the Emperor Louis, held an assembly in A. D. 828, in which the corruption of the clergy was much complained of, and four Councils of the Church were ordered to be held at different places, for the purpose of rectifying them.§ The year 844 was signalized by the introduction of false relics at Dijon, in France, by which, nevertheless, several remarkable cures were supposed to have been effected, until the fraud was discovered; but the proceedings show that such impostures were common.|| In A. D. 850, a poor presbyter named Gotheschalk, who had adopted high views on predestination, was not only deposed from the priesthood, but afterwards publicly whipped, as an incorrigible heretic, and cast into prison, where he died, after eighteen years’ confinement. Yet his doctrine was defended by other Bishops of high reputation, and his punishment was denounced as cruel and unjust.¶ The capitular of Hincmar, a very eminent Bishop of France, in A. D. 852, directs holy water to be sprinkled on the people, the houses, the cattle, and the food of men and beasts.** In A. D. 853, it was declared that

* Fleury, Tom. 10, p. 227.

† Ib. 255.

|| Ib. 373, &c.

** Ib. 462.

† Ib. 228-9.

§ Ib. 268-9.

¶ Ib. 460.

there were three times as many priests in Rome as were necessary.* The festival of the Assumption of the Virgin was firmly established, and Pope Leo IV. added the Octave, to invest it with the greater dignity.† From the proceedings of a Council held at Savonieres, in France, it appears that the king, Charles the Bald, admitted the power of the Bishops to depose him, and such seems to have been the general opinion of the time.‡ The doctrine of Paschase on the Eucharist, which maintained the present dogma of transubstantiation, was written a few years before, and was opposed by the famous John Scotus.§ It was also combated, A. D. 859, by a famous work of Ratram, who held that the body of Christ in the sacrament was not the real body of Christ which suffered on the cross, but a spiritual body. Yet both these authors lived and died in the communion of the Church.|| This clearly proves that transubstantiation was not the settled faith as yet, but was only making its way to the acceptance of the clergy. In A. D. 864, a violent outrage took place at Rome, in which Gonthier, the Archbishop of Cologne, protesting against the judgment of Pope Nicholas, told his brother Hilduin, who was a priest, to place his protestation on the tomb of St. Peter—that is, upon the altar of the Church. Accordingly, Hilduin entered into the Church with several followers, all armed; and as the keepers opposed him, he repulsed them with blows, and killed one of them upon the spot. He then accomplished his purpose, and retreated, sword in hand.¶ The anecdote is only of importance as a proof of the spirit of the age. The first instance of a par-

* Fleury, Tom. 10, p. 481.

† Ib. 536-7.

‡ Ib. 548.

† Ib. 502.

§ Ib. 544.

¶ Ib. Tom. 11, p. 74.

tial interdict occurs in A. D. 871.* The ordeals of boiling water, cold water, and red-hot iron, were employed in this age to determine questions of justice, under the auspices of the priests; and even the kings employed them, with all faith and confidence.† The Duke of Naples had formed an alliance with the Saracens, which the Pope disapproved; and as he refused to break it on the order of the pontiff, he was excommunicated. The Bishop Athanasius, who was the duke's own brother, took him and put out his eyes, sent him as prisoner to Rome, and caused himself to be proclaimed Duke of Naples, in his place. The Pope approved this conduct highly, and praised the Bishop for loving God more than his brother, and for putting out the right eye which had offended, according to the Scripture! This pontiff was John VIII., and the time was A. D. 877.‡ The following year, the Pope dictated the Canons of the Council of Troyes, in which it was decreed that the secular powers should treat the Bishops with all sorts of respect, and that no layman should presume to sit down in their presence, unless they ordered him.§ It was the general rule that the Bishops should furnish their quota of troops in war, like the lay-barons; and the treatise of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, reckoned this amongst the positive duties of the Episcopate.|| So great were the disorders of the Bishops, that a Council held at Mayence, A. D. 888, attributes to their sins all the evils of the time.¶ And one of the canons of the same Council forbids the priests to have any female lodging in the same house, however nearly related, because cases had occurred amongst them

* Fleury, Tom. 11, p. 305.

† Ib. 375.

‡ Ib. 466.

† Ib. 359.

§ Ib. 385.

¶ Ib. 501.

of the most shocking incest.* Such was the prevailing ignorance in England, that King Alfred could find very few who understood the most common prayers, or could translate the Latin into their mother tongue.† He exerted himself nobly in favor of education, but the clergy cared little about sustaining the effort. "I have seen everywhere through England," saith the king, "churches well furnished with books, but the ecclesiastics derived no profit, because they did not understand them."‡ Pope Stephen VI. held a Council A. D. 896, and condemned his predecessor, Formosus. He then caused the dead body to be disinterred placed it in the pontifical chair, clothed in the ecclesiastical ornaments, and appointed an advocate to answer in its name. When all was prepared, he addressed the corpse, as if it were living. "Thou Bishop of Porto," saith he, "why hast thou carried thine ambition to the point of usurping the See of Rome?" Then, pronouncing his condemnation, the sacred habits were stripped from the dead body, three fingers were first cut off, and afterwards the head; and the corpse, thus maimed, was thrown into the Tiber. But soon afterwards this violence was avenged, for the Pope was put into prison, laden with fetters, and strangled.§ A Council held under his successor published a declaration, strongly stating their abhorrence of the act. And they decreed that in future, no Pope should be consecrated without the approbation of the emperor, *according to the canons and the custom*; and moreover, that the person elected should be chosen by the *Bishops and the clergy, upon the demand of the Senate and the people*. In process of time, all this, too, was changed. And ten years later, Pope Sergius III. openly

* Fleury, Tom. 11, p. 502.

† Ib. 514.

‡ Ib. 513.

§ Ib. 543.

approved the barbarity of Stephen, transferred his remains to an honorable tomb, and placed upon it a flattering epitaph.*

This brings us to the tenth century. Pope Sergius III. was entirely governed by his mistress, the infamous Theodora. She had two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, who were yet more vile and depraved. Marozia had a son by the Pope, who was afterwards Pope himself; and such was the state of the Church, that those horrible crimes were endured without any attempt of discipline.† At a Council held in France, A. D. 909, Hervey, the Archbishop, complains bitterly of the prevailing degeneracy. "We bear the name of Bishops," saith he, "but we do not perform the duties. We neglect preaching; we see those who are committed to us abandon God and wallow in vice without reproving them; and if we rebuke them, they charge us, in the words of the Gospel, with laying on them burdens grievous to be borne, while we will not touch them with one of our fingers. Let us ask ourselves, what sinner has ever been converted by our discourse? Who has renounced his debauchery, his avarice, and his pride, at our exhortation?" Afterwards the same honest tongue proceeds to deplore the sad condition of the monasteries. "The monks forget," saith he, "the sanctity of their profession. * * * We see in the monasteries consecrated to God, abbots who are like laymen, with their wives, their children, their soldiers, and their dogs. How shall such abbots cause the rules to be observed, which they do not even know how to read? And yet they pretend to judge the conduct of priests and monks."‡ In A. D. 912, John X., the illegitimate son

* Fleury, Tom. 11, p. 570-1.

† Ib. 571.

‡ Ib. 577-8.

of Pope Sergius, and the paramour of Theodora the younger, was elected Pope, by the influence of his infamous mother, and held the See of Rome for more than fourteen years. There was another Pope, named Octavian, who was elected A. D. 954, at the age of eighteen years, and took the name of John XII., being the first instance of adopting a new name as the Papal title. This, however, afterwards became the prevailing custom. The commencement of his administration was rather in the character of a temporal warrior, for he raised an army, and marched against Pandolf, Prince of Capua. But the young pontiff was resisted successfully, and soon afterwards asked for peace.* The letters of Alton, Bishop of Verciel, show a most degraded state of the clergy, especially in the matter of incontinence. Many of them kept their concubines publicly. In order to support their illegitimate families, they became avaricious, usurers, robbers, and cheats. And the people, disgusted, would not pay their tithes and offerings, so that the clergy often had hardly any subsistence.† The same writer complains of the abuse of Bishops, being compelled to submit their causes to the duel,‡ and of the custom of great men, who educated their children for the Episcopate, and had them consecrated so young as to make the service a mere mockery. “They interrogate the poor boy,” saith he, “on certain Articles which he has learned by heart, or which he reads trembling from a paper, more from the fear of being whipped than for any desire for the Episcopate. Those who put the questions know very well that he does not understand what he is saying, and they do it, not in order to examine him, but to observe the canonical forms, and in-

* Fleury, Tom. 12, p. 94.

† Ib. 108.

‡ Ib. 110.

sure the fraud by the appearance of truth. And these Bishops, thus consecrated against the rule, are also accused without respect, oppressed unjustly, driven off by perfidy, and sometimes put cruelly to death.”* The year 963 was marked by a Council, held in the presence of the Emperor Otho, against Pope John XII. He was accused of ordaining Bishops for money; of having abused several women, one of whom had been the concubine of his own father; of having converted the pontifical palace into a sink of debauchery; of having put out the eyes of his spiritual parent, Benedict; of having killed John, a Cardinal subdeacon, by castration; of having drunk wine to the health of the devil; with other matters equally abominable.† The Pope refused to appear, however, and set the Council at defiance. And they proceeded to depose him, and to elect Leo VIII. as his successor, who was consecrated accordingly, with the approbation of the emperor. But three months afterwards John XII. entered Rome again, drove out Leo, cut off the right hand of one of his accusers, and the tongue, the nose, and two fingers of another, and immediately assembled a Council, consisting of the same men who had deposed him but a little while before. And this new Council at once consented to depose the new Pope, and all who had assisted in his elevation, themselves included. Which being done, he pardoned them, and restored them to the rank which their unprincipled and base subserviency disgraced. But such a Pope was well matched with such Bishops.‡ In a few months more, while he was pursuing his favorite pleasures at night with a married woman, he received a violent blow on the temple, of which he died eight days

* Fleury, Tom. 12, p. 112.

† *Ib.* 124.‡ *Ib.* 130-2.

after. And the Romans, instead of recalling Leo, elected Benedict V., and involved themselves in a war with Otho.* Rome was besieged and taken by the emperor. Leo VIII. was re-established, and Benedict sent into banishment.†

* The year 969 was marked by a Council held in England, under Archbishop Dunstan, where Edgar, the king, made an oration, in which he thus describes the condition of the clergy: "Their lasciviousness of dress," saith the monarch, "their insolence in gesture, their shamelessness in speech, betray the madness of their inner man. How great is their negligence in the sacred offices, when they come to the solemn mass itself to play and laugh, rather than to chant! How profuse are they in drunkenness, and chambering, and wantonness, so that the house of a clergyman might be thought a little assembly of players and prostitutes! There are the dice of the gamester, there are dancing and singing, protracted until midnight, with clamor and noise. And it is thus that the revenues of the poor and the patrimony of kings are lavished on licentiousness."‡

In A. D. 972, after the death of Pope John XIII., the Romans elected Benedict VI., who held the See eighteen months. But becoming odious, he was seized by Crescentius, son of the infamous Theodora, and Pope John X., and imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo. They then proceeded to appoint, as his successor, (though he had neither resigned nor been deposed,) Francon, a deacon of the Church of Rome, who took the name of Boniface VII., and Benedict VI. was soon afterwards strangled in his prison. Boniface VII. was next chased away, and he fled for

* Fleury, Tom. 12, p. 133.

† Ib. 134.

‡ Hard. Concilia, Tom. 6, P. 1, p. 654-5. See also Fleury, Tom. 12, p. 168.

refuge to Constantinople. Finally, they elected Benedict VII., and he continued in his office eight years and a half.* Such were the wretched disorders of that Romish See, which claimed to be the "mother and mistress" of all the Churches!

We next read, about the year 974, the complaints of Rathier, Bishop of Verona, against the morals of the clergy. "Scarcely can we find any one," saith he, "worthy to be elected a Bishop, or to lay hands on him who is elected. Not being willing to renounce this vice of incontinence, they count the rest for nothing, and hence it is, that of all baptized nations, the Italians are the most accustomed to despise the Canons, because they are the most lascivious, and encourage this vice by stimulating food and excess of wine; so that the clergy are only distinguished from the laity in this, that they shave their beard and the crown of the head, and perform a certain service at the Church to please men rather than God."† This same honest and bold censor tells his clergy that he could not hold a Synod without embarrassment. For he beheld amongst them bigamists, fornicators, conspirators, perjured men, drunkards, and usurers. "In a word," saith he, "the cause of the destruction of all my people is the clergy. For how can I dare in my Synod to reprove a layman for adultery, for perjury, or any other crime, while I suffer it in the ecclesiastics?" With respect to the ignorance of the priests, the Bishop uses very plain language. "I questioned them," saith he, "on their belief, and I found many among them who did not even know the Apostles' Creed."‡ Thus we see that, notwithstanding the prevalent iniquity and disor-

* Fleury, Tom. 12, p. 177.

† Ib. 191.

‡ Ib. 192.

ders of the Papacy, there were some who boldly spake the truth. In the same honest spirit, Arnoul, the Bishop of Orleans, addressed a Council, in A. D. 991: "Why do they put into the first See a man who could not deserve the lowest place among the clergy? What, think you, should such an one be, seated on an elevated throne, and shining in the gold and purple with which he is clothed? If he be destitute of charity, and only inflated by science, he is an *antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself as if he were God*."* Here is the very language of the reformers, from the mouth of an approved and venerable Bishop, (for such Fleury calls him expressly,†) in the tenth century.

In A. D. 993, we meet with the first instance of the Pope canonizing a saint, in order that the Church "might be aided by his prayers and by his merits." The Pope was John XV., and the saint was Udalric, the Bishop of Augsburg, who had died twenty years before.‡

The year 997 was distinguished by the expulsion of Pope Gregory V. from Rome, and the setting up of a rival, who took the name of John XVI. The emperor, however, espoused the cause of Gregory, and led him with an army to Rome. The usurper, John, fled, but was taken by some servants of the emperor, who cut off his tongue and his nose, put out his eyes, and in that state thrust him into prison.§ Pope Gregory, not content with all that his rival had suffered, caused him to be paraded through all the streets of the city, clothed in the torn habit of a priest, and mounted on an ass, with his back towards the head of the

* Fleury, Tom, 12, p. 262.

† Ib. 275.

‡ Ib. 265.

Ib. 312.

animal, and holding its tail in his hands, as an object of public derision.*

There was a famous saint in those days called Nilus, whom the Princess of Gaëta was very desirous to see and converse with, and her husband, the prince, sent him word that they proposed to visit him. The answer of the saint to the messenger was in these terms: "For God's sake have compassion on me. When I was in the world, I was troubled with a devil. I have been cured since I have been a monk; but if I see a woman, the devil immediately returns to torment me."† Such stuff as this passed as a sign of superior sanctity!

The eleventh century presents us with a brief statement of some heretics who were condemned by the Archbishop of Ravenna, and punished by the sword or by the stake.‡ In A. D. 1020, Pope Benedict VIII. presided at the Council of Pavia. At the opening of this Council, the pontiff delivered a long discourse, in which he declared that the licentious lives of the clergy dishonored the Church, and that they dissipated the large revenues received from the liberality of princes, in publicly supporting their concubines and enriching their children. He decides that the clergy should not be allowed to have either wife or concubine; that the contrary doctrine is the heresy of Jovinian; and that the children of the clergy shall all be accounted the serfs of the Church, whether their mother be a free or a bond-woman.§

In A. D. 1022, several heretics were burned alive in France.|| This had become the general rule for a con-

* Fleury, Tom. 12, p. 314.

† Ib. 316.

‡ Ib. 363.

§ Ib. 404-5.

|| Ib. 421.

siderable period throughout Europe. The year 1033 was marked by the election of Pope Benedict IX., a boy of twelve years old, who occupied the See more than eleven years, and dishonored it by a life of infamy. His appointment was the result of bribery, and thus the sin of Simony was added to the rest.* In the twelfth year of Benedict's pontificate, however, the Romans, unable any longer to endure the rapines and murders which he committed, expelled him, and put into his place Silvester III., who had hardly held his seat three months, when Benedict IX. repossessed himself by the aid of his powerful family, and continued his scandalous course, until he found himself so despised by both clergy and people, that he consented to retire, and yield the pontificate to John Gratian, for the sum of fifteen hundred livres.† The state of Rome at the accession of Gratian, who took the name of Gregory VI., was most deplorable. Throughout all Italy the roads were so full of robbers, that the pilgrims could not travel in safety, unless they were strong enough in numbers to protect themselves. In the city, every place was full of thieves and assassins. They drew their swords even at the altars of the Apostles, seized the offerings as soon as they were placed upon them, and spent the amount in feasts, and in the company of prostitutes.‡

There were now three Popes in the field, for Silvester III. and Benedict IX. still kept up their claims against Gregory VI., whom they accused of having obtained the office by Simony.§

To such an extent had corruption gone, that at length a Council was convened at Rheims, A. D. 1049, the Pope

* Fleury, Tom. 12, p. 501.

† Ib. 532.

‡ Ib. 527.

§ Ib. 533.

himself presiding, for the avowed purpose of "reforming the Church in morals and discipline." (*Concilium Remense, pro disciplina et moribus Ecclesiæ reformandis celebratum.*) And here the clergy were charged, by some among themselves, with Simony, with living in disuse of their habits and their duties, with going into the ranks of the military, with robberies, with unjust seizure of the poor, with unnatural lusts, and with many heresies.*

Another Council assembled, about the same time, for the same purpose, at Mayence, bearing this title: *Concilium Moguntinum XLII. Episcoporum, contra Simoniam aliave vitia Cleri celebratum*;† and a third, viz.: *Concilium Coyacense pro reformandis moribus Ecclesiæ in diocesi Ovetense*, was held, with the same avowed object, by Ferdinand, King of Castile, in A. D. 1050.‡

In A. D. 1053, Pope Leo IX. led an army against the Normans, who had taken possession, as he alleged, of the property of the Church. A bloody battle was fought, and the pontiff's troops being defeated, he was taken prisoner, and detained nearly a year, being obliged at last to absolve the Normans from the excommunication which he had fulminated against them.§

In the year 1059, at a Council in Rome, Pope Nicholas II. had the new plan introduced of electing a Pope by the Cardinal Bishops in the first place, after which the Cardinal priests and deacons should be called, and finally the rest of the clergy and the people, to give their consent.|| This was designed to guard against the violent and disor-

* Hard. Con., Tom. 5, p. 1002.

† Ib. 1009.

‡ Ib. 1025.

§ Fleury, Tom. 12, p. 597-8.

|| Fleury, Tom. 13, p. 63.

derly elections of former times ; but it did not prevent, as we shall see, an abundance of distraction.

The famous Peter Damien, Bishop of Ostia, addressed to the Pope, A. D. 1059, a remonstrance in favor of clerical celibacy, in which he used these words : " In a conference lately held with certain Bishops, by your order, I desired to convince them of the necessity of continence among ecclesiastics, but I could not draw from them any positive promise : First, because they despaired of being able to attain to the perfection of this virtue ; and next, because they were not afraid of being punished for incontinence by the judgment of a Council. The Church of Rome is accustomed, in our time, to dissemble this sort of sins, on account of the reproach against the secular clergy. This conduct might be supportable if it were a hidden evil ; but it is so public, that all the people know the places of debauchery, the names of the concubines, and their parents ; they see the messages and presents passing ; they hear the bursts of laughter ; they are acquainted with the secret interviews. In fine, it is impossible to hide the pregnancy of the women, and the cries of children. Thus it is not just to excuse those who, instead of punishing, tolerate sinners so open to censure."*

Along with this prevalence of lasciviousness and all other sins amongst the secular clergy, we find the most astonishing mortification and superstition amongst the monks. Thus, St. Dominic, the Cuirassier, as he was called, who lived in the eleventh century, derived his surname from an iron cuirass, which he wore continually next his flesh for penance. He scarcely passed a day without reciting the

* Fleury, Tom. 13, p. 76.

whole Psalter twice at least, and occasionally twelve times, scourging himself the whole time, with rods in both hands, on his naked body, after which the iron cuirass was replaced as before.* “It was not, however, for himself only that Dominic used this discipline, but to discharge the penances of others. For the doctrine then in vogue was, that they were obliged to accomplish, for each sin, the penance marked in the Canons; so that if ten years were allotted for a homicide, he who had committed twenty, owed two hundred years of penance. And as it was impossible to discharge this, they had found means to compound it. Thus, Peter Damien saith that he had learned from Dominic how they discharged a hundred years of penance by twenty Psalters, accompanied by discipline. For three thousand blows of the scourge were worth a year of penance, and a thousand blows were given during ten psalms; hence, the one hundred and fifty psalms were equal to five years of penance, and the twenty Psalters were equal to one hundred. Dominic accomplished this penance of a hundred years easily in six days, and thus discharged the sinners.”† It was little wonder that men were encouraged to sin, when it was so easy to find enthusiastic visionaries to undertake its discharge for them. But the wonder is, how they could ever imagine that the blows of a scourge on the back of one, would be received as an equivalent for repentance and holiness on the part of another. It seems to have grown out of a very wild idea of imitating Christ, who bore our sins in his own body on the cross, and by whose stripes we are healed. They forgot, however, that in His vicarious atonement, there were four elements to which

* Fleury, Tom. 13, p. 96-7.

† *Ib.* 100.

they could make no claim. First, He was God as well as man ; secondly, He was Himself perfectly sinless and pure ; thirdly, His sufferings were endured by the merciful appointment of His Father ; and fourthly, even this stupendous sacrifice could profit no one, unless he was truly repentant, and resolved, by the grace of the Divine Spirit, to seek after that holiness without which no man can see the Lord. It was, therefore, an instance of wonderful presumption that those monkish dreamers should have undertaken to attribute an effect resembling that of Christ's atonement, though on a smaller scale, to their self-imposed inflictions. And yet the boasted saints of the Church of Rome are all indebted for their pre-eminence to the supposed virtue of this kind of mortification. Fleury himself, however, condemns it, and states that he could find no example of it previous to the eleventh century.*

Our historian sets down the Little Office of the Virgin as having been introduced about this time, viz., after the close of the tenth century. And he frankly admits that it would have been better had the Church adhered to the wise institutions of the ancients.†

Another evil is incidentally noted in A. D. 1062, viz., "that the priests had already introduced the bad custom of not baptizing *gratis*."‡

The church at Goslar, in Saxony, was the scene of a shocking outrage, in A. D. 1063, about a mere point of precedence between the Abbot of Fulda and the Bishop of Hildesheim, at the vesper service on the day of Pentecost, or Whitsunday. The Bishop posted an armed body of his friends behind the altar, and expelled by force the adherents

* Fleury, Tom. 13, p. 102.

† Ib. 105.

‡ Ib. 108.

of the abbot. These, however, were reinforced by their comrades, and rushed back into the church while the clergy were chanting, and there commenced a furious combat, in which much blood was spilt, and men were massacred even upon the altar. The Bishop, standing in an elevated place, exhorted his followers not to be restrained by respect for the church, as they were acting by his order. The youthful king, who was present, cried out that the combatants should desist, but no one listened to him. The men of the abbot were again driven out, and again rallied on the outside of the church, and only night at last put an end to the slaughter. And yet this outrageous conduct of the Bishop was suffered to pass unpunished, through the influence of his friends, and the poor abbot, on whom they cast all the blame, only saved himself by force of money.*

The year 1073 was signalized by the election of the famous Hildebrand, who took the name of Gregory VII. One of his first acts was to claim the feudal lordship of Spain, as having properly belonged, in ancient times, to St. Peter.† Philip, the King of France, was greatly censured for Simony, and Gregory threatens that unless the monarch renounced it, he would strike the French with a general anathema, and they should either renounce their allegiance to him, or renounce Christianity.‡ Henry, King of Germany, had been excommunicated for the same offence—a very common one in those days—of selling ecclesiastical dignities for money. And the Pope was resolved to claim the right of investiture over all Bishops, which had previously belonged to kings, and to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, which was not regarded at all in Germany. His

* Fleury, Tom. 13, p. 133-4.

† Ib. 243.

‡ Ib. 249.

decree for this purpose was resisted with clamor, and pronounced to be a manifest heresy and an absurd doctrine, requiring men to live like angels, and contrary to the words of Christ and St. Paul.* But Gregory engaged the Dukes of Suabia and Carinthia in his interests, and was determined to employ force, if persuasion would not prevail.† The historian remarks that the Pope acknowledged the novelty of this plan, to make the clergy observe the Canons by force of the secular arm, but that he thought it was necessary in those unhappy times.‡

The Emperor Henry paid no serious attention to the pontiff's warnings; but as Gregory's extraordinary vigor in his new course raised the resentment of his Bishops and clergy, as well as his own, he held an assembly at Worms, where the Pope was deposed; and the emperor sent a special messenger to Rome, with letters to the Pope and the Romans, requiring Gregory to vacate the See immediately, and informing the clergy and people that Henry would come and assist them to choose a worthy successor. In return, however, the Pope pronounced an anathema against the emperor, and a sentence of deposition from his throne, which Gregory delivered in presence of his Council, and in the new form of a solemn address to St. Peter. This was the first time that a Pope had undertaken to declare such a sentence, and the whole empire was thrown into astonishment and indignation.§ Two parties were formed throughout Europe, the one insisting that the clergy at Worms had no right to depose the Pope, and the other saying that the Pope had no right to depose the emperor.||

* Fleury, Tom. 13, p. 258, 260-1.

† Ib. 263.

‡ Ib. 264.

§ Ib. 295-301.

|| Ib. 304.

The historian Fleury, himself, justly argues that they were both wrong ; and with respect to the new power of investiture assumed by the pontiff, he proves clearly that it had no foundation in Scripture, or in the previous practice of the Church.* Notwithstanding the novelty and the danger of the precedent, however, the Pope succeeded in forcing the emperor to an unconditional surrender, and the monarch was reduced to the necessity of standing, barefooted, and clothed in a woollen garment, outside the fortress of Canusium, fasting as a penitent for three days, and asking for mercy, with abundant tears, before the pontiff would consent to withdraw the sentence of excommunication.† The emperor soon afterwards repented of his submission, and the Pope advised his subjects to elect another king. A powerful party accordingly chose Rudolph, Duke of Suabia, and a civil war ensued, which filled Europe with calamity.

The state of the Church at this time, in the opinion of Gregory VII., is set forth by himself in a letter to the Abbot of Clugny. He describes the Bishops everywhere as being of impure lives, given up to ambition, the princes as preferring their own interest to the honor of God, and the people as worse, in some sort, than Jews or pagans.‡

It was in the 6th Council of Rome, A. D. 1079, that Berengarius, a celebrated theologian, who had opposed the novel dogma of transubstantiation, was compelled to sign his retraction. But your historian informs us, that although the majority of the Council were against him, yet some of the members contended that the terms of Scripture were to be taken figuratively. And Berengarius himself, as soon as he returned to France, publicly renounced his

* Fleury, Tom. 13, p. 306.

† Ib. 325.

‡ Ib. 356.

retractation, and continued to oppose transubstantiation as he had before.*

Pope Gregory VII. being applied to by the King of Bohemia for liberty to have the office of the Mass administered in the Sclavonian tongue, refused absolutely. In answer to the argument that the sacred offices were all in the vulgar tongue in the primitive Church, he replied that the primitive Church *dissembled many things, which were afterwards corrected when religion was better established*. The historian Fleury condemns the decision of the Pope, and his argument.†

But this was a comparative trifle, for Gregory maintained many things more extraordinary. He held that the Holy See, meaning that of St. Peter, makes holy those who occupy it! And he required not only the submission of all temporal power to the spiritual dominion of the Papacy, but he also set forth particular titles, in order to subject to himself every kingdom in Europe, the sovereigns of which he considered his vassals, according to the feudal law, and undertook to make them pay him tribute accordingly.‡ Thus he claimed Germany, Saxony, France, England, Spain, Sardinia, Hungary, Dalmatia, and Russia, all of which were embraced in the enormous sweep of his ambitious cupidity.

The anti-Pope, Guibert, whom the emperor had caused to be elected, marched towards Rome, under the protection of his patron, A. D. 1081. But the Romans would not receive him as Pope, and the king was obliged to retreat into Lombardy.§ The war was long and bloody. Rome was

* Fleury, Tom. 13, p. 367-8.

† Ib. 395, &c.

‡ Ib. 389.

§ Ib. 401.

besieged three years.* Henry at length succeeded in gaining the people; and although the nobles, for the most part, remained faithful to Gregory, who retired to the Castle of St. Angelo, the emperor attained his object in having the anti-Pope enthroned, under the name of Clement III., by the Bishops of Bologna, Modena, and Cervia.† Gregory died in exile at Salerno, A. D. 1085;‡ and while his adherents lauded him as a saint,§ his adversaries charged him with having been a magician.|| His short pontificate of twelve years is justly celebrated as an era in the ecclesiastical polity of Rome, since it was he who achieved, with a firm and unflinching hand, the perfect system of towering despotism over sovereign princes which has ever since been the guiding principle of his successors. A schism in the Papacy itself, with a long and cruel war, was the immediate consequence. Victor III. succeeded Gregory VII., while Clement III. continued as before. And Victor, dying in 1087, was followed, in 1088, by Urban II., whose party gained the ascendant; so that at length, in 1089, Clement was compelled to leave Rome, and to swear that he would give up forever his usurped dignity, although he was allowed to retain his former post as Archbishop of Ravenna.¶

The famous Council of Clermont, A. D. 1095, ordered that none should commune in the Eucharist, without taking *separately* the body and the blood. This was done, saith Fleury, to correct the custom of some who imitated the Greeks, by taking the bread soaked in the wine, out of a

* Fleury, Tom. 13, p. 413.

† Ib. 430.

|| Ib. 433-4.

† Ib. 415.

§ Ib. 431.

¶ Ib. 476.

spoon. He adds, that the general custom of the Church had continued up to this time to receive the sacrament in both kinds.* But all this, too, was changed afterwards by the *unchangeable and infallible* Church of Rome.

It may present a clearer view of the state of religion at this time, if we take from the Preliminary Discourse of Fleury, which is at the commencement of his thirteenth volume, some extracts, which deserve credit for the candor of the author.

From the sixth century, saith this learned Romanist, the Church declined, Rome was overrun by barbarians, learning sunk into neglect. Hence, the few who retained any portion of it, were able to impose an immense number of forgeries upon the others. The famous donation of Constantine, and the false decretals on which the Popes founded their most ambitious claims, are particularly specified by our author. Credulity and superstition went hand-in-hand, and false miracles abounded. Relics were transported from place to place, and even divided, in the hope of multiplying their supposed powers. Various ordeals came into fashion, and were called the judgment of God. Such were the ordeals by water, by fire, by single combat; and judicial astrology was held in reverence and honor. These superstitions Fleury properly calls the remains of Paganism, but they were adopted and sustained by the Church.

The acts of the second Council of Nice, in favor of image-worship, although of course, Fleury, being a Romanist, could not condemn them in the main, are yet cited by him to prove the ignorance of that age, through which he confesses that a great number of doubtful histories, not to

* Fleury, Tom. 13, p. 571.

say fabulous, and of suspicious writings which were quoted by the fathers of the Council, were taken as evidence, without any real authority.

He next deplores the change which was manifest in the Bishops and clergy, who became hunters and warriors, like the laity. The Bishops had large estates, and held them by feudal tenure. Hence they not only claimed the right to call upon their vassals to defend them, but were ready to go to war themselves, at the summons of the king. The constant blending of the State with the Church was the natural consequence. The Bishops attended the parliaments, and the affairs of the State and those of the Church were decided by the same authority.

By reason of their spiritual power, however, the Bishops next undertook to judge the kings; and the crown which they conferred in the ceremony of consecration, they claimed the right to take away. And as the Pope was confessedly the superior of the Bishops, this authority was soon arrogated as a branch of his prerogative.

The churches and the monasteries became rich, and thus attracted the cupidity of the barons, and created contention for the sake of the spoils. And hence our author observes that the three vices which ravaged the Church to the greatest extent were, the licentiousness of the clergy, the pillage and violence of the laity, and the Simony of both. The functions of the clergy were almost reduced to the singing of psalms which they did not understand, and the practising of outward ceremonies. Living in all other respects like the people, they easily persuaded themselves that they should also have wives and concubines, and that the virtue of chastity was impossible. Thus the discipline of the Church perished, and morality became corrupted more and more.

Enforced penances became another abuse, against which our author declaims with just severity. Hence came all the temporal pains by which transgressors and heretics were punished—chains, prisons, scourges, and at length, tortures and burnings, even unto death.

In fine, everything, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, was done in the Church by force or interest. Money or power was the instrument, and spiritual truth was prostituted to the service of carnal lusts and worldly pride, almost universally. Hence, even then, as we have seen, the clergy and the Bishops were singled out as the most corrupt members of every community, and the cry was already raised for a thorough reformation.

LETTER VI.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE twelfth century presents, according to your own candid historian, a continuance of the same aspects of the Church which we have seen already. The attempt of Gregory VII. to force continence upon the clergy and submission upon kings, was carried on by his successors. But Fleury takes part against the Popes, in the question of investitures ;* very justly distinguishing between the *ecclesiastical commission* which can only come from the Church, and the *authority to exercise it by law throughout a particular district*, which can only come from the laity. The Popes of the middle ages, however, did not think so, but insisted on what they called their rights, and the quarrel continued. Henry V. took Pope Pascal II. prisoner in Rome, A. D. 1111, and kept him in durance for some months, until at length the pontiff yielded, after the schism had ravaged Europe for thirty-five years.† But a party of the Cardinals, who disapproved the concession of the Pope, united to some of the Bishops, openly opposed him ; and the Council of Lateran, A. D. 1112, with the approbation of the pontiff, reasserted the old claim, denounced the conduct of the emperor, and nullified the act of the Pope, as being the result of compulsion. It was the approved fashion of the

* Fleury, Tom. 14, p. 27.

† Ib. 131.

time to call the allowance of investiture *a heresy*; and the Council of Vienna soon afterwards declared it to be so, formally, and pronounced the emperor excommunicated.* The same course was adopted generally, and, as the successor of Pascal, Pope Gelasius II., refused to make the desired concession to the emperor, the monarch had another Pope elected, under the name of Gregory VIII., A.D. 1118. Gelasius having fled, and being at the time in Gaëta,† Gregory VIII. took quiet possession of Rome, and was recognized in Germany and in England, while there were some who refused to acknowledge either of them.‡ Gelasius died the following year, and Callixtus II. succeeded him. The schism continued until the year 1121, when Callixtus, having gained possession of Rome, and Gregory having fled to Sutri, his rival sent an army, under one of his Cardinals, and besieged the city. The inhabitants seized Gregory and delivered him to his enemies, who obliged him to mount a camel, with its tail in his hands, and put upon his back the bloody skin of a sheep, fresh slaughtered for the purpose. In this style he was compelled to enter Rome, and the successful Pope consigned him to imprisonment in a monastery.§ Soon afterwards, viz., A. D. 1122, Henry V. consented to give up the form of investiture with the ring and crozier, and the Pope and the empire were at peace again.

The next year was distinguished by the General Council of Lateran, as the Church of Rome calls it, in which the Crusaders received a grant of plenary remission of their sins, with a decree of excommunication against all who

* Fleury, Tom. 14, p. 147.

† Ib. 230.

‡ Ib. 229.

§ Ib. 295-6.

should seize their property during their absence ; while those who had undertaken the crusade and afterwards abandoned it, were ordered to return to their duty within a year from the ensuing Easter, under pain of being excommunicated and their lands and territories being laid under interdict of all divine service, except the baptism of infants and the absolution of the dying.* Here was an exercise of spiritual power which placed the warrior of the Church in possession of the highest merits of sanctity, and compelled men, whether they would or no, to continue a warfare of the flesh, under the severest earthly penalties ; and this was by a General Council called infallible !

We come now to the testimony of Bernard, the famous Abbot of Clairvaux, against the clerical and monastic luxury of his day.†

“ While the Church shines so splendidly in her buildings,” saith this bold censor, “ her poor are wanting the necessaries of life ; and it is at their expense that the eyes of the rich are delighted.” This reproach would never have been published by so eminent a man as Bernard, if the condition of the poor had been so comfortable in his day as the admirers of mediæval Christianity imagine. The tables of the clergy and the monks, their dresses, their variety of wines, are all rebuked in the same spirit. Peter, the Abbot of Clugny, answered Bernard by finding fault with his unreasonable austerity. He apologizes for the relaxation of the ancient rules of monastic life, by saying, that “ Human nature has become weak since the time of St. Benedict.” He justifies himself by the example of the abbots of Clugny, his predecessors, and accuses the monks

* Fleury, Tom. 14, p. 309.

† Ib. 350-2.

of Citeaux "of a want of charity in refusing to their brethren the comforts necessary for the preservation of their health."*

The year 1128 beheld the institution of the Knights Templars sanctioned by the Council of Troyes, and the order appointed to them provided that they should hear the divine office entire every day and night; but when their military service hindered them from attending, they should recite thirteen *Paters* for matins, seven for each of the little hours, and nine for vespers. Fleury observes, that this order was adopted because these good knights were unable to read!† And he adds, that this was the first attempt to unite the monastic life with the profession of arms.

Bernard, however, did not confine his censures to the monks, for he addressed a long letter to the Archbishop of Sens, in which he exhorts that prelate to honor his office, not by the pomp of his clothing and his horses, or the grandeur of his buildings, but by virtue and good works. "St. Paul," saith Bernard, "forbids Christian women to wear sumptuous garments, how much more the prelates? Have not the poor a right to complain that you spend upon superfluous habits, on gilded bridles for your horses, on rich harness for your mules, what would suffice to clothe and feed the destitute?" He then passes on to their ambition, their avarice, and easy self-indulgence, and shows that the least of their concern is the care of souls.‡ Alas! there were few such honest censors amongst the clergy of that day.

The year 1130 was marked by another schism in the Papacy. Pope Honorius died; and one party of the Cardinals elected Innocent II., while another elected one of

* Fleury, Tom. 14, p. 355-6.

† Ib. 365-6.

‡ Ib. 368-9.

their number, who took the name of Anacletus II. The latter was the richer and more powerful, and Innocent II., with his principal adherents, abandoned Rome, and sought a refuge in France. He was favorably received, and his right acknowledged by the greater part of Europe; and three years afterwards, he returned to Rome with the emperor and an army, to settle the dispute by battle, according to custom. His adversary being too strong for him, he was obliged to retire. Nor was the schism ended until the death of Anacletus, A. D. 1137, after he had held possession of St. Peter's eight years.*

Innocent II. was succeeded by Pope Celestin II., A. D. 1143, whose death in a few months left the Papal throne vacant. Lucius II. followed, and died within the year. He was succeeded by Eugene III., A. D. 1145, when Rome was all in arms, under the influence of Arnold de Brescia, who desired to abolish the power of the Pope, and restore the ancient republic. And to this Pope, Bernard wrote freely, condemning the relaxed discipline of the age, and exhorting him to follow the examples of primitive sanctity.

But one of the boldest reformers in the Church of those days was Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, who wrote strongly against false relics, especially deriding the pretensions of a certain tooth alleged to be of Christ, as also of another relic believed to be the milk of the Virgin. He denied that miracles were always to be esteemed a proof of sanctity, and appealed to the current faith in the power of sovereigns to cure, by their touch, the disease called the king's evil. He refused to assert that the Virgin Mary was ever raised from

* Fleury, Tom. 14, p. 480-I.

the dead, although he tolerated those who chose to think so. And he censured the custom of taking the bodies of the saints from the grave, and dividing them.*

The festival of the Conception of the Virgin was introduced at Lyons about the year 1140, and Bernard opposed it as a novelty without authority from Scripture or reason.†

As frank and bold a man as Bernard was John of Salisbury, who was the countryman of Pope Adrian IV., and enjoyed his confidence. This Pope, one of the few honest-hearted individuals who ever held the office, asked his friend one day what the people said of himself and the Roman Church, and the answer is worthy of commemoration. "They say," said the candid adviser, "that the Church of Rome is not the mother of all the churches so much as the stepmother. They see there the Scribes and Pharisees, who place on the shoulders of others excessive burdens, which they will not touch themselves with the tip of their fingers. They tyrannize over the clergy, without making them an example to the flock. They heap up precious furniture, and load their tables with gold and silver, and are always avaricious for themselves. They give no access to the poor, except sometimes through vanity. They make assaults upon the churches, they excite legal complaints, and place strife between the clergy and the people, and believe that the whole of religion consists in enriching themselves. Everything is venal, even justice itself; and they resemble the devils in this, that they pretend to do good when they cease to do injury. I except some few, who do their duty. The Pope himself is a burden to all the world, and almost insupportable. The people complain

* Fleury, Tom. 14, p. 321.

† Ib. 527.

that he builds palaces, while the churches fall into ruin, and that he goes abroad adorned with gold and purple, while the altars are neglected." "And you," replied the Pope, "what do you think of all this?" "I am much embarrassed," answered John of Salisbury. "I am afraid of being a flatterer, if I oppose myself alone to the public voice; and on the other side, I am afraid of being wanting in respect. Nevertheless, since Gui Clement, the Cardinal of S. Pontentian, speaks like the public, I dare not contradict him. For he maintains that there is a depth of duplicity and avarice in the Roman Church, which is the source of all our evils; and he said this publicly one day in the Assembly of Cardinals, where the holy Pope Eugenius presided. Still, I shall say boldly, and according to my conscience, that I have nowhere seen ecclesiastics more virtuous, and more opposed to avarice, than in the Church of Rome. But since you press me, I must declare that men ought to do as you teach, although they must not imitate in all respects what you do. All the world applauds and flatters you; they call you father and lord. If you are a father, why do you expect presents from your children? If you are lord, why do you not make yourself feared by your Roman subjects? But you wish to preserve Rome to the Church by your presents. Is it thus that S. Sylvester obtained it? You are, holy father, out of the right road. Give gratuitously what you have received gratuitously." "The Pope burst out in laughter, and praised John of Salisbury for the freedom with which he had spoken. Then, in order to justify the contributions which the Church of Rome received from all Christendom, he adduced the fable of the stomach and the members, which complained that it alone profited by their labor, and yet found by ex-

perience that they could not subsist without it." But Fleury observes, that "in order to make the application just, the Church of Rome should have distributed to all the rest, benefits of the same kind as those which she received from them."*

Our historian immediately afterwards gives a fair specimen of the maternal style in which Rome has undertaken to dispose of the kingdoms of the world since the time of Hildebrand. John of Salisbury had come to Rome as the messenger of King Henry II. of England, A. D. 1156, to demand permission from the Pope to take possession of Ireland, and make himself its master, in order to establish religion in its purity. Pope Adrian IV. granted the demand of the king at the prayer of John, and issued his bull accordingly, in which he says: "No one doubts, and you know the fact yourself, that Ireland, and all the islands which have received the Christian faith, belong to the Church of Rome. And you have signified to us that you wish to enter into this island, in order to subject the people to the laws, and extirpate their vices; to make them pay to St. Peter a penny a year for each house, and preserve in all things the rights of the Church. Which we grant to you with pleasure, for the increase of the Christian religion." With this bull, the Pope sent to the King of England a golden ring, adorned with an emerald, in token of investiture.† It is a marvellous thing how the poor Roman Catholics of Ireland, who are so ill at ease under the English yoke, can be ignorant that the whole right of the English crown was thus derived from the pretended prerogative of Popery. But the very character of the transaction

* Fleury, Tom. 15, p. 24-6.

† Ib. 26.

affords the plainest proof, that previous to this time, the religion of Ireland was not in accordance with the progress of Romanism. For the historian expressly declares that the Irish were to be subjected for the very purpose of giving them what the king called "*religion in its purity*"—of making them pay Peter-pence, and adopt the laws of the Papal system. And as this was the only pretext for the application, and the only ground on which the Pope acceded to it, the conclusion is irresistible, that Ireland, up to this time, had maintained its independence of the Church of Rome, notwithstanding it had been converted at least as early as the time of St. Patrick, seven hundred years before, and was known by the honorable title of the Island of Saints in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The celebrated work of Gratian, on the Canon Law, belongs to the twelfth century, in which the most extravagant modern claims of the Papacy are sustained by the false Decretals and other pretended documents of primitive antiquity. The doctrine of Gratian is, "that the holy Roman Church gives authority to the Canons; but she is not bound by the Canons, nor does she submit herself to them. As Jesus Christ who made the law, accomplished the law to sanctify it in Himself, and afterwards, in order to show that He was its Master, He dispensed with it, and freed His Apostles from its bondage." Your historian, Fleury, refutes these extravagant claims, and demonstrates their falsity.* But the work of Gratian became the authoritative text-book, notwithstanding its basis was a pure imposture. And your Church continues to rely on it, even to this day.

In the year 1159, Pope Adrian died, and behold! another schism in the Papacy. Alexander III. was elected regu-

* Fleury, Tom. 15, p. 49.

larly, but Victor III., sustained by an armed force, imprisoned his rival, and it was not till after some days that the people delivered him. Victor III., however, gained the Emperor Frederick, and the Council of Pavia decided in his favor; while France and England, with the greater part of Europe, held Alexander III. to be the true Pope. Excommunications, violence, and disorders followed, as usual. Alexander anathematized the emperor, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance. And the monarch continued, notwithstanding, to reign and govern, just as he did before.* But the Pope was, doubtless, comforted by the honor paid to him by the kings of France and England, who conducted him to his tent on foot, holding on either side the bridle of his horse, with all possible respect and humility.†

The professions of law and physic were at this time, and for ages after, in the hands of the clergy, because, saith Fleury, the laity were so ignorant of letters as to be quite incapable.‡

The anti-Pope, Victor, died, in the year 1164, and was succeeded by another, under the title of Pascal III., whose election was approved by the emperor.§ The following year, on the application of King Henry of England, and by the consent of the Lords temporal and spiritual at the imperial court of Aix-la-Chapelle, the body of Charlemagne was raised from the tomb, and he was canonized as a saint. Your historian, Fleury, remarks, that although this canonization was made by the authority of an anti-Pope, the lawful Popes have never objected to it:—a sad proof of the in-

* Fleury, Tom. 15, p. 84.

† Ib. 129.

‡ Ib. 192.

† Ib. 126.

§ Ib. 154.

dulgence which they show to any sort of superstition. Charlemagne had four wives and five concubines; the emperor and his adherents, as well as the anti-Pope and his followers, were all excommunicated by him whom your Church holds to be the true successor of St. Peter. And yet such a man, canonized by such authority, remains a saint, in the calendar of a large portion of your infallible Church, without objection.

In the year 1166, the emperor came to Rome at the head of an army, to expel the Pope, Alexander III., and establish his rival, Pascal III., by main force. The next year there was a battle, in which the emperor's troops killed eight thousand Romans, while four thousand more were taken prisoners. The Archbishops of Mayence and Cologne were amongst the generals who conquered on this occasion.* Still the Pope was able to defend the city of Rome, until at length the people, wearied with the war, were disposed to listen favorably to the emperor's proposals, and the pontiff consulted his safety by flight.† Pascal III. came in with the emperor in triumph, and reigned, with the consent of the citizens, until A. D. 1168. His party elected another anti-Pope, by the title of Calistus III., and so the schism continued. The quarrel between Pope Alexander III. and King Henry of England about Thomas à Beckett, Archbishop of Canterbury, served greatly to strengthen the schism, until the murder of Beckett and the submission of the king removed the difficulty.‡

The condition of the monasteries in England, which had been exempted by the Pope from the jurisdiction of the Bishops, is thus described by Richard, the Archbishop of

* Fleury, Tom. 15, p. 223.

† Ib. 224.

‡ Ib. 243

Canterbury, in the year 1175 : "The evil extends very far," saith he, in a letter to the Pope. "The abbots oppose themselves against the Primates and the Bishops. They will have no one to repress their disorders, nor restrain their desires. Hence it comes, that the property of the greater part of the monasteries is pillaged. The abbots care for nothing but to make good cheer, and live in peace; and the monks, having no head, abandon themselves to idleness and vain discourse; so that if you were to listen to their tumultuous disputes, you would take the cloister to be a market-house. If you do not promptly remedy this evil, it is to be feared that the Bishops will withdraw their submission from the Primates, the deans and archdeacons from their Bishops, and thus there will be no subordination left."* It seems that there was neither piety nor principle to be depended on, but all these men, under the most stringent vows of sanctity, were only to be governed by force at last, even in the duties of religion.

A very striking specimen of the temper of the clergy was exhibited about this time at the Council of Westminster. Richard, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had placed himself at the right of the Papal Legate, the kings, father and son, being present. Roger, the Archbishop of York, desiring to be as near the legate as the other, sat down on the knees of Richard. Some of the Bishops and others, as well clergy as laity, took him off, and threw him on the ground. The assembly immediately came to blows with fists and clubs, when the Archbishop, Richard, withdrew. Roger rose up with his cope torn in the tumult, and cast himself at the feet of the king, demanding justice against Richard; while

* Fleury, Tom. 15, p. 354.

many cried out, "Go, thou traitor, go; thy hands are yet red with the blood of St. Thomas." The king only laughed at the complaint of Roger, and both parties appealed to the Pope. The Council broke up, and the legate retired, seeing how little authority he was likely to have in England.*

In A. D. 1176, the emperor, being defeated by the Milanese, proposed to withdraw from the schism,† and Pope Alexander gladly received his advances, so that the anti-Pope, Callistus, was obliged to submit, two years afterwards. But yet the schismatics were not all inclined to comply. On the contrary, they elected another anti-Pope from the powerful family of the Frangipani, whom they styled Innocent III. And he took possession of a fortress near to Rome.‡

When Pope Alexander III. died, A. D. 1181, about two years after the third Council of Lateran, the Cardinals elected Lucius III., according to the new mode decreed in that Council, by confining the election entirely to themselves, to the exclusion of the rest of the clergy and the people.§ This was certainly a very serious innovation, and, strictly considered, it was not within the power of any Council of Bishops to disfranchise the rest of the Church by depriving them of their primitive rights and privileges.

Pope Celestin III., elected A. D. 1099, distinguished himself by the absurd arrogance which he displayed in kicking the crown from the head of the new emperor, Henry VII., as he knelt before him, in order to show how completely the secular powers were subjected by the Papacy.|| I shall only add another small novelty, introduced

* Fleury, Tom. 15, p. 358.

† Ib. 404.

|| Ib. 527.

† Ib. 369.

§ Ib. 437.

about this time ; for Fleury expressly states, that the custom of your priests to elevate the host before the consecration of the chalice, was not in use until the commencement of the following century.*

* Fleury, Tom. 15, p. 580.

L E T T E R V I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

IN entering upon the thirteenth century, it will be expedient to note some important statements of your historian, Fleury, in the excellent Preliminary Discourse to his sixteenth volume.

After the Church of Rome had groaned for one hundred and fifty years under many unworthy Popes, there followed a better sort of men, zealous and devoted to maintain her discipline, but misled by the false lights of the established system.

Thus it is said in the forged Decretals, that a Council cannot be held without the permission of the Pope. But this, Fleury proves to be altogether contrary to the practice of the Church for centuries together, during which Councils, not only provincial, but general, were held, without the slightest regard to the Papal sanction.

The forged Decretals also lay down the maxim that a Bishop cannot be definitively judged except by the Pope : whereas Fleury shows that Bishops were judged in the Provincial Councils and others, without reference to the Pope, for the first nine centuries. The same remark applies to your modern doctrine of Episcopal translations, and the erection of new dioceses.

In the primitive ages, says Fleury, even the title of Archbishop was unknown. And appeals to the Pope are equally without authority.

Fleury next argues most cogently against your modern usage of uniting the spiritual with the temporal sovereignty. There should be no temporal lordship united with the care of a diocese.

The modern system, as your historian well insists, is further objectionable from its inevitable tendency to pride, luxury, and avarice. And he rightly declares, that by your holding no Council without a legate of the Pope, the wholesome effects of the old Provincial Councils were superseded altogether.

He also denounces strongly your modern system of persecution towards heretics, and he contrasts with this the conduct of the primitive Bishops, who strove to turn away the severity of princes, instead of stimulating them.

Compulsory penances, which were nothing more in effect than so many temporal judgments operating on liberty and property, he condemns altogether. And works of satisfaction he places in the same category. All these he attributes to ignorance, misled by false writings, and by the equally false reasoning of the scholastic divines. But he does not tell us what *produced* these.

I shall now proceed to note a few of the more prominent facts which serve to illustrate the state of your Papal Church in the thirteenth century.

The famous University of Paris, saith your historian, was sunk into an astonishing depth of moral corruption about the year 1210. The students did not count simple fornication to be a sin at all. The harlots stopped in the street the clergy who passed by. If they refused, they were accused of the most criminal debaucheries. It was even thought an honor to have many concubines. In one house especially, the schools were above, and below were the

brothels. The clergy who expended the most were the most highly esteemed, and those who lived frugally and piously were treated as avaricious, and hypocritical or superstitious. The majority studied either from curiosity, vanity, or interest—very few for edification. They were divided, not only by their scholastic sects, but by the diversity of nations—French, English, Germans, Normans, Poitevins, Burgundians, Bretons, Lombards, Sicilians, Brabantines, Flemish. Each nation was reproached for some especial vice, and from words they often came to blows.* It must be remembered that these were almost exclusively students of theology, as secular learning for the laity had not yet obtained any attention. And Fleury goes farther in saying that they were chiefly of the clergy.

In the year 1213, Pope Innocent III. resolved to convoke a General Council; and in the Bull of Convocation, he says: "God is our witness that the two things which we most desire in this world are the recovery of the Holy Land, and the *reformation of the universal Church*."† This Council was held accordingly, in the Church of St. John Lateran, A. D. 1215, and consisted of a larger number of Bishops and other dignitaries than any other. The two decrees by which it is most known, are 1st, that designed to *extirpate the heretics*, who, when condemned, were to *be delivered up to the secular power to be punished, their property, if laymen, to be confiscated, and if clergy, to be applied to the Church*. Those who were only suspected of heresy should be bound to justify themselves by a sufficient purgation, and if they neglected or refused, they should be excommunicated for a year, and then condemned as heretics. The secular powers should

* Fleury, Tom. 16, p. 270.

† Ib. 304.

be warned, and if necessary, constrained by ecclesiastical censures, to swear publicly *that they would chase from their lands all the heretics noted by the Church.* If the temporal lord should neglect this duty, *he should himself be excommunicated, and if he did not render satisfaction in one year, his vassals should be absolved from their oath of fidelity, and his lands should be given over to Catholics, who should possess them peaceably, after having expelled the heretics.**

Every Bishop must visit, at least once a year, the part of his diocese where he may be told that there are heretics, and shall take three men of good reputation, who shall swear that if they know of any heretics, or persons holding private conventicles, or leading a singular life different from the custom of the faithful, they will inform the Bishop concerning them. He shall cause the persons accused to come before him, and if they do not justify themselves, or fall back, they shall be punished canonically. If they refuse to swear, they shall be thenceforth reputed heretics. And if the Bishop shall *neglect to purge his diocese of heretics, he should be himself deposed.†*

Here was a regular inquisition of the most stringent kind, adapted to the forcing a revelation of every man's secret thoughts, at the pleasure of the clergy and their assistants.

The other canon decreed, that every one of the faithful of either sex, being arrived at the age of discretion, *should confess alone to his or her proper priest, at least once a year, all his sins,* and should accomplish such penance as may be enjoined upon him. And that every one should receive the sacrament of the Eucharist at least once a year, at Easter, otherwise he should be *chased out of the Church, and deprived of Christian burial.‡*

* Fleury, Tom. 16, p. 363.

† Ib. 365.

‡ Ib. 375.

"This," says Fleury, "is the first canon, that I know, which has commanded generally sacramental confession." The object was, probably, to obtain a still better guard against the spread of what they called heresy, which, in various forms, was then widely extending; for it was impossible that men could continue to be blind to the corruption and tyranny of the Church of Rome. But it has served, in the end, to increase that corruption and tyranny, so as to secure the ultimate triumph of a true reformation. This will be manifest from the facts of your Church's subsequent history.

The important order of the Preaching Friars was instituted A. D. 1216, under St. Dominic, by Pope Honorius, to be the champions of the faith, and the true lights of the world, in the words of the bull of confirmation.

Gregory IX. having become Pope, after the death of Honorius, A. D. 1227, pressed on the crusade against the heretics in Thoulouse, Beziers, and other places, and the Papal Legate demanded the payment of a tithe, to defray its expenses, from the clergy of France. The clergy murmured sorely, but the Pope was inexorable.*

The Emperor Frederick, having promised to undertake the crusade to the Holy Land, fell sick; and the Pope, believing his sickness feigned, declared him excommunicate,† threatening, moreover, if he continued refractory, to depose him.

This severe course, however, met with a due answer. The emperor wrote to all the kings and princes of Christendom, justifying his course, and to the King of England he expressed himself as follows: "The Church of Rome burns with such avarice, that the ecclesiastical revenues no

* Fleury, Tom. 16, p. 594.

† Ib. 598.

longer sufficing her, she is not ashamed to spoil sovereign princes, and make them her tributaries. You have a very sensible proof of this in the case of your father John. You have that of the Count of Thoulouse, and many other princes, whose lands she holds under interdict, until she can reduce them into the same servitude. I do not speak of the simonies, the unheard-of exactions which she inflicts upon the clergy; the usuries, direct or palliated, with which she has infected all the world. Nevertheless, these insatiable bloodsuckers use words of honey, saying that the Court of Rome is the Church which is our mother and our nurse, when, on the contrary, she is a step-mother, and the source of all evils. We may know her by her fruits. She sends her legates on all sides, with power to punish, to suspend, to excommunicate; not to spread the word of God, but to amass money, and reap that which they have not sown. Thus, they pillage the churches, the monasteries, and the other places of piety which our fathers have founded for the pilgrims and the poor. And now these Romans, without nobility or valor, inflated solely by their literature, aspire to kingdoms and empires. The Church has been founded on poverty and simplicity, and no one can give it any other foundation than that which Jesus Christ has established.”*

The Pope, however, continued to fulminate against the emperor, assembled a Council at Rome, and excommunicated him formally, interdicting the divine offices wherever he should be present, and repeating the threat that he should be deposed if he did not submit.† Frederick paid no regard to this, but raised so strong a party in Rome that Gregory was afraid to remain there, and went to Spoleto.

* Fleury, Tom. 16, p. 600.

† Ib. 604.

Soon afterwards, the emperor actually went to the Holy Land, in fulfilment of his promise, having written to the Pope that he had left full powers with Rainald, Duke of Spoleto, to treat with the pontiff about peace with the Church. Gregory refused to hold any conference with Rainald, because he considered him the enemy of the Church, and its persecutor: and Rainald forthwith commenced a war upon the Papal territory. The Pope raised an army, and invaded the empire in his turn.* And to enable him to sustain the expense, he sent a legate to ask the tithe of England and Ireland.† The same system was pursued by Gregory in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Denmark, and Sweden. He maintained that the Bishops were even obliged to aid him by virtue of their oath.‡ And thus a new ground was set up for Papal exactions, which was odious to the clergy themselves. In a little while, the Pope executed his threat by absolving the subjects of the emperor from their allegiance.§ But the emperor made satisfactory concessions, and peace was restored the following year.

Another movement in a false direction was taken in the Council of Thoulouse, A. D. 1229, where it was *forbidden to the laity to have the books of the Old or New Testament*, unless so far as to allow of any one having for devotion a Psalter or Breviary, or the Hours of the Virgin. But the Council strictly *forbade the having those books translated into the vulgar tongue*. Your historian, Fleury, acknowledges this to be the FIRST TIME THE SCRIPTURES WERE THUS FORBIDDEN.||

* Fleury, Tom. 16, p. 607-8.

† Ib. 628.

|| Ib. 633.

† Ib. 627.

§ Ib. 631.

About the year 1234, the Pope sent throughout all Christendom, beginning with the province of Canterbury, a bull to reform the monasteries, in which he said, "We have been informed that the monasteries of your province are extremely debased; and as we would not be guilty of this corruption, we have appointed visitors to all those which depend upon the Roman Church, to reform them, as well in the head as in the members." Your historian remarks, however, that this visit produced through all Europe more of disorder than of reform, because they were so divided by new constitutions that hardly any two of them were regulated alike.* But the history of the monks shows a constant tendency to corruption in all the ages of the Church, from the sixth century.

The constant progress of priestly despotism was marked by a formal complaint of thirty French lords to the Pope, in A. D. 1235, setting forth the insubordination of the prelates and Bishops to the royal authority in temporal matters, and the novel exactions to which the laity were subjected by their rapacity.† But Pope Gregory wrote to the king, charging him with a design to bring the Church into servitude; reminding him that God had given to the Pope as well the rights of the temporal as the celestial empire of the world, and warning him to change his ordinances, if he did not choose to incur the risk of excommunication. To which the king paid no regard, but opposed himself to the usurpations of the clergy, as before.‡

The anthem *Salve Regina* was introduced by the order of the Preaching Friars, in A. D. 1237. In the same year, Alexander, King of Scotland, flatly refused to suffer the le-

* Fleury, Tom. 17, p. 137.

† Ib. 177.

‡ Ib. 179.

gate of the Pope to enter his kingdom, saying, that there never had been a legate there, and never should be, with his consent.* It was no wonder, for your historian acknowledges that there was no liberty in the Councils where the legate presided. All the decrees were prepared by him beforehand, and the prelates were not permitted to examine them.†

In the year 1238, the Patriarch of Antioch excommunicated the Pope and the whole Roman Church, as being stained with a constant course of Simony, usury, and all sorts of crimes.‡ And the following year beheld another excommunication fulminated by the Pope against the emperor Frederick.§ The emperor replied by a manifesto, in which he calls for a General Council to try the quarrel, and in the course of the dispute, he styles the Pope “the great dragon who seduces the whole world, the Antichrist, another Balaam, and the prince of darkness.” He maintains that the Pope has lost his power, in losing virtue, and holds his censures as nullities, and threatens vengeance if the Cardinals do not bring the pontiff back to reason.|| The German prelates, moreover, all took the side of the emperor, as well as the order of Teutonic Knights, and others.¶

The Pope next declared the emperor deposed, and offered the empire to France; but the king and nobles refused it, denying that the emperor could be deposed except by a General Council.** A war followed, in which the emperor made considerable progress in Italy, while the Pope levied, as had now become usual, heavy contributions

* Fleury, Tom. 17, p. 204.

† Ib. 225.

‡ Ib. 257.

** Ib. 279.

† Ib. 212.

§ Ib. 238.

¶ Ib. 272.

on the clergy, to sustain him, to the great dissatisfaction of the parties. But Gregory IX. died A. D. 1241. The Cardinals were much divided about the choice of a successor. At length, Celestin IV. was chosen, and expired in sixteen days, not without strong suspicions of poison. And the See of Rome remained vacant for eighteen months together.*

The year 1243 was marked by a scandalous quarrel between the monkish orders of the Minorites and the Preaching Friars, in which they accused each other fiercely to the King of France. A similar spectacle was exhibited in Germany. But Fleury remarks truly, that in these disputes the clergy showed far more zeal for their temporal interests than for the salvation of souls.† Another Pope, by the name of Innocent IV., was elected A. D. 1243, and an effort was made to obtain peace with the emperor, but in vain. The Pope, being informed that he was in danger of being seized by the knights of the monarch, fled secretly to Genoa. And not knowing where to establish himself, he applied to France, Arragon, and England, to give him an asylum, but in none of them could the consent of the nobles be obtained. We are already, said the English, too much infected by the usury and Simony of the Romans, without the Pope coming himself to rob the property of the Church and the kingdom.‡

The Council of Lyons, called by your writers a General Council, assembled A. D. 1245. The Pope preached, and compared the five evils with which he suffered to the *five wounds of Christ*. The first was, the disorder of the clergy and the people ; 2d, the insolence of the Saracens ; 3d, the

* Fleury, Tom. 17, p. 310-11. † Ib. 327-9. ‡ Ib. 346-7.

schisms of the Greeks ; 4th, the cruelty of the Tartars ; and 5th, the persecution of the Emperor Frederick, whom he accused of heresy and sacrilege.* At the same Council, the English deputies presented the complaints of the whole kingdom of England against the exactions of the Court of Rome ; alleging that the Popes, not content with the old allowance of Peter-pence, had called for heavy subsidies ; that the patronage of the Popes had given the churches and monasteries to Italians, who neglected all their duties, and took the revenues out of the kingdom, so that there was no care taken for the salvation of souls, nor for alms, nor for hospitality, nor for the defence of the monasteries, while more than sixty thousand marks of silver were annually abstracted from England, being a larger sum than that which came into the hands of the king himself.† To all this, the Pope only replied that an affair of so much importance required grave deliberation. And then he pronounced the solemn deposition of the emperor, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and called on the electors of the empire to proceed and elect another sovereign.

The emperor replied by letters, addressed to all the sovereigns of Europe, in which he said, " If you will only pay attention, how many infamous practices will you not discover in the Court of Rome, which modesty does not even permit us to mention ? It is the immense revenues with which they are enriched, at the expense of many kingdoms, which render them insane, and what recompense, what gratitude do they return for the alms and tithes with which you sustain them ? They should be reduced to the state of the primitive Church, leading a life of Apostolic humility.

* Fleury, Tom. 17, p. 363-4.

† *Ib.* 370-2.

Then the clergy beheld the angels, cured the sick, raised the dead, and subjected kings and princes, not by arms, but by virtue. But these men, entirely given up to worldliness, and drunk with pleasures, despise God, and the excess of their riches stifles in them all sense of religion.”*

The Pope succeeded in having a rival of the emperor elected by the two Archbishops of Mayence and Cologne, and some lords of the laity. He sent them large sums of money, and they declared war immediately against all *heretics*, Frederick being counted amongst them. And the pontiff published anew the sentence of deposition, and put all those who should obey Frederick under interdict.

It appeared, about the year 1246, that the Preaching Friars rendered themselves very odious to the ancient monks and the secular clergy. “They were entirely devoted to the interests of the Pope, who had ordered the Bishops everywhere to admit them to preach, and to administer penance.” They demanded that their privileges should be published in the churches, and were in the habit of asking all whom they met, ‘Have you confessed your sins?’ ‘Yes,’ answered the individual. ‘To whom?’ ‘To my curate.’ ‘He is an ignoramus, who has never studied theology nor the Canon Law. Come to us, who know how to distinguish leprosy from leprosy, and who have received the great powers which you behold.’ Thus it happened that many of the laity, chiefly the nobles and their wives, despising their pastors and their Bishops, confessed to these Friars, and their contempt of their own spiritual superiors became quite apparent. The parishioners sinned more recklessly than ever, being no longer restrained by the fear

* Fleury, Tom. 17, p. 376-7.

of giving account to their pastors, and were accustomed to say to each other, "Let us take our pleasures freely. We will confess without trouble to some of these Friars who pass this way, whom we have never seen before, and shall never see again."* These are the very words of your learned historian, and they give a faithful picture of the general morality of your Church for centuries. But Fleury, while he makes the statement for the manifest purpose of showing the danger of the powers given by the Popes to these wandering friars, does not seem to be aware that the whole account demonstrates the corruption attendant upon auricular confession. For it is plain that the superstitious laity of that age could not have thus argued if they had not effectively lost the fear of God, and contented themselves with the belief that they were quite safe in a life of sin, if they could only obtain absolution from any one under Papal sanction.

Your historian next informs us that a bloody war ravaged Germany, between the Emperor Frederick and the new King of the Romans, who had been elected through the influence of the Pope, in which the latter gained strength every day, "through the preaching of the friars and the money of the Pope."† But Frederick died in 1250, and the Pope, in a circular letter, "invited the heavens and the earth to rejoice on the death of his persecutor."‡

The year 1251 was signalized in France by the rise of a set of heretics named Pastors, who increased rapidly until they had an army of one hundred thousand men. "They declaimed loudly against the ecclesiastics and the monks, chiefly the Preaching Friars and the Minorites, whom they

* Fleury, Tom. 17, p. 403-4.

† Ib. 463.

‡ Ib. 493.

styled vagabonds and hypocrites. They taxed the Cistercians with avarice, caring only for their lands and their cattle ; the Black Monks, with pride and gluttony ; the Canons, with being half laymen, addicted to good cheer ; the Bishops and their officials, with being occupied in the accumulation of money, and living in all sorts of delights. As to the Court of Rome, they abused it in terms which one dares not repeat." Your historian adds, that "the people, already filled with contempt and hatred for the clergy, applauded such discourses as these."* Such a statement speaks volumes, since it is impossible to account for the popular sentiment if the facts alleged were not generally known to be true. However, this undisciplined rabble soon committed such disorders as to make them dangerous. Their leader was killed, and his adherents, being all excommunicated, were dispersed and overcome.

The year 1253 was marked by a noble protest of Robert Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln, who openly resisted an order of the Pope which he esteemed unjust and dangerous, and published a letter to his clergy, in which he used these words : "The Holy See, which has received its full power from Christ only for edification, cannot order or do anything which tends to a sin so abominable and pernicious to the human race ; for this would be to abuse its power, to *separate itself from the throne of Jesus Christ, and to sit down in the seat of pestilence and hell.* No one can obey such commands, even if they came from the sovereign order of angels, but should oppose them with all his force." The Pope, says our historian, was much irritated, and desired to chastise the Bishop of Lincoln. But his Cardinals dis-

* Fleury, Tom. 17, p. 499.

suaded him, on account of the high character and influence of Grossetete, lest a tumult should be excited. "Besides this, adds Matthew Paris," (quoted by Fleury,) '*they know that the revolt must come some day.*' *It seems that they foresaw then what happened in England three centuries afterwards.*"* This great Bishop of Lincoln, one of the most learned and virtuous men of the age, died soon after, and on his sick-bed, discoursed freely with his friends against the Papal tyranny. "He enlarged upon the vices of the Roman clergy, especially their avarice and their licentiousness, and upon the loss of souls caused by their iniquity. Jesus Christ, he said, came into the world to save souls, and therefore he who does not fear to lose them deserves the name of Antichrist. Such were the complaints of the Bishop of Lincoln," observes your historian: "too sharp, indeed, but *too well founded*, as it appears by the writings of that age, and even by the letters of the Popes themselves."†

In A. D. 1258, Pope Alexander IV., who had succeeded Innocent IV., was obliged to leave Rome on account of the seditious violence of the people. This fact occurs so continually in the Papal history, that it furnishes a surprising commentary on the lives of the superior Roman clergy. The power of the Inquisition, so systematically established by the fourth Lateran Council, had been enforced from time to time, and now it received a new addition by a Papal order, that the heretics who should return to the obedience of the Church, should give bail in a pecuniary amount that they would continue faithful. And the amount of this bail should be paid strictly, under pain of excommunication. The

* Fleury, Tom. 17, p. 521-2.

† Ib. 522-4.

sums thus collected were to be lodged in the hands of the Bishop and three men of probity, as a fund to defray the expense of the proceedings against heretics. Besides which, the confiscation of their property and the destruction of their houses were a punishment which told severely upon them and their heirs.*

“Licentiousness had become so common and so public among the clergy,” says your historian, “that Pope Alexander IV. thought it necessary to devise some remedy. To this effect, he wrote a circular letter, addressed to the Archbishops and the other superior clergy, in which he dwells upon the scandal given by those priests who publicly entertained their concubines in defiance of the Canons. He observes the reproaches which they drew upon the Church, on the part of heretics, the oppression which they caused from the nobles, and the contempt of the people. It is evident,” adds Fleury, “that this disorder was *general throughout the whole Church*. The Pope’s letter is fine, but such evils require remedies more specific than exhortations, however pathetic they may be.”†

It was the established usage for the Bishops to imprison all excommunicated persons, until they had rendered satisfaction, and for the king to give his warrant for such arrests. But sometimes the king refused, or the viscounts and the other officers delivered the prisoners in spite of the Bishop. To remedy this, the Council of Lambeth, held under the Pope’s Legate, in A. D. 1261, decreed that in all such cases the officers should be excommunicated, and the domains of the king placed in interdict. The same Council forbade the arrest of any of the clergy by the secu

* Fleury, Tom. 17, p. 637.

† Ib. 652-3..

lar judges, or the collection of any fines which they should impose upon them, or the seizing of their goods.* All these were a part of the steady system of the Roman Church to make the clergy entirely independent of any secular power, and to give them complete dominion over it in all things.

Pope Alexander IV. died in 1261, one of the last of his regulations being, that his inquisitors of heresy should sell the confiscated property of the heretics, and reserve the proceeds for the wants of the Church of Rome!†

The year 1264 was signalized, according to Fleury, by the institution of the festival of Corpus Christi. And it was not long afterwards that the French king, called Saint Louis, being about to sail to the Holy Land on a second crusade, established the famous ordinance called the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the cupidity of Rome was effectually checked in France, and the Church there was delivered, at least from the unlimited power of her exactions.‡

Gregory X. was elected Pope, A. D. 1272, after the See had been vacant *two years and nine months*;§ a very strong comment, of itself, on your *unity*.

In Prussia, about this time, a sad state of things existed. "The multitude of men who desired to enjoy the privileges of the clergy was excessive, in comparison of the small number and poverty of the benefices. The Bishops could not provide them with livings, and hence they were reduced to beg, to the disgrace of the clergy, or else, as they were not willing to cultivate the soil, and were ignorant of any trade, they abandoned themselves to theft and sacrilege, and being taken, they were sometimes delivered up to the Bishops. But they often escaped, persevered in crime,

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 11.

† Ib. 114.

‡ Ib. 13.

§ Ib. 142

were taken and retaken, and thus excommunications were drawn upon the laity, and scandal was provoked between them and the prelates.”*

We have next a curious letter from the Pope to Henry, Bishop of Liege, A. D. 1273, in which, after a general exhortation, he says : “ We learn with grief that you are addicted to Simony and incontinence, so that you have had several children both before and after your promotion to the Episcopate. You have taken an abbess of the order of St. Benedict for your public concubine, and, at a feast, you have boasted before all the company that you had fourteen children within twenty-two months, to some of which you have given benefices, even with the cure of souls, although they were not of the proper age, and you have given to others the property of your see, in order to marry them advantageously. In one of your houses named the Park, you keep for a long time a nun with other women, and when you visit that house, you enter alone, leaving outside those who have accompanied you. A convent of your diocese having lost its abbess, you have quashed the canonical election which they had made, and you have put over them for abbess the daughter of a count, to whose son you have married one of your daughters ; and it is said that this abbess has been delivered of a child which she has had by you.” After alleging many other crimes equally scandalous, “ the Pope proceeds to say : Finally, you do not say the ecclesiastical office, and do not understand it, being without letters, and you often wear secular garments of scarlet, with girdles of silver, so that you appear rather as a knight than as a prelate.” And what was the conclusion of the Pope’s

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 159.

letter against such a monstrous specimen of Episcopal licentiousness as this? "The Pope exhorts him to convert himself immediately, and not to trust to his youth, which seemed to promise him a long life!"*

But your historian explains this in part, by saying that this Henry "was a young noble, brother to the Count of Gueldres, and cousin of the Count of Holland. That he was put into the Bishopric of Liege without being ordained even a priest, and governed it by dispensation, under the Popes Innocent IV. and Alexander IV.! At length he was ordained priest and Bishop, A. D. 1258, eleven years after his election, and his principal occupation was always war and temporal affairs."† What a picture does the whole present of the practical discipline of the Papal Church, and your infallible and most holy See of St. Peter!

In the year 1276, the Papal Legate made a regulation concerning the feasts of the University of Paris, which disclosed a shocking state of irreverence and impiety amongst the clergy belonging to the institution. "We learn," saith he, "that the scholars, instead of the exercises of piety and the works of charity which they practised formerly, abandon themselves to excess of wine, good cheer, and dancing, unbecoming the clerical profession; that they take arms and go by night, troubling the peace of the city by their insolent shouts, to the great scandal of the laity, and not without peril to their persons. And, what is most insupportable, in the very churches where they ought to celebrate the divine office, they presume to play at dice upon the altars, where they consecrate the body and blood of the Saviour, and while playing, they blaspheme, as is ordinary, the

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 161-2.

† *Ib.* 162.

name of God and the saints. In order to cut off this abuse, which has been *introduced during many years*, we declare that all who shall take part in it hereafter shall be excommunicate, *ipso facto*.”* That such conduct, practised “for many years,” by so prominent and important a body as the University of Paris, should have drawn down no censure for the past, and have attracted no attention even now, apparently, from the clergy, except on the ground that the *laity* were scandalized, furnishes an awful commentary upon the corruption of religion.

We see also, about the same time, the tendency of the Aristotelian philosophy, which had been the favorite of the Church for a considerable period, to produce infidelity. The Bishop, Stephen Tempier, wrote to the Pope an account of the matter, in these words: “We have learned, by persons of consideration and zeal, that some of those who study the arts at Paris, passing the limits of their faculty, dare to maintain manifest and execrable errors. They find those propositions in the books of the pagans, and they appear to them so demonstrative, that they know not how to answer them. Willing to palliate them, they give themselves up to another peril, for they say that these propositions are true according to the philosopher, that is to say, Aristotle, but not according to the Catholic faith, as if there were two truths contrary to each other. Lest, therefore, these discourses should seduce the simple into error, we condemn entirely these errors, and excommunicate all those who presume to teach or maintain them.”†

Your historian then proceeds to specify the most remarkable of these propositions, the whole of which amounted to

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 226.

† Ib. 227.

more than two hundred. I select, for example, the following :—

“ In God there is no Trinity, because it is not compatible with perfect simplicity. God cannot beget His like, because that which is begotten has a principle on which it depends. God knows nothing but Himself. There could not have been any first man, because it is impossible to make a man without the proper agent, namely, a father. Hence the generations of men, as well as the world itself, are eternal. God cannot produce anything new, nor move anything otherwise than He moves it, because there are not in Him divers wills. It is false that the first cause could have preordained all things, otherwise everything would happen by necessity. The soul is inseparable from the body, and is corrupted along with it. The will and the understanding do not actually move by themselves, but by an eternal cause—namely, by the celestial bodies. The will is determined by the good desired, as matter is by the agent. Men actuated by passion act by constraint. The will is influenced by the knowledge, like the appetite of the beast, and cannot abstain, according to the dictates of reason. There can be no sin in the superior powers of the soul. Therefore men sin by passion, and not by will. The act of creation is impossible, although we must maintain the contrary, according to the faith. The various signs in the heavens signify the different dispositions of men, as well for things spiritual as temporal. We may likewise know by certain signs or figures the intentions of men, and future events. There is no state more excellent than to apply ourselves to philosophy. The discourses of theology are founded on fables, and we know nothing more by knowing them. We should not pray, nor be troubled about our burial, nor con-

fess, except to save appearances. Simple fornication is not a sin. Chastity is not essential to virtue. A philosopher ought not to believe the resurrection, because it is impossible. A man ruled by the intellectual and moral virtues of which Aristotle speaks, is sufficiently disposed to eternal felicity. Happiness is in the present life, and not in another, and we lose all good after death." "We may easily perceive," says Fleury, "that these errors proceeded from the mischievous philosophy that reigned at that time,* and why Thomas Aquinas and the other doctors treated so many questions, which to us seem useless." But he does not add, what nevertheless appears to be the only probable solution of the horrible disorders of the clergy, that with the great bulk of them, religion was only a matter of "appearances," and that in their hearts they took this false philosophy for their guide, instead of the Gospel. The priesthood was their public trade, by which they secured wealth and power. Philosophy was their secret system, by which they silenced the voice of conscience, in the pursuit of avarice and licentiousness, and in the determination to secure their supremacy, by any and every means of cruel oppression against all who opposed them.

Pope John XXI., though he promised himself a long life, was crushed by the falling of a new building which he had just erected near the palace of Viterbo. After suffering six days, he died A. D. 1277, and was succeeded by Nicholas III. This was about the time when Roger Bacon was charged with teaching suspicious novelties. He had made himself a master of all sorts of studies. He excelled in grammar, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; in poetry, rhetoric,

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 229-30.

history, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, chemistry, jurisprudence, and lastly, in theology. They called him *the Admirable Doctor*, and he had long been doctor in theology of the University of Oxford. Nevertheless, he was put in prison for his alleged errors, and died six years afterwards.*

The year 1279 beheld four Councils held in France, the subject of whose deliberations, says Fleury, "was the preservation of the property, the privileges and the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics, against the efforts of the nobles and the secular judges, together with some superficial reformation of the clergy and the monks."† The state of mutual hostility between the clergy and the laity is well indicated by this passage from the address of the Papal Legate : "We have seen ourselves," saith he, "that in Hungary and the other countries of our legation, the ecclesiastics, both regular and secular, and often, which is still worse, the prelates themselves, neither observe, nor cause to be observed, the censures of the Church, but lead the people to despise them by their negligence and bad example. From this it arises that the clergy are imprisoned with impunity, beaten, mutilated; and killed, the prelates are spoiled of their goods and their rights, the churches are pillaged and profaned, the ecclesiastical liberty and immunity are scorned, and discipline is annihilated. For this cause, at the pressing instance of all the prelates assembled in this Council, we order all prelates and clerks to observe inviolably all the sentences of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, pronounced by the judge or by the Canons, and to cause them to be observed; the whole to be done under pain of

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 249.

† Ib. 278.

excommunication against the persons, and interdict against the communities.”* This was the general mode of your Papal Councils. Refusing to see the manifest fact, that no people pretending to be Christians could have so abused their pastors and governors in Christ, unless they had been almost maddened by the iniquitous tyranny of the clergy themselves, they took it always for granted that the people must be forced to submission by the terror of pains and penalties, instead of being won by the truths of the Gospel, operating on their hearts and consciences. Your historian himself makes this reflection : “ I am astonished,” saith he, “ that they could flatter themselves that these second censures would be more respected than the first, and that they would prove a remedy for the contempt of the censures themselves. They ought to have raised the authority of the Church from the foundations, and established it upon the esteem and veneration due to her ministers, and upon a lively faith in the rewards and punishments of eternity.”† Good Protestant doctrine, this ! but very opposite to the course of the Church of Rome for centuries prior to the Reformation.

A fair representation of the prerogatives of the Pope above the other Bishops, as generally held in this century, is given by Fleury from the laws of Alfonso, surnamed the Wise, King of Castile. They were as follows : “ The Pope can depose the other Bishops, and afterwards restore them, if he think fit, transfer them from one church to another, receive their dismissal, withdraw them from the jurisdiction of their superiors, Archbishops, Patriarchs, or Primates, and re-establish the clergy degraded by their Bishop. He can divide a diocese into two, or unite two

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 289.

† Ib. 289.

into one, make one Bishop subject to another, and erect a new bishopric. He can loose men from vows for the voyage to Jerusalem, or other pilgrimages, absolve from oaths to avoid perjury, and dispense from the vice of birth or default of age, in order to qualify persons for the reception of the priesthood and of benefices. He can convoke a General Council when he pleases, at which all the Bishops should attend. He can also order princes to march, or send those who were suitable, whenever the defence or the increase of the faith is concerned. He can make constitutions for the honor and utility of the Church in spiritual matters, and all Christians are bound to observe them. He has power to take their benefices from the clergy, and to bestow or promise them by his letters when they are vacant. He can absolve from excommunications pronounced by others, but no one can absolve from those which are pronounced by himself or his delegates. No one can appeal from his judgment, and he only can judge the appeals carried to his tribunal. In all ecclesiastical matters, an appeal direct can be taken to him. He can give a dispensation to hold many benefices, even with charge of souls. He only can dispense from simony. And all the greater causes should be brought to him, as well as questions of faith.* Here is a catalogue sufficiently comprehensive, though it did not include directly the power of deposing princes, which had been so often claimed and exercised by the Papal monarchs of the world.

A specimen of the mode in which the Crusaders availed themselves of the Papal indulgence in A. D. 1285, is given by your historian. "The army of France," saith he, "com-

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 360.

posed of Crusaders, entered Catalonia, and committed no less disorders than other troops. They profaned the churches by the effusion of blood, and by licentiousness. They violated even the nuns. They carried off the sacred vessels, the crosses and the images, the books and the ornaments of the church, and sold them one to another. They took down the bells, broke them, and bore them away. Thus they conducted themselves through the whole campaign, pretending, nevertheless, to gain the indulgence of the Crusade; for which they had such devotion, that those who could not draw an arrow or use any other arms, took stones, and said: 'I cast this stone against Peter of Arragon, to gain the indulgence.'"^{*}

In A. D. 1286, we find an account of Henry, Archbishop of Mayence, who was so learned a man that he passed for a necromancer![†] The same compliment had been paid to poor Roger Bacon a few years before.

The legate of the Pope addressed himself to the Council of Wirsburgh, A. D. 1287, on the state of the German clergy. "Some ecclesiastics," said he, "observed little modesty in their apparel, frequented the taverns, gamed with dice, visited the nuns, and talked and played with them in their chambers. They tilted in the tournaments, they maintained concubines, they usurped the benefices by intrusion, fraud, or violence. Some of them said two masses each day without necessity, but only to get the money." After a long list of other complaints, the legate turns to the mode in which the laity pillaged the clergy. "Ecclesiastical persons," saith he, "were not spared any more than their property. They were killed, wounded, mutilated, pro-

^{*} Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 374.

[†] Ib. 400.

scribed, arrested, imprisoned, all with impunity. No respect was paid any longer to the messengers of the Bishops, nor even of the Papal legates. Full often they arrested them, struck them, robbed them, and took away their letters, which they tore in pieces. The Bishops neglected their visitations to such extent, that one might find persons sixty years old who had not been confirmed. The disorder was great amongst the monks and the convents of nuns," &c.* But as usual, the Council proposes no other remedy but *excommunications and interdicts*. "Feeble remedies," saith your candid historian, "for evils like these."

One of the most interesting facts of the thirteenth century is that solitary example of the voluntary resignation of Pope Celestin V., after he had held the office during five months, and found himself totally wanting in the knowledge, the tact, but chiefly, perhaps, of the politic ambition, which were required to discharge it acceptably. The language of the document which he read to his Cardinals on the occasion is very touching :—"I, Celestin, Pope, the fifth of the name, moved by lawful causes, by humility, by the desire of a better life, in order not to wound my own conscience, by the weakness of my body, by lack of knowledge, and by the malignity of the people, and to recover the repose and consolation of my past life, do quit voluntarily and freely the Papacy, and I renounce expressly that charge and dignity; giving by these presents to the Sacred College of Cardinals full and free power to elect canonically a pastor for the Universal Church." At the reading of this paper, the Cardinals could not restrain their sighs and tears, but at length they concluded that the Pope should first make a

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 402-4.

constitution providing that every Pope may renounce his dignity, and that the College of Cardinals may accept his resignation. Celestin agreed to this, the constitution was drawn up, and the matter was concluded. He lost no time in resuming his simple habit of a monk; and men, says Fleury, interpreted his conduct differently: "the people of the world regarding it as an act of pusillanimity, while the wisest admired it as the effort of the most sublime virtue."* He was succeeded by Boniface VIII., who kept him most cruelly confined, in spite of his desire to return back to his beloved monastery, lest some persons should practise on his simplicity, and induce him to resume the dignity which he had resigned. And thus he ended his days as a prisoner in the Castle of Fumona, where he was kept in a strong tower, guarded day and night by six knights and thirty soldiers. No one was suffered to have access to him. They allowed two friars of his own order to celebrate the divine office with him; but these friars could not long endure the confinement, and his guards took them out sick, and replaced them with others. The room was so small that he slept with his head in the same spot where he placed his feet during the day when he said the Mass. He suffered all these hardships, and even the bad treatment of his keepers, without any signs of impatience; and when, after eighteen months' endurance, he was wearied out at last, and departed, in May, 1296, Pope Boniface sent a Cardinal to do honor to his funeral, and celebrate for him a solemn Mass at Rome!† This was the course of one of your most famous Popes! To wear out the life of his pious and humble-minded predecessor, on the ground of a suspi-

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 495-6.

† Ib. 504-5.

cious and unprincipled policy, embittering his days in a rigorous confinement, which sickened the friars that accompanied him, and excluding from him the free air and light of heaven, without the society of friends ; and then, *after he was dead*, paying the highest respect to his memory.

The new pontiff, in A. D. 1296, put forth a famous constitution, which begins with the words *Clericis laicos*, where he said in substance as follows : " Antiquity teaches us the hostility of the laity against the clergy, and the experience of the present times declares it manifestly, since, without considering that they have no power over ecclesiastical persons or property, they oppress both the regular and secular prelates and clergy with impositions, and, what we declare with grief, some prelates and other ecclesiastics, fearing more to offend the temporal than the Eternal Majesty, acquiesce in this abuse. Desirous, therefore, to remedy the evil, we ordain that all prelates or ecclesiastics, whether regular or secular, who shall pay to the laity the tenth or any other part of their revenue, under the title of aid, assistance, or any other, without the authority of the Holy See ; and the kings, princes, magistrates, and all others who shall impose or exact it, or who shall give their aid or counsel for that object, shall henceforth incur the sentence of excommunication, the absolution of which shall be reserved to the Holy See, notwithstanding their privileges." On this, your historian makes the very just observation, that " the aversion of the laity against the clergy, which the Pope begins by remarking, did not go back to such great antiquity ; since, during the first five or six centuries, the clergy drew to themselves the respect and affection of every one by their charitable and disinterested conduct."*

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 507-8.

The following year was signalized by the two Cardinals of St. Mary, *in via lata*, and of St. Eustachius, protesting against Boniface being a true Pope, on the ground that Celestin V. could not resign, and therefore there was no vacancy of the See when Boniface was appointed. These Cardinals both belonged to the powerful house of the Colonna, and they appealed to a General Council to judge the legality of their objection. The Pope, however, on the very same day, published his bull against them, depriving them of their dignities, excommunicating them and their adherents, and even proceeding so far as to declare that all the descendants of John Colonna, the ancestor of those Cardinals, should be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice to the fourth generation!*

The novel appointment of a plenary indulgence to all who should visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Rome, for fifteen days together, during the year 1300, was the work of this Pope, Boniface VIII. ; but he did not call it a jubilee. During the whole of that year, being the last of the century, an immense crowd of two hundred thousand pilgrims were continually in the city, whose offerings enriched the Church, while the money paid for their maintenance enriched the people.† So profitable a device was gladly adopted by subsequent Popes, only they thought it better to shorten the period from a hundred years to fifty, and finally it was brought down to twenty-five. And they gave it the name of the Jubilee, to the great satisfaction of the multitudes, who thus gained so pleasant and easy a mode of having all their sins blotted out by a journey to Rome, and a fortnight's devotion!

* Fleury, Tom. 18, p. 515-18.

† Ib. 549-50.

L E T T E R V I I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

IT was in the commencement of the fourteenth century that the famous John Scot, commonly called Duns Scotus, from the place of his birth, broached the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin.*

The year 1308 was marked by the resolution of Pope Clement V. to take up his residence at Avignon. Two years afterwards, he appointed three Cardinals to examine the witnesses against the former Pope, Boniface VIII., and Cardinal Cajetan ; and the testimony taken on the occasion proved them both to have been downright atheists. It was in substance as follows :—

Nicholas, a priest and canon of the cathedral, &c., on oath, said, that being at Naples, under the pontificate of Celestin V., viz., A. D. 1274, in the house of Marin Sichi-nulfe, where Cardinal Benedict Cajetan dwelt, he entered the chamber of the Cardinal, in the suite of the Bishop of Fricenti, and found there a clerk disputing with him, in presence of several persons, upon the questions, which was the best law or religion, that of the Christians, of the Jews, or of the Saracens ? and who those were that best observed their own ? Then the Cardinal said, What are all these religions ? They are the inventions of men. We need

* Fleury, Tom. 19, p. 150.

not put ourselves to any trouble, except for this world, since there is no other life but the present. He said also, on the same occasion, that this world has had no beginning, and would not have an end. Nicholas, Abbot of St. Benedict, &c., deposed to the same fact, adding, that the Cardinal Cajetan had said, that the bread was not changed in the sacrament of the altar, and that it was false that it was the body of Jesus Christ; that there is no resurrection; that the soul dies with the body; that this was his opinion, and that of all men of letters, but that the simple and the ignorant thought otherwise. The witness being asked if the Cardinal did not thus speak jestingly, replied, that he said these things seriously, and in good faith.

Manfred, a lay citizen of Lucca, said, that in the year 1300, before Christmas, being in the chamber of Pope Boniface, in presence of the ambassadors of Florence, of Boulogne, and of Lucca, and many other persons, a man, who appeared to be the Pope's chaplain, told his holiness of the death of a certain knight, who had been a wicked man, and therefore it was necessary to pray for him, that Jesus Christ might have pity on his soul. Upon which Boniface treated him as if he were a fool; and after having spoken injuriously of Jesus Christ, he added: This knight has already received all the good and evil he can have, and there is no other life than this, nor any other paradise or hell than what is in this world. The witness testified to another discourse of Boniface which modesty does not allow of our reporting; and another witness recited a story about him still more impious than the foregoing.

"What remains of this information," says Fleury, "comprehends the depositions of thirteen witnesses, all to a similar effect. Another information which appeared the follow-

ing year contained the evidence of twenty-three witnesses to the same facts, with others equally scandalous. But as the affair was never brought to judgment, it is superfluous to enter into any further detail.”*

Now here is a very extraordinary and powerful evidence to prove that at least one Pope, and he a very distinguished one, Boniface VIII., and one Cardinal, of high reputation, were not only infidels themselves, but claimed to be of the same class with “*all men of letters.*” That the testimony was satisfactory, seems incontrovertible; because the witnesses were thirty-six in number, unimpeached in character, and thought sufficient by Philip the Fair, King of France, and all his leading nobility. He proposed that Boniface should be arraigned, though dead, for heresy, and that his bones should be disinterred and burned, according to the modern fashion established by the Roman Church. It may seem strange, however, that even if Boniface and Cajetan had held such sentiments, they should have been so foolish as to utter them in the presence of so many. To this, two answers may be given. First, that the influence of the philosophy which we have already noted in the University of Paris was so prevalent, that the clergy and the upper ranks of the laity were generally infected with it, and religion was looked upon, by nearly all, as a thing of policy, necessary to keep the vulgar in order, but only professed by the higher classes, as it was in heathen Rome, “for the sake of appearances.” Unhappily, there are many proofs, too strong to be doubted, that this infidel philosophy was rife among the priesthood; and perhaps there is no other way of accounting for the manifest fact, that the Church,

* Fleury, Tom. 19, p. 186-8.

like the State, was governed for so many ages by the machinery of force and fear, as if there was no inward conscience to appeal to, except among a few pious souls, here and there—enough to perpetuate the Church, according to the promise of Christ, but not enough to affect the general sentiment.

If, however, we should not adopt this view of the case, we may still reconcile the rash avowals of Boniface and Cajetan with the well-known fact, that even the most accomplished masters of dissimulation are not always on their guard, but are led to betray themselves sometimes in a manner quite unexpected by themselves, as all guilty men are apt to do. And certainly this is much more likely than that thirty-six independent witnesses could be found to perjure themselves, without any motive to induce the King of France to make it their interest. For Boniface was now dead, and the reigning Pope was a Frenchman, residing at Avignon, in France, and devoted to the king. And as to Cajetan, we read of no reason why the royal Philip should have sought to stain his reputation, even if he could have been induced to incur the risk of engaging in such a conspiracy, which, if discovered, would have put his crown in peril, by raising the whole body of the priesthood against him.

That the affair was afterwards dropped with the consent of the king, serves still more to prove that he was not very strongly bent upon the measure; while it is obvious that the reigning Pope and clergy must have been anxious to consign it to oblivion on account of the scandal which it could not fail to produce, and the imminent danger that such a charge, once prosecuted to a formal conclusion, might have involved a great many of the clerical body in the

same condemnation, to the total ruin of their influence and power.

One of the most unquestionable statements of the condition of the Church at this time was furnished by a Bishop, to be laid before the approaching General Council of Vienne. The principal points are as follows :—

Throughout the greater part of France, the Sundays and principal festivals of the Church were the days for holding markets, fairs, and courts of assize, so that the times appointed in honor of God were profaned by the dissipation of secular business, by debauches in the taverns, quarrels, blasphemy, and other crimes. The archdeacons, archpriests, and the rural deans, often committed their authority to mean and ignorant persons ; and, whether they acted by themselves or by others, they abused the power of the keys to such extent, that they excommunicated for light and trifling causes, and often without any cause at all ; so that it was common to find three or four hundred excommunicated persons in one parish, and there was a case in which there were seven hundred. Hence arose a total contempt for these censures, with many injurious and scandalous speeches against the Church and her ministers.

Another evil was, that a multitude of vile and despicable persons were admitted to the priesthood, entirely unfit for their office either by knowledge or morality ; from which it was a natural consequence that the priests, in most places, were held in less esteem than the Jews by the laity. Many canons had been made against this disorder, but they were treated with no attention.

Again : persons received benefices who were incapable of serving them ;—strangers, who spake a foreign tongue ; or such as never resided, but remained attached to the

Court of Rome, or to the service of princes. Hence the country churches fell into ruin, their property and rights became lost, the divine office ceased, and the intention of the founders was frustrated. Connected with this was the plurality of benefices. The same man often possessed from three to twelve different churches; and even many children were endowed with benefices before they attained the age of reason. "When a cathedral church becomes vacant," says this honest Bishop, "we can hardly find an eligible person to occupy it; and if there be a good subject, which is rare in these days, the evil are in such great numbers, that they do not permit him to be elected. They choose one like themselves, and the evil party carry him through, either by artifice or surprise, or by violence or importunity with the great, or by consideration for his parentage, and these unworthy prelates only serve to destroy the Church instead of edifying."

The candid censor next describes the disorderly life of the clergy, chiefly of those who held benefices, the immodesty of their dress, and the superfluity of their tables. He complains that during the performance of divine service the canons walk through the church, and only come into the choir at the end, to receive their money. Or if they remain in the choir, they talk, two or three together, with great noise, and burst out into laughter, while the rest are singing.

He also notices the relaxing of monastic rules, many of the monks quitting their cloisters and residing where they pleased. Others, without celebrating their office, run through the fairs and markets, trading like men of the world, and abandoning themselves to the most shameful vices, to the great scandal of the people. He concludes

by saying, that the best remedy for so many evils is to return to the observance of the ancient canons, chiefly those of the *first four Councils*, and that the Church must be reformed *in the head as well as the members*.* Precisely what was done by the great reformers of the sixteenth century in England, by restoring the Church to her primitive state, reducing the Papal power within its ancient limits, and sweeping away the accumulated mass of corruption which had become so offensive to every sound mind in Christendom.

There was another memoir prepared for the Council at the same time by the Bishop of Mende, which Fleury reports at large. This clear-sighted and candid Bishop confirms all that the other had said, and adds the following topics :—

He states that even amongst the clergy who were men of letters, there were so few well instructed in the articles of faith and the salvation of souls, that they were exposed to the ridicule of infidels whenever they were obliged to confer with them. "This arises," saith he, "from the fact, that they have *abandoned the holy Scripture and true theology*, and applied themselves to the vain subtleties of dialectics." He rebukes strongly the simony which governed in the Court of Rome, and insists upon a great reformation in the prelates and all the clergy. "Licentiousness," he declares, "was so common, that marriage ought to be permitted to the priests, as in the Greek Church." And he complains that "houses of ill fame were allowed to stand near the churches, and in Rome near the palace of the Pope, and that his marechal even derived a tribute from prostitutes."†

* Fleury, Tom. 19, p. 195-9.

† Ib. 201-2.

At the opening of the General Council of Vienne, Pope Clement V. preached a sermon, and proposed as the three causes for the celebration of the Council, the affairs of the Knights Templars, the Crusades to the Holy Land, and the *reformation of the morals and discipline of the Church.**

The Pope decreed the abolition of the order of the Templars, with the approbation of the Council. And they passed a resolution to justify the faith of Pope Boniface against the accusation of King Philip. The Pope, however, made a decree, declaring that *no reproach should be ever brought against the king or his successors* for what he had done against Boniface or the Church.†

With regard to the morals and conduct of the clergy, the Council forbade them to carry on the business of a butcher or tavern-keeper, under penalty of being deprived of their clerical privilege. They were also excluded from the exercise of any occupation which was not suitable to their state, and from carrying arms. Moreover, they were forbidden to appear in public with their garments slashed, or composed of two colors, or with cloaks so short as to show their under garments, or with breeches checkered with red or green!‡ And this was all which the Pope and the Council deemed it necessary to enact in their acknowledged duty to reform the clergy.

The year 1312 witnessed a battle in Rome between the Emperor of Germany and the brother of the King of Naples, who was sustained by the faction of the Ursini. The Germans were defeated, many of the nobles were slain, and amongst them was Thibaud de Bar, Bishop of Liege, who was taken prisoner, pierced with wounds, and died three

* Fleury, Tom. 19, p. 203.

† Ib. 210.

‡ Ib. 219.

days afterwards. Here was another proof of the warlike habits of those prelates whom no considerations of religious duty or consistency were able to restrain.*

Pope Clement V. died A. D. 1314, near Avignon, leaving behind him this character, according to your historian: "He loved money greatly, so that at his court all benefices were sold. It was publicly said that he had for his mistress the Countess of Perigord, a very beautiful woman, daughter of the Count de Foix, and he left immense treasures to his nephews and other relations."† Yet he appears to have lived and died with reasonable credit, as a true successor of St. Peter, and vicar of the Lord Jesus Christ! The see remained vacant after his decease, *two years and three months*,—another long interregnum.

In A. D. 1316, however, the Cardinals elected Pope John XXII., who had previously been the Cardinal Bishop of Porto. And notwithstanding the strong desire of the Italian Bishops that he should reside in Rome, he resolved to continue the Papal Court at Avignon.

The following year was marked by the inquisitor of Tarragon, who formally condemned the errors of Arnold de Villa Nova. This man was a cleric of the diocese of Valentia, in Spain, who became a famous practitioner of medicine. Frederick, King of Sicily, had made him an ambassador, and he was physician to the Pope. His alleged errors were the following, amongst others:—"The devil," he said, "had industriously succeeded in turning the whole of Christendom from the truth of Christ, and had succeeded so completely that nothing of religion remained, save the skin, that is to say, the appearance of external worship;

* Fleury, Tom. 19, p. 221.

† Ib. 233.

and the faith of the people has become the faith of the demons, so that they are all led straight to hell. All the monks are without charity, and falsify the doctrine of Jesus Christ. The theologians have done evil by borrowing from philosophy, the study of which should be entirely condemned. The works of mercy are more agreeable to God than the sacrifice of the altar, in which neither the priest, nor he who causes the offering to be made, offers anything of his own.”* It was well for Arnold that he had died some years before, or these unpalatable doctrines might have brought him to the stake; or at least to torture and a dungeon.

The Archbishop of Ravenna held a Council at Boulogne A. D. 1317, in which we have another witness of the extent of clerical corruption. For this Council complains that the licentious lives and scandalous exterior of the clergy make them contemptible in the eyes of the people, and excite the laity to usurp the goods and the rights of the Church. And therefore the Council forbids ecclesiastics to carry arms, to enter places of debauchery, or to give lodging to suspected persons. Besides which, the Council prescribes in detail the form and quality of their dress, and prohibits the monks from the amusement of hunting.† It was the old disease, and treated by the same ineffectual remedies, which left the evil just where it was before.

The Pope, as our historian states, had been for some time the object of a conspiracy, and he had given a commission of inquiry, in February, 1317, to two persons of eminence, in which he uses the following words:—

“We have learned that John de Limoges, James, called the Brabançon, John d’Aman, physician, and some others

* Fleury, Tom. 19, p. 266.

† Ib. 274.

have applied themselves by damnable curiosity to necromancy and other magical arts, of which they have the books ; that they have often availed themselves of mirrors and images consecrated after their manner ; placing themselves in circles, they have often invoked evil spirits, in order to cause men to perish by violence or enchantment, or to inflict upon them maladies to shorten their days. Sometimes they have shut up demons in their mirrors, circles or rings, to interrogate them, not only concerning the past, but the future, and thus make predictions. They pretend to have made many experiments in these matters, and are not afraid to assure their adherents that they are able, not only by certain potions or meats, but by mere words, to abridge or lengthen life, or take it away altogether, and cure all sorts of diseases."

The Pope gave a similar commission, in the following April, to the Bishop of Riez, Peter Tessier, Peter Desprez, and two others, in which he says : " The conspirators have prepared potions to poison us and certain Cardinals ; and not having had the opportunity of making us swallow them, they have made images of wax under our names, in order to attack our lives by pricking these images, with magical enchantments and invocation of demons ; but God has preserved us, and has caused three of those images to fall into our hands."* Here was the authority of the great monarch of monarchs, and the final judge of all things in the Church, from whom there could be no appeal, deciding upon the reality of those diabolical conjurations, which were derided as mere superstitious fancies three centuries afterwards.

The political condition of Europe, which, as your modern

* Fleury, Tom. 19, p. 280-1.

writers would fain persuade us, was so much favored by the influence of the Papacy, is described by the same Pope, John XXII., in a letter to the King of France, A. D. 1319, written in order to dissuade the king from attempting a new crusade to Jerusalem. It is substantially as follows:—

“The peace,” says the Pope, “which is so necessary for such an enterprise, is almost banished from Europe. England and Scotland are opposed to each other. The princes of Germany are mutually involved in war; the Kings of Sicily and Trinacria have between them a truce of short duration, and are not disposed to peace; the Kings of Cyprus and Armenia are constantly in suspicion and distrust of each other; the Kings of Spain have enough to do to guard their frontiers against the kingdom of Grenada; the cities of Lombardy have risen against each other; divided internally, filled with hatred and cabals, while the country is full of tyrants, who persecute with fire and sword those who refuse to obey them. Genoa, that city so celebrated, and so convenient for the passage to Palestine, is desolated by divisions, and almost destitute of all resource. The sea is impracticable in those quarters; by land, the roads are not open; in a word, all these countries are much more likely to injure than to aid such an enterprise.”*

This specimen shows how the peace of Europe was promoted by the Papacy. Your theory of Romanism asks us to regard the Pope as the common father of mankind; and it is a pretty theory enough, if it were not proved, by all history, that such a pretence is, and always has been, to all practical intents and purposes, a most unmitigated imposition.

In the year 1328, the Emperor Louis, who had been ex-

* Fleury, Tom. 19, p. 293.

communicated by the Pope, and had been elected King of the Romans, pronounced John XXII. deposed, and appointed an anti-Pope by the title of Nicholas V., who took possession of St. Peter's, with the consent of the people, and began to exercise the usual functions of the office, under the protection of the emperor,* furnishing another proof how little the Papacy, with all its seeming power, could do to secure obedience from its own professed subjects. In a very short time, however, the Romans turned against the emperor and his new Pope, and they left the city, where they could no longer remain in safety. The Romans regarded them as heretics and excommunicated, and received the legate of Pope John with great honor. The secret was, that the emperor lost his influence in Rome, because he had no longer at his command either troops or money.† Two years afterwards, the anti-Pope submitted.

Pope Clement VI., A. D. 1343, in his famous Bull *Unigenitus*, established the Jubilee, placing the indulgence of Pope Boniface to all who should visit the churches of Rome, at the expiration of every fifty years, and founding the new arrangement upon the Jubilee of the Jewish system.‡ This Pope died in the year 1352. "He was magnificent," says your historian, "in his manner of living, and was prodigal of gifts and ecclesiastical benefices to his friends and relatives, in which he paid *no regard to science nor virtue*. While he was an Archbishop, he went beyond the young nobility in his fondness for women; and when he was Pope, he knew not how to contain himself on this point, nor how to conceal his propensities. The great

* Fleury, Tom. 19, p. 410-13.

† Ib. 422-3.

‡ Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 35-6.

ladies went to his chamber, like the prelates, and amongst the rest, a certain Countess of Turennes was distinguished by a large amount of favor."* Here was another sad pattern to the clergy and their flocks in the chief Bishop of Christendom!

Pope Urban V. returned with his Court from Avignon to Rome A. D. 1367, and it was remarked, that in riding in state through the city, he did not turn away from the spot where it was said that Pope Joan had been delivered, as *was the custom of some of his predecessors*. "This shows," says Fleury, "that they had begun to be disabused about this fable." In truth, however, it shows nothing of the kind. The existence of the custom which your historian admits is quite unaccountable, if the story was a fable. But it is easy to conceive that the Pope, who was a stranger in the city, had never had the spot pointed out to him, and therefore rode over it without thinking of the matter at the time.

In the year 1374, Francis Petrarch died, and Fleury sets forth his character very unfavorably, in order, as he says, that his readers may judge how much weight is due to his writings against the Popes and the Court of Rome. Your historian confesses that Petrarch had led the life of a clergyman from his youth, and was afterwards Archdeacon of Parma and Canon of Padua; but his profession did not hinder him from giving way to debauchery when he was young, nor did he retire from it at the age of forty. He had also a daughter, whom he named Franciscola. Pope Benedict XII., wishing Petrarch to marry Laura, promised him a dispensation, so that he might preserve his benefices.

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 213.

But the poet told him that if he was once in possession of the lady, all that he pretended to say of her would be out of season. Laura, however, who had not the same reasons, finding that she was frustrated of her hopes, married another. Such is Fleury's statement of the matter. Next he attacks Petrarch on the ground of his encouragement to the enterprise of Nicholas Rienzi, who endeavored to restore the ancient Republic to Rome A. D. 1347. And he adds: "After this, can any one take advantage of his declamations against the Court of Rome, saying as he does that Avignon was Babylon, and the Church which resided there was the harlot of the Apocalypse?"*

Here, however, your historian, though usually candid, argues very absurdly. The verdict of all Europe has settled the character of Petrarch, as a man endowed with extraordinary learning and genius. And if he was guilty of notorious licentiousness, which is certainly true, that did not prevent his enjoying the utmost favor with the Popes as well as the princes of his day, simply because the body of the clergy and the nobles were accustomed to clerical licentiousness, and therefore thought nothing of the sin. But no one has ever impeached him of calumny, venality, or defect of high honorable principle. His reputation as a scholar and a poet placed him on the pinnacle of fame, and every motive of interest and gratitude would have concurred to make him the advocate and apologist of the Papacy. His testimony, then, is perfectly clear of any real defect. Nor, indeed, does he say any more than many had said before his time, and multitudes more have said after him.

There is an interesting fact noted by Fleury, on a differ

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 248-250.

ent subject, which is worth recording. Pope Gregory XI., writing, in A. D. 1374, to the Greek, John Cantacuzene, who had become a monk after being emperor, makes a very distinct statement of the ground which had separated the Churches. "It was the refusal to acknowledge our primacy," saith he, "which caused the division between the Latins and the Greeks, and has maintained the schism."* This seems to show, from the testimony of a Pope, the opinion entertained upon the substantial agreement of Rome and Greece on all their other doctrines.

His successor, Urban VI., commenced his pontificate by reproaching the Bishops and Cardinals publicly, by which he thoroughly disgusted them. A large majority forthwith withdrew to Anagnani, and consulted together to annul the election, on the ground that they had been forced by the violence of the people to choose an Italian.† Accordingly, in A. D. 1378, they elected another, as if the see was vacant, and styled him Clement VII., and so the Church was again involved in schism.‡ France declared in favor of Clement, who repaired to Avignon. And as Urban had published bulls of excommunication against him, he published similar bulls against Urban. Thus they charged each other mutually with reproaches and maledictions.§

Both parties employed violence, seizing, abusing, and even killing the partisans of their adversary. But Urban had the advantage of the stronger secular power, the larger number of the kingdoms of Europe being in his favor.

In the year 1385, Pope Urban, suspecting a conspiracy against him by six of his Cardinals, put them to the torture, degraded them from their dignities, confiscated all their

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 250.

† Ib. 286.

‡ Ib. 281-3.

§ Ib. 298.

property, and confined them in prison. Moreover, he excommunicated the King of Naples, and placed the city under interdict. The king not only disregarded these acts as uncanonical, and obliged the clergy to perform divine service as usual, but sent troops to besiege the Pope in his castle at Nocern.* The six imprisoned Cardinals steadfastly professed their innocence, and Urban resolved to put them to the question again, displaying a savage spirit of cruelty.† Happily for them, however, he died in A. D. 1389, and the Cardinals of Rome elected Boniface IX. as his successor. He was a Neapolitan, of good stature and handsome countenance, understood grammar, and spake well; but Fleury says expressly that he could neither write nor sing, and that he was ignorant of the affairs and style of Rome.‡ The two Popes proceeded to anathematize each other as usual, and published the most terrible censures; which, as your historian justly observes, were equally idle on both sides.§

The letter addressed to the king by the University, proposing the best means of terminating the schism in the Papacy, A. D. 1394, gives a very instructive view of the state of the Church. Some passages are as follows:—

“ The Church has fallen into servitude, poverty, and contempt: she is exposed to robbery: they elevate to Bishoprics unworthy and corrupt men, who have no sentiment of justice or of humanity, and only seek to indulge their brutal passions. They ravage the churches and monasteries: the sacred and the profane are all alike to them, provided they can extract money from it; they charge the poor ministers of the Church with intolerable exactions, and collect

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 335.

† Ib. 376-7.

‡ Ib. 338-9.

§ Ib. 382.

them by the hands of inhuman men, who spare no one, and scarcely leave them enough to support life : we see everywhere priests begging, and reduced to perform the lowest services. In many places they sell the relics, crosses, chalices, and sacred vessels, provided they are of gold and silver : we see the churches falling into ruin."

"What shall we say of the simony, which governs to such extent in the Church, that everything is subjected to it? Without money few can obtain any favor ; those who have money have nothing to fear. This simony distributes to the most corrupt, if they be only rich, the benefices which are of some profit, while the poor are despised, however learned they may be. What is most of all deplorable is, that they sell even the sacraments, especially ordination and penance ; and they elevate the most vile and incapable to ecclesiastical dignity."

"What shall we say of the divine service, diminished everywhere, and in some places entirely abandoned ? What shall we say of the morals and virtues of the ancient Church being so forgotten, that if the fathers returned again, they could hardly believe that it was the same Church that they formerly governed?"* All this is certainly lamentable enough, but the same picture is presented from every quarter.

Before the year 1394 ended, Pope Clement died, and the Cardinals of his party proceeded to elect Peter de Luna, who took the name of Benedict XIII., and retained it, says Fleury, for thirty years.

The desire to do away with this obstinate schism, and restore the Church to unity, became stronger and stronger,

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 403-4.

and yet the Popes gave no encouragement on either side to any hopes of their voluntary cession. The French king, Charles VI., therefore, convoked a great assembly of prelates and doctors. The Patriarch of Alexandria opened the session; and after concluding that the best plan was to obtain the resignation of the existing Popes, they adjourned to meet in two months after, viz., July of the year 1398. At this second session, being fully aware of the inflexible determination of Benedict not to resign, it was resolved that the best way to bring him to reason would be to deprive him of all exercise of his power by an entire withdrawing of their obedience. This resolution was carried into effect by the royal authority, in letters patent, where, after explaining the reasons at great length, the king pronounces thus: "We, assisted by the princes of our blood, and many others, and with us the Church of our kingdoms, as well the clergymen as the people, do withdraw entirely from the obedience of Pope Benedict XIII., and from that of his adversary," (that is to say, Boniface IX.,) "of whom we make no mention, because we have never obeyed, nor can we obey him. We will that henceforth no one shall pay anything to Pope Benedict, to his collectors or other officers, of the ecclesiastical emoluments or revenue, and we strictly forbid all our subjects to obey him or his officers in any manner whatever."*

This course was adopted on the united recommendation of three hundred persons of credit and distinction, besides the Universities of Paris, of Orleans, of Angers, of Montpellier, and of Toulouse. And it was resolved to provide for the preservation of the ancient rights and liberties of the

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 437-8.

Church of France: the whole being concluded by going in procession to the Church of St. Genevieve the following Sunday.*

Two commissaries were appointed to publish this act at Avignon, and the ordinance was universally obeyed both by clergy and people. The eighteen Cardinals of Pope Benedict likewise renounced their obedience to the Pope, and retired with one accord to Villa Nova.†

An occasion of celebrity was soon presented to execute the new regulation concerning the disposition of benefices during the subtraction of obedience. The Abbot of St. Denis, in France, died in April of the same year. The king having granted the usual liberty of election, the monks proceeded accordingly, and chose Philip de Villette to be their new Abbot. This election ought to have been confirmed by the Pope, according to the charter of the abbey; but the most learned Canonists judged that in the present case, the authority of the pontiff might be devolved upon the Bishop of the diocese.‡

Now here we have a most instructive piece of history, which goes to the full extent of justifying the Church of England in casting off her obedience to the Pope, according to the principles of your own communion, including the whole Gallican clergy. For if the Church of France could withdraw from the obedience to Pope Benedict XIII., whom she held to be the true and lawful Pope, and adopt a new plan of continuing her ecclesiastical life and functions in total contravention of his authority, merely because it was the judgment of the universities and clergy that he *ought* to resign, and since he would not consent, that he

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 439.

† Ib. 440.

‡ Ib.

must be compelled to it: how much more could the Church of England withdraw her obedience, on the far higher ground of a thorough reformation, according to the rules of primitive Catholicism! Under ordinary circumstances, the Church of France admitted that the Pope was the final judge of all things in the Church, from whom there was no appeal. But here we have a proof that under *extraordinary* circumstances, they had within themselves the right to suspend the established rule, and act quite independently; and that they were competent to decide upon the measure of the necessity which made their proceedings lawful. Nor is this the only example of the kind, for we shall find many other proofs of the exercise of the right, before we arrive at the great secession of the sixteenth century.

Of course, however, Pope Benedict XIII. was not a convert to the doctrine. On the contrary, he was perfectly immovable, and flatly refused to renounce his dignity, protesting that he would not submit to the orders of the king, but would keep his name and office until death. The consequence was, that he was besieged in his palace at Avignon by the army under Marshal Boucicaut, and although he had plenty of provisions, yet he and his little garrison were reduced to great suffering for want of fuel to cook them. Still, his constancy and courage never failed, notwithstanding the example of France was followed during the same year by Henry, King of Castile, and the clergy of his kingdom.*

The University of Oxford being consulted by the king, whether the example of France with respect to Benedict ought not to be followed by England with regard to Boni-

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 445-6.

face, replied in the negative: "We do not blame the Spanish nor the French," said they, "for having withdrawn from the obedience of their fictitious Pope, and desiring to compel him to resign. But if they pretend that this mode of forced resignation, or of subtraction of obedience, is canonical or universal, and ought to be followed by those whose conscience does not reproach them, we deny it absolutely."

"It is a mortal sin to refuse to our superior the obedience which is due to him, and they commit it here without necessity, because there is another way to end the schism, namely, that of a General Council, more canonical and more proper to calm the consciences of both parties. Our holy father, S. Boniface, ought to convoke a General Council, to which he should call not only those of his own obedience, but also the anti-Pope, Peter de Luna, and his adherents; and the acts of this Council should be conclusive on the subject of the schism."*

Now here, Most Reverend Sir, although there appears to be a vast difference in opinion, yet it is evident that this judgment of the Oxford University could only be sustained by the same principle which justified the course of France. For where was the *canonical authority to compel Boniface to call a General Council, and invite his antagonist's adherents to attend it*, with a view to have them both deposed and another Pope elected? Boniface had twice pronounced excommunications against his rival and all who obeyed him, and how could he be expected to give these excommunicated men *equal rights* in a General Council, or even to consider them worthy of being admitted there at all?

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 450.

Besides which, this expedient, at best, was only another uncanonical way of doing the same thing. The very object of the proposed General Council was such, that the Pope who called it virtually committed his own deposition to its judgment, on the mere ground of an arbitrary expediency. Hence it is manifest, that if he could be compelled to call such a Council, by any existing power in the Church, the same power must be sufficient to withdraw its obedience, since the ultimate object in both cases was to get rid of that obedience, for the sake of the Church's welfare ; and therefore, by either mode, the present Pope would be equally deposed, against his will, and without any canonical justification.

With regard to the duty of obedience, too, the breach of which, according to the University of Oxford, is a mortal sin, it is incontrovertible that this duty, where the Pope was concerned, was just as incumbent on the whole Church^{as} as it was on any part of it. And here is a point of obvious inconsistency in your Papal theory, that while the Pope is the sovereign Ruler and Master of the whole Church, yet the same Church, though only acting by a very imperfect representation in a General Council, is superior to him ! The truth is, that your Church, in times of difficulty, has always bent her own theory to expediency, and justified herself by that necessity which must sometimes, whether in Church or State, prostrate, for the time and the occasion, all ordinary rules of conventional subordination. Thus, in a monarchy, the whole nation, in theory, is subject to the king. But this authority can only be available in practice so long as he can put down the rebellion of the few by the strength of the many. Hence, whenever the majority of his subjects are united against him, they become his mas-

ters, and he must submit to the necessity of a revolution. And if, in point of fact, the change is justified by the *principles of truth and substantial justice*, the rebels are called heroes, and the dethroned tyrant is abandoned and condemned. In like manner, precisely, your Church of Rome has always treated the power of her Popes. She inveighs loudly and angrily against the resistance to the Pope, exhibited in the English Reformation, notwithstanding her frequent adoption of the same resistance whenever it suited her supposed interests. And yet the difference of the cases will appear to be immeasurably in favor of the Church of England, because Rome rebelled only on her notions of *expediency*, while England rebelled in obedience to the *law of primitive Christianity, and the WORD OF GOD*. At this point, however, I shall close my historical notes upon the fourteenth century.

L E T T E R I X .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

BENEDICT XIII. remained four years shut up in his palace at Avignon, from which the French king did not intend him to be delivered until the final removal of the schism. Wearied of this captivity, he concerted with a Norman gentleman the means of escape in A. D. 1403, having previously, however, written to the king, and protested that he remained of the same mind to continue his efforts for the union of the Church. By this time, the wind had changed. The Cardinals and citizens of Avignon hastened to reconcile themselves with him. Another Council was convened in Paris, and it was resolved unanimously to restore their obedience to Benedict XIII. The argument on which they decided is again quite instructive. It was not on any ground of *duty*, but rather on a point of *honor and of pride*. Many persons represented to the king, who was then in his right mind, that France was almost the only kingdom which had taken this course. "All the States," said they, "of the obedience of the anti-Pope, Boniface, have declined to withdraw their adherence, and the rest of Christendom has remained under the obedience of Benedict. It would be disgraceful to the King of France to be the only one to follow such a counsel. The king said that he did not remember having ever consented to the withdrawal, and finally the restoration of obedience was re-

solved upon." These are the words of your historian, Fleury.* To understand the language of the king aright, it must be remembered that he was subject to fits of insanity, one of which afflicted him at the time when the former course had been adopted. But what had the insanity of the king to do with the judgment of the Universities and the clergy?

Boniface died the same year, and was succeeded by Innocent VII., the Cardinals who elected him having first taken an oath that whoever among them should be chosen Pope, would labor to restore the union of the Church, even if, to that end, it should be necessary to renounce the pontificate.† The new Pope also died about three years afterwards, and Gregory XII. was elected, a similar oath having been adopted by the act of the Cardinals, and formally subscribed by all.‡ Without delay, Gregory wrote to his rival, offering to renounce, on condition that Benedict would do the same, and communicated his proposal in a circular letter to all the princes and prelates of Christendom.§ To this, Benedict XIII. replied that he had always been desirous of the union of the Church, and had never refused the mode of discussion to show the justice of his claims. He then offered to meet Gregory, with their respective Cardinals on both sides, at some sure and convenient place, and there to resign his right, if Gregory would do the same. This letter is dated January, 1407. Thus, says Fleury, "the two Popes held the same language, and the event proves that they thought precisely alike, that is to say, the *very contrary of what they professed.*"||

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 463.

† Ib. 483.

|| Ib. 490.

† Ib. 470.

§ Ib. 489.

After many vain attempts to bring the matter to any practical conclusion, in the course of which the insincerity of Gregory became particularly manifest, he excited the suspicions of his Cardinals, who withdrew to Pisa A. D. 1408, and there drew up a formal act, complaining of his injustice. The terms of this instrument are remarkable. We appeal, say they, "first to yourself, holy father, better informed, and judging according to right reason; but if we must appeal from one person to another, we appeal from you to our Saviour Jesus Christ, of whom you are the vicar, and who will judge the quick and the dead. We also appeal to a General Council, who are accustomed to examine and judge all the actions of the Popes themselves. We appeal still further to the future Pope, to whom it belongs to reform whatever evil his predecessor may have done, and we protest against all that may be done or attempted to our prejudice during the course of this appellation."*

Down with the laws of servile obedience even to Popes, and even from their own Cardinals! All honor to the Apostolic right of Episcopal judgment, whenever men are able to make themselves heard and respected! For in the end, we shall see the whole Church of Rome sanctioning this act of theoretical rebellion, to the utter confusion of those absurd controversialists who denounce the reformed Church of England, only because her Bishops exercised the same right on an infinitely more exalted ground of duty. And yet these Cardinals were not all Bishops, and they were only six in number. Notwithstanding which, they appeal from the Pope to himself, when better informed, and judging according to right reason! They appeal from the

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 500.

Pope to the judgment of the Lord Jesus Christ ! They appeal to a future General Council ! They appeal to a future Pope ! And they protest against all that shall be done or attempted to their prejudice during the course of their appellation ! So that here, Most Reverend Sir, you have four forms of appeal from the pontiff, whose decision you profess to consider final and conclusive ! And at the end, they become *Protestants*, against all that may be done or attempted to oppose them !

A similar specimen of independence was exhibited by the French clergy the same year. For Benedict XIII. sent to the king and all the lords of the Council a bull, in which he excommunicates, 1st, all who should reject the mode of conference, in order to settle the claims of himself and his rival, whether they were kings or princes ; 2d, all who should approve the mode of resignation ; 3d, all who should profess an opinion contrary to his own ; 4th, all who should withdraw from his obedience ; and 5th, in case any one shall attempt the contrary, if, within twenty days, he does not restore everything to its former state, then the Pope pronounces a general interdict, and suspends all the holders of benefices, and dispenses with the oaths of fidelity to the king and the other princes.*

An immense assembly, at the head of which were the king and the princes, as also the members of Parliament, the Bishops and the clergy, came together in the palace gardens, on the 21st of May, A. D. 1408, to hear John de Courtecuisse, appointed by the University of Paris to sustain thirteen propositions, amongst which were the following, viz. :—

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 502.

“That Peter de Luna (Pope Benedict XIII.) is obstinately perjured in matter of faith. That he has taught a manifest heresy in publicly saying that he would sin mortally in resigning the pontificate. That he and his adherents are endeavoring to make a new schism in the Church. That he is an obstinate schismatic, and even heretic, and a troubler of the peace of the Church. That he ought not to be called Benedict, nor Pope, nor Cardinal, nor any other name of dignity, and no one ought to obey him, under the penalty of being an abettor of schism. That all who give him aid or counsel in the kingdom of France render themselves guilty of treason.”*

The Cardinals of Gregory who were at Pisa, after corresponding with those of Benedict, issued a bull for a General Council, on the ground that the Canons investing the Pope with the sole authority in that matter, could not have effect when there were two contending parties, both claiming the pontificate.† And, doubtless, they were right; for there is a necessity in the affairs of Churches as well as States, at times, which no law can provide for, and which must be allowed to govern by the maxims of eternal truth and justice.

The Council assembled at Pisa accordingly, March 25, A. D. 1409, and assumed to itself the style and privileges of a General Council. The two Popes were called by open summons at the door of the church, and as neither of them answered, the summons was repeated at intervals on subsequent days, until the third time, and they were declared contumacious. A statement of the accusations against them was drawn up, witnesses were examined, and the re-

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 503-4.

† Ib. 510.

port was adopted as true, public and notorious. A last citation was then made at the door of the church, as before, calling on the condemned Popes to hear their definitive sentence. To which no answer being returned, the Patriarch of Alexandria, seated between the two Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, read the sentence, which declared in substance, that "this holy Council, representing the universal Church, to which belongs the cognizance and decision of this cause, concerning the union of the Church, and the schism, having seen all that was proved against Peter de Luna and Angelo Corrario, formerly called Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., after mature deliberation, decides and declares, that all the crimes contained in the memorial presented by the promoters to the Council, are true and notorious, and that the said Angelo Corrario and Peter de Luna are obstinate schismatics and heretics, guilty of perjury, scandalizing the Church, and incorrigible. Wherefore they have rendered themselves unworthy of all honor and dignity, of all right to command or preside, and are cut off from the Church accordingly."

"Nevertheless, for the greater surety, the Council deprives them of all these rights, forbids either of them to bear the name of Pope, declares the See of Rome vacant, and all Christians, of whatever dignity, even imperial or royal, absolved from their obedience, notwithstanding any oaths of fidelity, or engagement whatsoever, forbidding all the faithful to obey either the one or the other, to give them aid or counsel, to receive or favor them, under pain of excommunication."*

The Council next proceeded to elect a new Pope, who

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 522-532.

took the name of Alexander V., a Greek by nation, but educated first in Italy, and afterwards at Oxford, in England. He was about seventy years old when elected, amiable, liberal, and a reasonable lover of good cheer and good wine. Immediately after his election, he approved all that had been done in the Council, united the two Colleges of Cardinals, and declared that he would apply himself to the reformation of the Church as the Council had promised, and that each nation should choose wise and virtuous men to deliberate on this subject with the Cardinals.* Finally, the Pope ordered, for great and important reasons, that another General Council should assemble in three years, viz., A. D. 1412.† After this settlement of the difficulty, the Council adjourned on August 7th of the same year.

The new Pope, however, gave little satisfaction. He was too facile, and ignorant of law. Nothing was reformed; and he died before twelve months had passed from the time of his consecration. He was succeeded by John XXIII., who issued his bull for the General Council of Constance, and opened it in person A. D. 1414. Here it soon became manifest that some course should be taken to accomplish the union of the Church, which was not yet attained. The legates of Gregory and Benedict attended, and were honorably received, notwithstanding the sentence of the Council of Pisa. Gregory proposed to resign, if Benedict and John would do the same, and if John did not preside over the Council. And many of the prelates were disposed to think that this was the only plan likely to secure peace and unity.

A new mode of voting was proposed, viz., by nations;

* Fleury, Tom. 20, p. 537-8.

† Ib. 539.

and this, through the efforts of the Emperor Sigismund, who was the leading spirit in this Council, was resolved upon, notwithstanding it was contrary, as your historian admits, to the usual practice in Councils, where the vote of each member was always counted.* The effect of this new rule was to neutralize the preponderance of the Italians, who had more members present than all the rest together.

A secret list of accusations was prepared against Pope John XXIII., "which contained all the mortal sins, with an infinity of abominations."† But in order to avoid dishonoring the Holy See, it was suppressed. Deputies, however, were sent to him, to ascertain if he were willing to resign; and he, fearing a deposition, consented, on condition that Gregory and Benedict should resign also. Nevertheless, he fled in disguise from Constance, and other deputies were dispatched, in order to induce him to return; because many feared that his absence would dissolve the Council. But the Council settled that doubt by a decree that it was not, and should not be dissolved, until the schism was extinguished, and the Church was reformed in faith and morals, "as well in the head as in the members."‡

Finally, the Council proceeded to cite Pope John, who did not appear; and then, having heard the testimony of a large number of witnesses, they first suspended, and then deposed him. The charges against him were very numerous, and amongst them the following:—That he was notoriously simoniacal; that he had dissipated the property and the rights of the Church of Rome and the other churches; that by his evil and detestable immoralities he

* Fleury, Continuation, Tom. 21, p. 235. † Ib. 236. ‡ Ib. 251.

had scandalized the people of Christendom ; and that he had shown himself incorrigible. As such, the Council pronounced him deposed, and deprived absolutely of the pontificate, discharged all Christians from their oaths of fidelity, forbade them for the future to acknowledge him as Pope, and committed him to the custody of the emperor, reserving to itself the right to punish him for his excesses, according to the Canons and the laws.*

The next act of this celebrated Council was to establish the new custom of depriving the laity of the cup in the holy Eucharist. And here they assumed a much greater power, for their decree embraced the six conclusions following, according to your historian : “ 1st, That the Eucharist was instituted under both the species,” (that is, with the symbols of both the body and the blood of the Saviour.) “ 2d, That it is an allowed and laudable custom not to administer this sacrament after supper, unless to the sick. 3d, That although it was the usage of the primitive Church to commune under *both the species*, nevertheless, in order to avoid some danger and scandal, it was allowable to introduce the custom of giving the Communion to the laity *only under the species of bread*. 4th, That this custom, observed for a long time, ought to pass for a law, which it is not permitted to any one to change or disapprove without the authority of the Church. 5th, That whoever saith that it is unlawful to observe this custom, is in error. 6th, That those who decide otherwise, ought to be reputed *heretics*, and as such, *repressed and punished*.”†

Now here we see the bold impiety with which this Council presumed to *legalize* what they acknowledged to be

* Fleury, Contin., Tom. 21, p. 313-14.

† Ib. 329-334.

a departure from the institution of Christ himself, and not only so, but to pronounce it *a heresy* if any one should dare to do what the Lord commanded, and what they admit the primitive Church observed, by giving both the wine and the bread to the laity! Thus they openly set themselves above and against the word of Christ, and furnished a plain proof that they were acting in the true spirit of that Antichrist, who should "sit in the temple of God, and show himself to be God." True, they endeavored to justify themselves by the doctrine of *concomitancy*, saying, that as there can be no body without blood, therefore the laity received the blood virtually, when they received the body! Entirely forgetting that this sacrament was instituted to show forth the *death* of Christ—His sacred body broken, and His precious blood shed for sinners, which could not possibly be symbolized with the bread alone. Forgetting, also, that the Church has always held the power of Christ Himself to be necessary to make a sacrament, and hence that they could not presume to take away one of its essential elements. Forgetting, above all, that instead of being really able to make *a heretic* of him who followed Christ and the primitive Church of the Apostles, they were in truth making *themselves and the Church heretical*, by wantonly setting up their judgment against their Lord, and His inspired messengers. But such was the depth of corruption in which the rulers of your Church had sunk, that they felt neither afraid nor ashamed to proclaim this awful assumption of authority over the Son of God and His Apostles; confident that as the impious custom was already in general use, their pronouncing it to be a law would excite no opposition.

Another act of novelty in your modern Church of Rome, although it might have been much better justified by primi-

tive precedents, was the resolution of the Council to *make the emperor the President of the Council for one session*, in order to overcome the scruples of Gregory XII., who refused to acknowledge the authority of a Council called by John XXIII., or his Cardinals. This being done, Charles de Malatesta, the authorized representative of Gregory, renounced his title as Pope in due form, and Gregory himself afterwards ratified it in person.

Their next act of importance, unhappily, was no novelty, for they proceeded to condemn John Huss, the reformer of Bohemia, as a heretic. Accordingly, after being degraded from the priesthood, he was delivered to the secular arm, and burned alive; maintaining to the last, by the confession of his enemies themselves, the most undaunted and heroic deportment.* The disciple of Huss, Jerome of Prague, came next under condemnation, and the fathers of this Council had the satisfaction of committing him also to the flames, where he suffered with the same firmness and constancy as his master.†

After many vain efforts to procure the voluntary abdication of Benedict XIII., the Council resolved to depose him, as they had deposed John XXIII.‡ And thus, having gotten rid of three Popes, the field seemed clear to elect another.

The twenty-ninth session of the Council was marked by a decree, ordering that General Councils should be held every ten years, as the best mode of preserving the Church, in such place as the Pope should appoint. But since the assembly at Trent, three hundred years ago, your consistent and infallible Church of Rome has treated this wise law

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 21, p. 349-352. † Ib. 417-18. ‡ Ib. 461.

with perfect contempt and contumacy. Much disputation took place on the question whether the Council should first elect a Pope, or finish the decrees for the Reformation. At length, however, the election was agreed on, and they chose Martin V., an Italian of the house of Colonna. This Pope, in a bull against the Hussites, formally acknowledged the Council of Constance, as *a standard of belief to all the faithful*. From which your historian very justly concludes, that the doctrine of the General Council being superior to the Pope, is *an article of faith*, since such was the decreed doctrine of that Council.* But as to the reformation of the Cardinals and the Court of Rome, the Pope so managed as to elude it altogether.† The Council was dismissed A. D. 1418, having sat three years and a half. And Fleury candidly remarks, that they failed to extinguish the schism completely, since two Cardinals and Pope Benedict XIII. still held out. And although they had so solemnly decreed that the Council should not be dissolved until a thorough reformation was effected in the head and in the members, yet the whole of this most important matter was now put off “to a more convenient season.”‡

In A. D. 1424 Benedict XIII. died; but, on his death-bed, he made his two Cardinals swear that they would elect a successor to him immediately, as he fully believed himself the only true Pope. The Cardinals, accordingly, elected the Canon of Barcelona, who took the name of Clement VIII., and was sustained by the King of Arragon.§ The king, however, agreed soon afterwards to the propositions of Pope Martin V. Clement VIII., with great joy, laid down his dignity, his Cardinals proceeded formally to

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 21, p. 515.

† Ib. 530

‡ Ib. 520.

§ Ib. 597-8.

elect Martin V., and thus this schism was ended, after having endured for fifty-one years.*

Martin V. died A. D. 1431, and was succeeded by Eugenius IV. And now we come to the history of the famous Council of Basle, which has always been a subject of controversy amongst your own theologians, notwithstanding your confident boast of *unity*.

This Council was assembled as a General Council, according to the acceptation of your Church, in the same year, viz., 1431; and from the very beginning, the Pope and the Council were involved in dissension. For the pontiff desired to transfer it to Bologna, in Italy, where it would be more under his control; whereas the prelates were determined to hold it as Basle, which was the place expressly decreed by the previous Council, and was preferable in their judgment, for the very reason that the Pope would probably have assigned against it. The ostensible causes which were set forth for the assembling of the Council, were the re-establishment of union with the Oriental Church, and the other communities which had separated from Rome, and the great object of the general reformation of the whole Church, *as well in the head as in the members*, which had become, in the judgment of all good men, a work of primary obligation. But as this reformation threatened seriously to curtail the powers and riches of the Papacy, the Popes were all anxious to get rid of it, by every pretext and artifice in their power.† That this was the policy of Eugenius, is plainly asserted by your historian.

Hence, one of the first acts of the Council of Basle was to ordain that the Pope could not dissolve the Council, nor

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 21, p. 626-9.

† Fleury, Cont., Tom. 22, p. 9-12.

transfer it elsewhere. And in answer to his legates, they expressly declared that a General Council was superior to the Pope, being the voice of the universal Church, and that by necessary consequence, instead of the Pope having authority over the Council, the Council, on the contrary, had authority over the Pope.* Eugenius, however, had no idea of yielding his transcendent prerogative, and issued a bull, decreeing his dissolution of the Council. The Council, in return, cited the pontiff to appear, and answer the charge of contumacy. And thus the shameful spectacle was exhibited for two years of Pope against Council, and Council against Pope. It would be a troublesome question to answer, Most Reverend Sir, according to your modern system, where was your Church during this and many other periods of intestine warfare?

Eugenius, however, being alarmed by the menaced opposition of the Emperor Sigismund, thought it best to temporize, and sent four legates to the Council to preside in his name, at the same time publishing another bull, by which he revoked the former ones, and declared *that the General Council of Basle had been lawfully continued since its commencement, and that he approved all that they had done.*† This declaration of the pontiff was not acceptable to all, and they made no secret of their dissatisfaction. Nor have the various parties in your Church agreed upon the subject to this day.‡ According to your highest theory, accepted on all sides, *a General Council, approved by the Pope, is INFAL-* LIBLE! And yet your theologians have shown that this theory was not believed by themselves, unless the result was satisfactory; and hence they have played fast and

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 22, p. 21-22.

† Ib. 72-3.

‡ Ib. 75.

loose with their Popes and Councils, whenever policy required. It is incontrovertible that the Council of Constance, as well as the Council of Basle, decreed the *supreme authority* of a General Council, even without or against the Pope. This doctrine was approved by Martin V., in the Council of Constance, and again by Eugenius IV., in the Council of Basle. And your historian, Fleury, most truly asserts, that such has been the law of the Church, as far back as the great Council of Chalcedon.* Nevertheless, your ultramontane party refuse to accept the *infallible* decision. And the controversy, although it is of the first importance to your whole system, is as far from being settled now, as it was in the fifteenth century.

But to return to the history of the celebrated Council of Basle. Eugenius, being much troubled in his affairs, was all complaisance to the Council. In the year 1434, Philip, the Duke of Milan, had made war upon him. The Roman citizens compelled him to fly from the city in the disguise of a monk, and he rested not until he found safety in Florence. For these reasons, little as he relished the independent course of the prelates at the Council of Basle, he addressed another letter to them, renewing the assurance of his approbation, and making the most flattering protestations of esteem and affection.† All of which, as the event showed, was nothing else but deceit and artifice.

In the following year, viz., A. D. 1435, the Council, after passing some decrees against clergymen who kept public concubines, against interdicts, and against appeals, (which last two were only matters of better regulation,) proceeded to attack the Annates, which were a source of vast pecu-

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 22, p. 78.

† Ib. 81-2.

niary profit to the Court of Rome. The Pope's legates protested, but in vain. Eugenius himself remonstrated, and thus a new theme of discord arose between them.*

The year 1436 was marked by the extinction of the schism of the Bohemians, who, after the kingdom had been ravaged by a religious war of twenty-two years, agreed to be content with only one concession, viz., the receiving of the sacrament in both kinds. And this the Council of Basle granted to them, thus virtually indulging what the Council of Constance had infallibly defined to be a heresy, just before the reformers Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned, and committed to the flames.†

In order to facilitate the reunion with the Greek Church, the Council next resolved to send some galleys to convey the Greek emperor and the Patriarch, with the chief of their prelates, to the conference, proposing Basle, or Avignon, or Savoy, as the place of meeting.‡ But the Pope refused to approve the decree, and exerted himself successfully to prevent its execution.§ He even went so far as to equip a set of other vessels at Venice, to supersede the galleys of the Council. Accordingly, having gained the ambassadors of the Greeks, three of the pontiff's Bishops, appointed as his legates, embarked, and arrived first at Constantinople.|| Not many days afterwards, the galleys sent by the Council came into port, and the commander of the Pope's vessels "had orders to attack them," saith your historian, "and would have done so, if the Greek emperor had not dissuaded him!"¶ Another precious specimen of your Papal unity! The management of Eugenius, however, prevailed,

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 22, p. 113.

† Ib. 142.

‡ Ib. 156-7.

† Ib. 134.

§ Ib. 149.

¶ Ib. 157.

and, notwithstanding all that the deputies of the Council could urge, the emperor and the Patriarch, with the rest of the Greek ecclesiastics, went on board the Pope's ships, and left the Council to digest the affront as they chose.* The consequence was, a prompt resolution of the Council, to summon the Pope to appear, and answer for his bad faith, in introducing schism into the Church, &c.† To this, Eugenius replied by a bull, decreeing that the Council should be dissolved the moment that the Greeks should arrive, and appointing another Council to convene at Ferrara.‡

The next act in this comedy of Roman unity was the decree of the Council of Basle, declaring Eugenius contumacious, inasmuch as he had not obeyed their summons. They sent him a remonstrance, in which they argued the matter at great length, and informed him, that if he failed to retract within two months, they would proceed to depose him.§

The Pope, however, instead of retracting, renewed his bull for the Council of Ferrara, and the first session was accordingly held A. D. 1438, and was numerously attended. A small number of deserters, of whom Cardinal Julian was the chief, left Basle, and repaired to the standard of Eugenius, but the rest continued the Council, and pronounced a decree of suspension against the Pope, from all his jurisdiction, temporal and spiritual;|| forbidding all persons to obey him, under pain of excommunication. Eugenius, on his part, together with his Council of Ferrara, returned the assault by a decree, nullifying all the acts of the Council of Basle, and excommunicating all who should adhere to it:¶

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 22, p. 158.

† Ib. 160.

|| Ib. 175-8.

† Ib. 159.

§ Ib. 165-169.

¶ Ib. 180.

a sad dilemma to which your Papal Church has always reduced her unfortunate subjects in the times of her numerous schisms, since every soul was sure to be delivered to Satan, either by the one party or the other. Happily, these tremendous fulminations were valued about as much as if they had all become Protestants already.

Of course, the Council of Basle were ready with a fit return. They decreed the dissolution of the assembly at Ferrara, as being schismatic, and unworthy of the name of Council, annulled all that they had done, and summoned the members to appear and answer, within one month, for their offence.*

The Council of Ferrara commenced the conference with the Greek emperor and the delegates of the Greek Church, and proceeded to some extent, when it was transferred to Florence, on account of the pestilence, and there the first session was held, in February, 1439. The Pope paid all the expenses of the Greeks, and sent, besides, nineteen thousand florins to Constantinople. I shall not detain my readers with any detail of the synodical discussion. Suffice it to say, that the necessities of the Greek emperor produced a formal acquiescence on their part with the doctrines of Rome, and the reunion was celebrated by the Pope with great rejoicing. But after the return of the Greeks to Constantinople, it was found that the Greek Church would by no means ratify the decrees. The parties to the union were regarded as traitors, and the two Churches remained as much separated as before.

The Council of Basle continued its sessions, with the approbation of the Emperor Sigismund, the King of France,

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 22, p. 181.

and the other princes, who had not approved the transfer of the Council to Ferrara or to Florence, although they did not agree to the decrees of Basle against the Pope, and still acknowledged him as the true pontiff: thus choosing for themselves what they would accept and what they would reject of the doings of an infallible Council,* and plainly showing that they did not believe the Holy Spirit had much to do with either the one Council or the other.

The next important act of the Council of Basle was the deposition of Eugenius IV. for contumacy, which took place on the same day that the Council of Florence, with the Pope at its head, celebrated the reunion with the Greek Church.†

Eugenius and his Council lost no time, on the other hand, in deposing all the members of the Council of Basle from their dignities and offices, condemning all who adhered to them as heretics and schismatics, and annulling all the acts of the Council, especially those of the two last sessions. The Council of Basle, however, proceeded to elect another Pope, Amadeus, the Duke of Savoy, a layman, who had been married, and had several children. These facts were regarded as objectionable by some, but they were overruled, and he was enthroned accordingly, by the name of Felix V. The greatest difficulty in the way of the new Pope was his beard, which he was accustomed to wear very long, and to which he was so much attached, that he positively refused to part with it. Nevertheless, the force of ridicule accomplished more than the remonstrance of the fathers, and he consented to be shaved when he found, as saith your historian, "that this novelty did not accord with the *majesty of*

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 22, p. 265-6.

† Ib. 285.

religion!"* Of course, Eugenius forthwith denounced Felix as a heretic and schismatic, and excommunicated all his partisans, if they did not renounce him within fifty days. And the Council of Basle annulled the decree on their part, and forbade obedience to it.†

The following year, the Council proceeded to excommunicate all who should refuse obedience to Felix V., and renewed their decrees against Eugenius.‡ And now came the *main point, practically*, viz., to secure the adherence of the various kings and princes, for which each party struggled with great zeal and pertinacity.§ France recognized Eugenius, while she likewise maintained the Council of Basle in all its proceedings, except its deposition of the Pope. The only exception was the University of Paris, which pronounced in favor of Felix. Alphonso, King of Arragon, Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, Albert, Duke of Bavaria, another Albert, Duke of Austria, and many princes and prelates of Germany, were also in his favor. England, like France, was an eclectic in the matter, honoring the Council of Basle, though disapproving its acts concerning Eugenius. Poland and the Milanese, favored Felix, and the rest of Europe, with few exceptions, remained in the obedience of the former Pope. And thus the schism stood, when the invention of printing came in to give more trouble than ever to the domination of the Papacy.

In 1442, a great assembly was held, upon the subject of the division, at Frankfort, the result of which was, that the emperor declared for neutrality, and it was recommended that another General Council should be held to estab-

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 22, p. 299-301.

† Ib. 317.

‡ Ib.

§ Ib. 322.

lish peace.* To this the Council of Basle consented, and Eugenius also gave the proposal a qualified acceptance.

The year 1444 saw the Council of Basle still in session, while Eugenius transferred the Council of Florence to Rome. But the death of this Pope gave a new turn to the affairs of the Church, and the Cardinal of Bologna was elected, three years afterwards, under the name of Nicholas V. The following year, Felix agreed to resign, and this was put into formal execution A. D. 1449, under the direction of the Council of Basle, which met at Lausanne. With this act ended the labors of this celebrated assembly. Pope Nicholas conducted himself with great liberality, annulling all that his predecessor had done against the members of the Council, and giving Felix the dignity of Cardinal and legate. Thus the outward unity of the Church was once more restored.†

The year 1453 was signalized by the taking of Constantinople, and the triumph of the Turks over the last feeble remains of the Roman empire. Pope Nicholas V. died two years afterwards, and his successor, Callixtus III., made a vow to declare war against the Turks. This Pope annulled the sentence against the Maid of Orleans, who had been condemned to death as a sorceress some years before. Her fame was henceforth re-established, and a statue was erected in her honor.

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 22, p. 376.

† Ib. 494-6.

L E T T E R X .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

NICHOLAS V. was succeeded by Callixtus III., and after his death, in A. D. 1458, the celebrated Eneas Sylvius was elected, who took the name of Pius II. This Pope issued a bull in A. D. 1460, condemning the practice of appealing from the Pope to a General Council, and pronouncing an excommunication, *ipso facto*, on all, even kings and princes, who should presume to make such appeal in future. Your historian condemns this, as contrary to the rules of the Canon Law, and to the ancient and universal custom of the Church.*

But a short time elapsed, however, before the Parliament of Paris, under Charles VII., attacked the course of the Pope in condemning the Pragmatic Sanction, and appealed to a General Council, in open contempt of the novel ordinance which the pontiff had set forth : another specimen of your boasted unity and subordination !† A second specimen, within the same year, was furnished by the Archduke of Austria, who appealed to the next Council against the sentence of Papal excommunication.‡ And the year after, the Archbishop of Mayence followed their example.§

This Pope had been one of the most active friends and defenders of the Council of Basle, and had written largely

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 23, p. 106-8.

† Ib. 115.

‡ Ib. 112.

§ Ib. 136.

against the prerogatives claimed by Pope Eugenius, and in support of the superior authority of that Council. Finding his own productions in his way, he published a bull in A. D. 1463, in which he retracted his former opinions, attributing them to his youth and inexperience, and ordering the faithful to reject them, as unsound and dangerous.* The following year he died, and was succeeded by Paul II. It was this last Pope who reduced the Roman Jubilee to the period of twenty-five years. Boniface VIII. had instituted it at the end of every century. Clement VI. lessened the interval to fifty, Urban V. to thirty-three, and Paul II. to twenty-five, since which there has been no further change, lest the attraction should lose its force by too frequent recurrence.† He died in A. D. 1471, of apoplexy, as your historian affirms, in the night, without any witnesses. It was reported that in reality he was strangled by a man who had found him in company with his wife, but the continuator of Fleury considers this to be only a calumny of the Protestants.‡ It is difficult, however, to understand how the poor Protestants could have invented such a report so many years before the Reformation.

The successor of Paul II. was Sixtus IV., and I may here notice the account which your historian gives of the clergy of Spain at this time, as worthy of observation. "There were very few amongst them," saith he, "who understood the Latin, though it was the language of the Church. Good cheer and debauchery were their ordinary occupations. Concubinage was almost public amongst them, and the least of their disorders was to bear arms and go to war. So common was it to buy and sell benefices,

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 23, p. 192.

† Ib. 306.

‡ Ib. 320.

that it was done even without any scruple.* A sad picture of religion in one of the first countries of Europe!

The year 1473 was rendered memorable by the burning of the Cathedral of Florence. Louis Sforza, the Duke of Milan, had made his entry into the city with great pomp; and in order to do the more honor to his reception, it was resolved to represent the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. But the imitation of the tongues of fire, falling from the roof of the cathedral, proved too much for the skill of the actors in this irreverent spectacle. While the assembled multitude were gazing at the pageant, the flames attacked the ceiling of the edifice, and notwithstanding all their efforts, the whole was consumed.† It had been customary to dramatize, in this way, all the marked events of the Gospel history, for many centuries, throughout Europe; and this dangerous and profane kind of exhibition, as you know, Most Reverend Sir, is still a regular matter, in many Papal countries, to the present day.

The year 1478 beheld the consummation of a conspiracy of the Pazzi, at Florence, against the two Medici, Laurence and Julian, who were attacked in the cathedral, during the Mass, by the assassins, the first being wounded in the throat, and the other slain upon the spot. The conspirators were hung, and amongst them was Francis Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa. The Pope was indignant that so eminent a prelate should be thus dispatched without ceremony, like a common felon, and laid the city of Florence under excommunication, although it was manifest that no punishment could be too severe for an ecclesiastic who could take part in such a sacrilegious murder, committed before the very altar of the Prince of peace.‡

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 23, p. 366.

† Ib. 376.

‡ Ib. 464-5.

The same year was marked by the establishment of the Inquisition in the kingdom of Castile, under Ferdinand and Isabella. And your historian saith expressly that it was done "*by the counsel of the Archbishop of Seville, and by the authority of Pope Sixtus IV.*"* Your writers are accustomed to deny, in our day, that your Church is accountable for this abominable institution. And it is true that it was not the doing of your whole body, represented in General Council. But your Popes, your Cardinals, your priesthood, and your monks, are accountable. And the principle of the Inquisition was fixed by the third General Council of Lateran, long before; and the use of the torture, and the punishment of heresy by the horrible death of burning in the flames, were the work of your ruling ecclesiastics, in every part of Europe, for centuries. Your historian states the facts very candidly; and nothing can be more preposterous than the attempt to clear the Popes and the Bishops of the Church from the awful responsibility of this most cruel and bloody of all tribunals.

Sixtus IV. died in A. D. 1484. The Cardinals elected another Pope, who took the name of Innocent VIII.; and his election, as your historian relates, was effected by *bribery and corruption*.† This fact, however, was of frequent occurrence, and a volume might be filled with the various proofs furnished by this single history. The new Pope had led a very irregular life, having had seven children by several women; but this fact, too, was so common amongst the clergy, notwithstanding your Church had enforced, with such bitter wantonness, the celibacy of the priesthood, that it caused very little scandal, except amongst the laity.‡

Innocent VIII. began his reign by declaring war against

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 23, p. 478.

† Ib. 597.

‡ Ib. 598.

the King of Naples, whom he excommunicated.* And the Spanish Inquisition excited so much opposition among the people, by reason of the cruelty and injustice of its proceedings, that the estates of Arragon complained to Ferdinand, and the inquisitor, Peter d'Arbuesa, was slain before the grand altar by a band of assassins. This victim of popular indignation was afterwards canonized by Pope Paul III., on the application of the emperor, Charles V.†

The privileges of asylum which the Church of Rome had long established, grew to be such an abuse in England, that King Henry VII., A. D. 1488, applied to the Pope either to abolish or to regulate them. The worst criminals were sheltered from the pursuit of justice, whenever they retired into these sanctuaries. Every day might be seen rebels, men guilty of sedition, or overwhelmed with debts, villains charged with all sorts of iniquities, running to the churches, and finding in those consecrated places protection and impunity. Hence the number of culprits increased continually, and the peace of communities and the administration of government were in constant danger. The Pope issued a bull, which tended to lessen the evil, but it still continued to be a sore abuse, until another century had passed away.‡ Strange to say, the clergy were opposed to the bull, but the king succeeded in enforcing it.

Pope Innocent VIII. died A. D. 1492. The city of Rome was immediately filled with confusion by a mob of the lower orders, who pillaged the houses, and filled the streets with murders and carnage, heaping curses on the deceased pontiff, whom they reproached with the sin of having no compassion for the poor.§ This sedition was

* Fleury, Cont., Tom 24, p. 11.

† Ib. 83-4.

‡ Ib.

§ Ib. 139.

the cause of detaining the funeral solemnities until the 8th of August, the Pope having breathed his last on the 25th of July. The Cardinals found the streets of Rome so full of thieves, assassins, and banditti, that they were obliged to bring entire companies of soldiers into their palaces, and to point cannon at the head of the avenues, in order to prevent the pillage.*

The election of the new Pope was influenced by the usual amount of cabal and intrigue, and resulted in the choice of Roderigo Borgia, who took the name of Alexander VI. Your historian expressly saith, that "as he was rich and sufficiently insinuating, he knew how to employ his gold and his promises, so as to gain the Cardinals, and cause himself to be elected, although his morals were such as ought to have excluded him forever, not only from the sovereign pontificate, but even from the lowest functions in the Church. While he was a Cardinal, he had *five children* by Vanozza, a Roman lady, who was the wife of Dominick Arimano."† Yet his colleagues had no compunction at the monstrous iniquity of pocketing their bribes, and placing this persevering adulterer on the altar of St. Peter, to be adored as the vicar of Jesus-Christ! So low, however, was the principle of Christian morals in Rome, that the new Pope was received with extraordinary honor and joy.

This pontiff proposed an alliance with Bajazet, the Sultan of the Turks, in order to resist the arms of Charles VIII., and to save Naples!‡ True, your historian saith that he did not act thus as *Pope*, but as a *temporal prince*, and Lord Paramount of that kingdom. But this is an absurd distinction, because his temporal sovereignty was only held

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 24, p. 139.

† Ib. 140-1.

‡ Ib. 189.

through his election as Pope, and he had no rights whatever in the matter distinct from the pontificate. It only furnishes, therefore, another proof that religion was of no weight in the scale against worldly interest.

In 1495, the French monarch entered Rome, with the enforced permission of the Pope, who retired, with only two Cardinals, to the Castle of St. Angelo. Eighteen Cardinals united in soliciting the king to seize the person of the pontiff, and depose him; and their spokesman argued strongly that Providence had brought his majesty to Rome, in order that he might give the Church another chief; that Alexander was held in execration by all Christendom for his shameful life; that he had been elected by the power of money; that he had little religion; that he had united with the Turks; and that he was so far from regretting his old sins, as to entertain in his own house, most scandalously, his own bastards, and had even elevated one of them to the dignity of Cardinal, &c.* But the Pope had managed to gain so many of the king's most influential counsellors, that the monarch could not be induced to adopt such extremities. On the contrary, all difficulties were accommodated by a treaty of peace, the conditions of which the Pope kept no longer than it was for his interest.

The next act of this pontiff which I shall notice, is the dispensation which he gave to Ferdinand, King of Naples, to marry his own aunt, at the age of thirteen or fourteen years! A plain proof, amongst a multitude of others, that the laws of God were of no account in the estimate of Papal policy.†

In A. D. 1497, the French monarch consulted the famous Faculty of Theology in Paris as to the duty of the Pope to

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 24, p. 226-7.

† Ib. 285.

hold a General Council every ten years, and whether, if the pontiff, being required so to do, neglects or postpones it, any considerable portion of the Church, as the Kingdom of France, or the king who represents it, can summon such Council, without the presence of those who refuse, and thus provide for the necessities of the Church. To these questions the Faculty replied in the affirmative, especially, as they said, "in times like the present, where there are so many notorious disorders in the head and the members of the Church."* The king, however, did not live long enough to avail himself of the counsel of the Faculty.

The Pope, in A. D. 1498, dispensed his son, Cesar Borgia, (whom he had made a Cardinal,) from his ecclesiastical vows, in order that he might enter the secular state; and King Louis XII., the successor of Charles VIII., gave him the dukedom of Valentinois. Thus converted, by the Papal sanction, from an ecclesiastic into a layman, he solicited forthwith the influence of the French monarch, that he might marry the Princess of Naples. In this ambitious design, nevertheless, he failed, to his great mortification.†

In the year 1500, the Pope proclaimed the Jubilee, during which, although the members in attendance were not as great as he expected, on account of the wars which troubled Italy, yet "license and disorder," saith your historian, quoting Mariana, "reigned at Rome beyond any other place in the world. *Crime was on the throne, and never perhaps had so monstrous a corruption of morals been seen, especially among the clergy.*"‡

But here, as we have arrived at the memorable sixteenth century, which beheld the great work of the Reformation, I shall close this letter.

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 24, p. 332.

† Ib. 350-1.

‡ Ib. 399.

L E T T E R X I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I COME now to the period when, in the good providence of God, a real Reformation was effected, for which so many right-minded men in the Church had been laboring for centuries, and all in vain. And I shall proceed to note a few of the more remarkable doings of the Papacy, drawing upon your own writers, as before, for all my authority.

In A. D. 1502, the Canons of the Cathedral in Paris addressed the Faculty of Theology, to inquire whether they were obliged in conscience to submit to the censures which the Pope had fulminated in his bull against the clergy who refused to pay him the tenth of their income. And the Faculty replied that the bull in question *was of no force nor validity whatever*; that the Pope could not compel the clergy to pay the tenth without their own consent; and that *they were not obliged to suspend the divine offices, nor to submit in any way to the censures which the Pope had decreed against them.**

Here we have another proof of the liberty with which national Churches, Universities, and Faculties of Theology, belonging to the Roman obedience, judged the Pope, even when he was acting *ex cathedra*, condemned his acts as inconsistent with their rights, and treated them as an illegal usurpation.

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 24, p. 454-5.

The year 1503 put an end to the iniquitous career of Alexander VI. "The Duke of Valentinois being in want of money for his troops, and the treasury of his father, the Pope, being empty, the duke, to whom the greatest crimes were as nothing, proposed to the pontiff that they should poison some of the wealthy Cardinals, the law of the Church at that time being such, that the Popes were the heirs of the Cardinals. The Pope consented. A magnificent feast was prepared, and the doomed men were invited. Alexander had sent one of his trustiest domestics before, with some bottles of poisoned wine, strictly enjoining him not to give it to any one without the Pope's orders. But the officer, supposing that he was forbidden to serve this wine, only because it was the best, gave some of it to Alexander himself, as he called for drink before the supper. The duke also partook of it, for the weather was extremely sultry, and they were both thirsty after their walk to the hall appointed for the entertainment. The Pope soon after felt the effects in a violent colic, ending in convulsions, which killed him in a few hours. The duke, however, who had mixed it with water, and who, besides, was younger, and of firmer constitution, escaped with a severe sickness, which lasted ten months, in the course of which his hair and his nails fell off, and the skin peeled from every part of his body."* Such is the account which the greater portion of the Romish writers give of the death of this monster. A few others, saith your historian, give a different one, but *no credit is attached to it, for the most part, among themselves, and therefore the world at large cannot be expected to receive it*, especially as the whole life of Alexander furnished

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 24, p. 473-5

abundant proof that he was capable of any villany. And yet the Church of Rome endured such a master for eleven years together!

The Cardinals assembled to choose a successor. "The candidates," saith our author, "counted more surely on their intrigues and on the credit of their friends, than on probity, virtue, or science, which they seemed to regard as useless qualifications."* What a sink of corruption must the Roman conclave have been, when such an avowal is wrung from their own historians!

At length, after thirty-five days spent in electioneering, they elected the Cardinal of Sienna, who was an old man, and sick at the time. Some voted for him because he was an enemy of France, and some because they thought it likely that he would die in a month, and leave the stage more clear for themselves. He took the name of Pius III., and notwithstanding his age and his weakness, he commenced his reign by ordering all the French to quit the Papal territory. Nevertheless, he enjoyed his dignity only twenty-six days, and died, under strong suspicions of poison.†

Julius II. succeeded, who, being very fond of war, took this name, as they said, in memory of Julius Cæsar. In fact, he had been general, when Cardinal, under Pope Sixtus IV., and was well known to be a man of a fiery, restless, and domineering temper.‡

It was to this Pope that Henry VII. applied for a dispensation, to enable his son to marry Katherine of Arragon, the widow of his deceased brother, Arthur. And here it is worthy of remark, that in the Consistory of Cardinals, held

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 24, p. 484.

† Ib.

‡ Ib. 493.

upon this application, there were many who took precisely the same ground which was afterwards assumed by Henry VIII., namely, that the prohibition to marry the widow of a deceased brother was one of the divine laws, with which the Pope could not dispense. And this was agreed to by all ; but a distinction was taken by the majority, which confined the prohibition to the case of a widow who had borne children to the first brother. Besides which, they contended that it was a law established only for the Jews, which did not bind after the commencement of the Gospel dispensation. It was true, indeed, that the Church had re-enacted it ; but then it was to be considered only as an ecclesiastical law, and the Pope had authority therefore to dispense with it, and should do so, as they held, for the reasons advanced by the King of England, one of which was mainly insisted on, viz., that the first marriage had not been consummated, by reason of the sickness of Prince Arthur.*

But now we come to another statement which concerns the truth of history. Your historian goes on to say : “ Nevertheless, the prelates of England were divided about the validity of this dispensation. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, maintained that the first marriage had been consummated ; that Prince Arthur had made this known sufficiently by the discourse which he held with his officers the day after the nuptials ; and that the ambassador of his Spanish majesty, by order of his master, had taken certificates of the consummation, and had sent them to Spain. Fox, the Bishop of Winchester, without entering into the question of consummation, held that the dispensation of the

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 24, p. 501-7.

Pope satisfied all objections, took away all difficulties, and closed the mouth of any one who should wish to oppose this alliance ; acknowledging that without this, it might be disputed, and cause troubles about the succession." The pontiff Julius, however, paid no regard to this division of sentiment, and gave the bull of dispensation.* Thus we see, on the highest Roman authority, the doubts entertained both in Rome and in England about the Pope's power to grant this dispensation. And I have recorded many examples to prove, that when the Popes exceeded their proper bounds, the best Canonists of the Church of Rome held their acts to be without validity.

The year 1506 beheld the commencement of St. Peter's Church of the Vatican at Rome, and the Pope published indulgences for all those who should contribute to the edifice.† Little did he think that the same system of indulgences, for the same magnificent building, should become the exciting cause of an opposition, in comparison with which all the previous troubles of the Papacy were as nothing.

It would be tedious to notice all the instances of despotism and bad faith which are recorded of this pontiff. But, as a specimen, I will select the following :—Being desirous to have a pretext for a total rupture with the King of France, Louis XII., he demanded of that monarch some towns to which he had pretensions. Louis refused to give them up, and immediately on this refusal, Julius excommunicated the king, put his kingdom under an interdict, and gave it to the first who could take it. He fulminated the same sentence against all those princes who should take the part of Louis,

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 24, p. 507-8.

† Ib. 563.

and also gave away their lands and territories to any one who could get possession. And not content with using those spiritual arms of which he had reason to fear the weakness, the Pope, in person, took the field against the Duke of Ferrara, in order to give trouble to the French king.*

Louis XII., according to the usual custom of Europe, attached no importance to the excommunication of the Pope, which, saith your historian, “ was *notoriously void*, because the Pope had passed the limits of his authority.”† But in all such cases, *who was to judge?* The Pope, on your principles, was the *supreme authority, the judge in the last resort*. Who gave the king a right to decide whether the vicar of Christ was in error? Nevertheless, such right was always assumed in case of extremity, and hence it is perfectly manifest, that however the States of Europe might allow the boastful assumptions of the Papacy, when they had no interest at stake, yet, in point of fact, your doctrine was *never adopted* by that conscientious and universal *consent*, which belongs to the very definition of Catholicity.

The king, however, “ in order to oppose spiritual arms to spiritual power,” saith your historian, “ convoked a general assembly of his clergy, to whom he submitted the following questions :”

1. “ Whether a Pope could in conscience declare war, raise troops, and put them in action, when the cause concerned neither religion nor the domains of the Church? The answer of the Council was, that he could not, and ought not.”

2. “ Whether the prince thus assailed was permitted, in

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 89

† Ib. 91.

defence of his person and his rights, not only to repel the attack, but to take possession of the Papal territories, and hold them so long as the war continued? The answer was in the affirmative."

3. "Whether it was lawful for such a prince to withdraw his obedience from the Pope? The answer was, that he had the right to do so, but only so far as was necessary for the defence of his dominions."

4. "How, in case of such withdrawal of obedience, should the prince and his prelates act in those matters where recourse was usually had to the pontiff's authority? The answer was, that they must recur to the ancient law, and the Pragmatic Sanction, taken from the decrees of the Council of Basle."

"The Council further determined, that it was lawful to apply the same principles in the case of the allies of the king, and that the excommunications of the Pope, pronounced under such unjust circumstances, were null and void, and bound no one."*

Julius replied to all this by excommunicating the Council, the French army, the general, and all the officers. But finding that several of his Cardinals were against him, and being in danger of losing his liberty, he entered into an accommodation with the commander of the French forces, by which it was proposed that he should remove all his excommunications, and make a truce of six months with the Duke of Ferrara, &c. While the matter was under deliberation, however, some unexpected succors arrived from Spain and Venice, and the Pope "broke off the treaty, and talked of nothing but battles and sieges."† A precious representative of Him who was the Prince of peace!

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 92.

† Ib. 96-101.

In A. D. 1510, an attempt was made to establish the Inquisition at Naples. But the people rose in open revolt, and the viceroy was obliged to abolish the institution.*

The warlike Pope next indulged his militant spirit by commanding in person at the siege of Mirandola. "He rode through the camp on horseback; night and day he was on the batteries, directing where to place the cannons, exciting the soldiers by menaces and caresses, and appearing to forget his proper office in the work of blood."†

The General Council of Pisa was assembled against Julius A. D. 1511. It was convoked by nine Cardinals, after the Pope had been applied to in vain, notwithstanding he had sworn, before his election, that if he should be chosen Pope, he would call a General Council within two years.‡

The pontiff concluded that the best mode of meeting this difficulty was to convene another Council at Rome, for which he issued a bull without delay, nullifying the convocation of the Council at Pisa, and forbidding all persons to favor it, under pain of excommunication.§

The Cardinals, nevertheless, persevered, and the second Council General of Pisa assembled. Their number was not large, but the preacher on the occasion declared that this fact should not discourage them, because their Council *represented the Church*, and was like the little stone which afterwards, in the words of Scripture, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. In the decree of the first session, the Council set forth the objects for which it was convened; viz., to *reform the Church in its head and in*

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 109.

† Ib. 129-130.

‡ Ib. 110.

§ Ib. 131-4.

*its members, to declare war against heretics, and to extinguish schisms, heresies, and errors.**

The Pope lost no time in publicly excommunicating the members of the Council, and declaring them deprived of all their offices and dignities. The majority of his Cardinals, however, opposed him, maintaining that there was nothing wrong in the convocation of such a Council. But Julius was only the more irritated, and regarded them all as his enemies. He fell dangerously sick in consequence of his angry excitement, and recovered with difficulty.†

The Council was transferred from Pisa to Milan, where its labors were resumed, with a large attendance, in 1512. In their eighth session, they proceeded to suspend the Pope. But soon after this, the prelates left Milan, and no efforts could bring them back again.‡ The kingdom of France accepted the decree of the Pope's suspension, and Julius published a bull, nullifying all that the Council had done, and putting France under an interdict. Your historian justly accounts for the failure of the Council, from the fact that the Emperor of Germany and the English king, Henry VIII., refused to unite in its proceedings. The strength of the secular power has always been the only support of the Papacy.

The Pope convened the General Council of Lateran, for the *reformation of morals, and the re-establishment of discipline*, and it was assembled accordingly on the 3d of May, A. D. 1512. The opening discourse was preached by the General of the Order of St. Augustin, in which he said that "matters were reduced to the last extremity; that furious storms were ready to burst over their heads. Could

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 143.

† Ib. 148-9.

‡ Ib. 213.

any one behold, without groans and tears of blood, the continual disorders, the pollution of that perverse age, the monstrous corruption of morals, the ignorance, the ambition, the shamelessness, the licentiousness, the impiety, which triumph in the holy place, from which those disgraceful vices should be eternally banished?" Then, after lauding the Pope for the success of his labors for the temporalities of his See, the preacher honestly and boldly adds: "But Christian Europe expects from your prudence, your courage, and your zeal, somewhat more great, and more worthy of your holiness. Let us lay down those arms, which we have not, as it seems, taken, except to steep them in the blood of the faithful. Let us take up other weapons, more conformable to our sacred character, and in better harmony with the holy warfare in which we are engaged. Let us declare an eternal and implacable war against that crowd of enormous vices which have overwhelmed the face of the Church, and which dishonor religion."*

Truly, a frank and full confession, going quite as far, on the point of moral corruption, as any good Protestant could desire, and proving how universal must have been the opinion of all well-disposed men as to the horrible condition of the Church; since it is impossible to suppose that the eminent ecclesiastic appointed to preach the sermon at the opening of such a Council, in the city of Rome itself, and in the presence of the Pope and the Cardinals, would have dared to utter such language, if the knowledge of all who heard him were not compelled to bear witness that he spake the melancholy truth. But the wars of Europe continued to rage, and the Pope continued to take an active part in them,

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 229-232.

until at length, in February of A. D. 1513, when the Council had only arrived at its fifth session, the pontiff died, regretted by no one.*

The Cardinal Julian de Medecis was elected his successor, and took the name of Leo X. The character which your historian gives him is that of a man who loved science and the fine arts, like his father, the famous Lorenzo ; but those good qualities were obscured by many evil ones. True it was, that he was neither so passionate nor so haughty as his predecessor, but he was much more subtle and insincere.†

A bull of this Pope, approved and read at the eleventh session of the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1516, gives a graphic description of the ordinary style of preaching at that day. "Many there are," saith this bull, "who do not, in their preaching, teach the way of the Lord, nor seek to explain the Gospel, but rather invent things through ostentation, crying aloud, and accompanying what they say with violent gestures. Others display in the pulpit feigned miracles, apocryphal histories, which are altogether scandalous, without any authority, and without any edification ; while some abuse the prelates, and declaim boldly against their persons and their conduct," &c.‡ It is no wonder that the Church had become so corrupt, when the truth of God was thus virtually set aside even in the public work of His ministry.

The Council also received and adopted a bull of the Pope, abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction, which had for so long a time secured, to some extent, the liberties of the Church in France. The Pope in this bull declares, that

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 277-8.

† Ib. 282-3.

‡ Ib. 436.

the Pragmatic Sanction might be justly "called *the depravation of France*; that it worked peril to souls, and detriment to the Holy See; that it was notoriously null in many of its articles, and that it maintained a manifest schism in the Church."* And yet it was established, with the Pope's consent, by St. Louis, the most religious and devout of all the kings of France. It was approved by the Council of Basle, and many pontiffs. So that here is another glaring proof of Pope against Pope, and Council against Council, showing, with a multitude of other instances, the preposterous absurdity of your claim of unity in the Church of Rome. Francis I., however, who, since A. D. 1514, had occupied the French throne, consented to the policy of Leo X., and accepted a *Concordat* instead of the Pragmatic Sanction. And thus, as your historian remarks, "the kings of France lent their hands to a blow, of which they afterwards felt all the force."†

The Council of Lateran was concluded, after having sat for five years, in A. D. 1517, having done nothing which really advanced the object of Reformation. Some authors assert, saith your historian, that a discourse of the famous Pico de Mirandula, printed at the end of his works, was read at the last session of the Council, in which, speaking of the corrupt morals of his time, he employs the following language:—

"It has often been proposed," saith this author, "to make new laws, but let them rather maintain and enforce the old Canons against licentiousness, cupidity, and avarice. At this day we see no more piety or justice. The princes have changed the simplicity of our fathers into tricks and

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 437-441.

† Ib. 442.

artifice, chastity into libertinism, liberality into tyranny or avarice. The greater part of the prelates, who ought to be the delight of the world, and illuminate the people by their doctrine, by edifying them with their piety, have scarcely any longer either religion, or shame, or modesty ; justice is changed into robbery ; devotion has almost degenerated into superstition ; they make a virtue of vice ; the care of the churches is committed to workmen without principle, the fold of the Good Shepherd to ravenous wolves. In fine, they make a shameful traffic of holy things." The author exhorts the Pope to apply the remedy, and reminds him of the fate of the High Priest Eli, who was severely punished because he did not repress the disorders of his children.*

It appears that in the same year a conspiracy was discovered amongst the Cardinals against the Pope, whom they had resolved to poison. Four were degraded, one was strangled in prison, and another condemned to perpetual confinement. The Pope, finding that the majority of the Cardinals showed him but little affection, created thirty-one new ones, amongst whom was Alphonso, son of the King of Portugal. This last-mentioned Cardinal was only eight years old at the time ; but the Pope made it a condition that he should not be regarded as Cardinal until he attained the age of fourteen !†

The *Concordat* which Francis I. had so foolishly entered into with the Pope, was rejected by the Parliament of Paris, who resolved that the Pragmatic Sanction should continue. The University of Paris also opposed the *Concordat* very zealously ; appealed from the bull of the Pope to a future Council ; declared that the corruption of the

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 470-1.

† Ib. 475.

Church, instead of being reformed, was increasing more and more ; inveighed against the Pope for censuring the Council of Basle ; and denied that the Council of Lateran was convened by the Holy Spirit, because the Holy Spirit does not abolish the authority of the sacred Canons, nor the pious regulations of the Catholic faith. Many preachers declaimed in the same way, so that the king published an edict, nullifying the act of the University, and insisted upon the enregistering of the *Concordat*, to which, nevertheless, the Parliament paid no attention.* Here we have another edifying example of your Church unity !

The King of Castile, gained by the presents of the Jews and the Moors, undertook, about this time, to reform the Inquisition, by making its proceedings conformable to those of other Courts, instead of hiding them in the darkness of impenetrable secresy. But Cardinal Ximenes, being informed of the proposed change, wrote a letter, saying, that “ if they reformed the Inquisition, they would be exposed to be poniarded continually by the accused, and would infallibly behold a general insurrection throughout the whole kingdom.” This put an immediate end to the enterprise, and that nefarious institution continued to go on as it had done.† The Cardinal died soon after, of poison, supposed to have been administered by his secretary, Banacaldo.

But the most important event of the year 1517 was the issue of indulgences by Leo X., in order to replenish his coffers, which were exhausted by his magnificent prodigality, and especially by his undertaking to finish the sumptuous edifice of St. Peter's, which Julius II. had begun. And with this view, he granted those indulgences,

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 481-5.

† Ib. 487.

“on conditions so easy,” saith your historian, “that men could hardly care at all for their salvation if they refused to gain them.”* On this occasion, the first step was taken, which led, from a very small beginning, through the providence of God, to an effectual Reformation. For Tetzel, a Dominican, being appointed to sustain the credit of the Pope’s indulgences in Saxony, the Vicar-General of the Augustinian Order opposed him by his influence with the Elector, and the famous Luther commenced his work with the energy and spirit which marked him out as a peculiar instrument in the service of the Most High.

Your historian here gives an interesting sketch of the shocking falsehoods which the writers of Rome were not ashamed to circulate concerning this bold reformer, but which he, as an honest man, disdained to endorse. “I shall not stop,” saith he, “to enlarge upon the calumnies which some Catholic authors, too *ultra*, have charged against him, and in which they have paid little regard to probability. As, for example, that he was born of a commerce between his mother and an incubus ; that having fought for ten years against his conscience, he had reached the point of having no conscience at all, and fell into total atheism ; that he avowed frequently his willingness to renounce paradise, provided God would give him a hundred years of pleasure in the present life ; that he denied the immortality of the soul ; that he composed hymns in honor of drunkenness, a vice to which he was greatly addicted ; that he uttered a thousand blasphemies against the holy Scriptures, and expressly against Moses ; and that he had often declared that he believed nothing of his own preaching. These reproaches

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 497-8.

are taken from a book called *Colloquia Mensalia*, published by Henry Peter Rebenstock, Minister of Eischerheim. But we do not pretend to adopt them. "All that can be said against Luther," continues your candid historian, "is, that he rose up against the Church; that he has endeavored to destroy the faith; that he became a declared heresiarch; and that he has caused infinite and innumerable evils to religion by the pernicious errors which he so obstinately maintained."*

This avowal from a Romish author is comparatively candid and fair, and forms an admirable contrast with the false and reckless spirit of that Jesuitical policy, to which any weapon is welcome, if it can only destroy an adversary.

Pope Leo X. died in A. D. 1521, and, as we find too often, it was suspected that he was taken off by poison. Your historian states, that up to the time of his election, he had been perfectly continent, but after he became Pope, he fell into many disorders. He favored men of letters, chiefly the poets, in which he did not always observe the gravity which his station demanded. For he made more account of those who were familiar with fables, the classic writers, and profane learning, than of those who understood theology and the history of the Church. He also loved extravagance and luxury.†

The conclave of Cardinals, as a matter of course, was involved in intrigues and cabals, which your historian sets forth with his usual fidelity. They concluded at last, however, to elect Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, who refused to adopt a new title, and chose to be called Adrian VI. This man was an honest Hollander, without any ambition for the

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 25, p. 501-2.

† Fleury, Cont., Tom. 26, p. 74.

dangerous responsibilities of such an office. He was quite unpopular at Rome, and was treated by the Cardinals themselves with very little courtesy.* Nevertheless, he set about the work of reforming his Court very earnestly, and deserved better success than the prevailing corruption would allow.

In the instructions which he gave to his Nuncio in Germany, this Pope made the following statement of the condition of the Church :—"The confusion created by the progress of Luther," he said, "was the effect of the sins of men, and especially of the ecclesiastics, from which the Court of Rome was not exempt. That for many years, much abuse was introduced into the administration of spiritual things, and much excess in the execution of the precepts. That the contagion had passed from the head to the members, from the Popes to the prelates, and that, for himself, he was resolved to give himself wholly to the reformation of the Court of Rome. These abuses, however, could not be corrected immediately, because the evil had taken root, and was strongly fortified, so that it was necessary to proceed by degrees, and all would be spoiled if the whole were assailed together."†

In A. D. 1523, the Diet of the Empire at Nuremberg sent to the Pope a list of a *hundred grievances* which they suffered under the Papacy, and which they required to be reformed. A document proceeding from such authority deserves to be set forth at length, but your historian reports them partially.‡

Adrian VI. only occupied the Papal throne for one year and eight months, dying in A. D. 1523, and, as was generally suspected, from the effects of poison. Certain it is

* Fleury, *Cônt.*, Tom. 26, p. 92-3.

† *Ib.* 142-3.

‡ *Ib.* 155.

that the Romans were rejoiced at his death. "They had never loved him," saith your historian, "partly because he was a foreigner, partly because he was opposed to the grandeur and magnificence which his predecessors had encouraged. But above all, they loved him not, because he was *zealous for the reformation of the clergy*." He had retrenched many abuses in the offices of the court, in the collation and reservation of benefices, in superfluous expenses, and in the dispensation of indulgences. And what was his reward? "During his lifetime, they had often publicly testified their desire for his death, and there were actual conspiracies to effect it. One man laid wait to kill him, and being discovered, committed suicide, to avoid a greater punishment. On another occasion, the Pope had a narrow escape from the falling of a wall in the pontifical chapel, where he was going to celebrate Mass. Some of the Swiss guard who accompanied him were crushed to death, and the Bishops of his suite showed plainly that they would not have been sorry if the pontiff himself had been the victim. The people were even so impious as to utter imprecations against Providence for having saved his life. In a word, they hated him, because he kept no public table, ate in private like a monk, and observed great frugality in his personal expenses. This conduct, so different from the vanity of his predecessors, and so much in conformity with the holy Popes of the first ages, gave rise to the remark that he was an honest man and a good Christian, but a poor pontiff. His remains were buried in the Church of St. Peter, under a simple tomb, with this epitaph: *Here rests Adrian VI., who esteemed nothing so unhappy for himself in all his life as to govern.*"* Alas! what a commentary on the

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 26, p. 205-7.

deep-seated wickedness of Rome is furnished in such a history!

After six weeks spent in caballing, the Conclave finally elected the Cardinal of Medicis, who took the title of Clement VII. His first choice was to retain his own name of Julius, but some one observing to him that the Popes who did not change their names always died soon, he had the weakness to believe it, and gave up his intention.*

The year 1527 was signalized by the pillage of Rome, under the Duke of Bourbon, the Pope seeking for refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo. And here, although a part of the invaders were Spaniards, and therefore Romanists, your historian acknowledges that they were as violent and cruel as the rest. Not only were the houses of the citizens pillaged, but the women and maidens were violated, the churches sacked, and sacred things profaned without scruple. "It would be impossible," saith the author, "to describe the excesses which they committed. They surpassed infinitely all that Rome had heretofore experienced in the eight different assaults in which it had been taken.

* * * The Spaniards and Italians, who were more cruel and avaricious than the Lutheran Germans, glutted themselves upon the rich persons of quality, prelates, Bishops, abbots, magistrates, bankers, merchants, who were tormented in a thousand frightful ways; hung up by the feet, burned, and torn by great blows of scourges, in order to force them to pay enormous ransoms, which they were unable to raise; so that many killed themselves, that they might at once escape from their sufferings; while others, breaking from the hands of those madmen, cast themselves

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 26, p. 211.

out of the windows into the streets, where their bodies remained without burial.”*

And this work of bloody devilishness lasted two months in the city, and then extended itself into the neighboring country—a fact without example!† Now, the Duke of Bourbon and his officers were professed Romanists. The Spaniards and Italians in his army were the same. And this was their conduct for two months together in the city of Rome, the very central spot of their religion, and towards those persons whom they were bound to respect as the dignitaries of their Church, and their brethren in the faith! The duke himself, however, was slain in the assault, and was not involved in the guilt of the subsequent barbarities; but the officers and soldiers were none the less accountable. We have here, therefore, another horrible detail, which sheds the same awful light upon the character of Christendom in that day, sufficient, of itself, to make us grateful for that Reformation which has diffused so different a spirit. For I may safely assert, that a similar exhibition would now be simply impossible in any Protestant army throughout the world.

The Pope, after making a treaty with the imperialists, which obliged him to pay more money than he was able to raise, escaped from his confinement in the disguise of a merchant, and then made known his intention *not to observe his promises*, because he could not, even if he would.‡

It was about the beginning of the same year, 1527, that Henry VIII. began to entertain the design of a divorce from his queen, Katherine of Arragon. And it may be well to commence, with this, another letter.

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 26, p. 455-7.

† Ib.

‡ Ib. 474-5.

L E T T E R X I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

As I have already treated fully the historical facts of the rise of the English Reformation, I shall not repeat them here, save only to notice the admissions of your own historian. He states that Henry VIII. placed his application for a divorce on the ground of conscience, which had troubled him since the year 1524, with regard to the lawfulness of the marriage ; that the French Bishop of Tarbe increased his doubts ; that Longland, his confessor, strengthened, and that Cardinal Wolsey confirmed them. The author proceeds to declare that the king had no heir male of his crown, and could not hope to have any by the queen. And then he concludes by the usual allegation of your party, that the king was in reality governed by lust, and had become desperately enamored of Anne Bullen.* The rest of his statements are in accordance with what I have already noticed.

He also pursues the usual track of your writers with respect to the judgments of the Universities, taking pains to show that they were induced to decide against the marriage of the king, through force and management, at Oxford and Cambridge, and through bribery in the other kingdoms of Europe. He ought to have remembered what he had

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 26.

himself recorded of the opposition to the dispensation by the Pope's Cardinals at the time, and the division of sentiment on the same point among the prelates of England, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury was amongst the dissenting party. He ought to have remembered likewise, that while it was true that Henry VIII. scattered money in the course of the proceeding, it was also true, and had been true for centuries, as his own history abundantly testifies, that in the Church of Rome nothing was done, or could be done, without money. And yet, he is obliged to admit the fact, at last, that the Universities did decide to the extent claimed by Bishop Burnet, and that if the influence of money had weight upon the one side, the influence of the Pope and the emperor, and the regard which all public professors of theology were obliged to have for their own consistency and character, must have been at least as strong upon the other; even granting, as I willingly do, that the Romanists of that day were as little troubled by strict conscience as he himself considered them.

He gives, at length, the decision of the Faculty of Theology at Paris, the conclusion of which is in these words: "We affirm and determine, that the marriage with the widows of brothers deceased without children, is forbidden by the divine and natural law, so that the sovereign pontiff cannot dispense in favor of contracting such a marriage." The doctors of the Faculty of Rights decided in the same way; that of Angers pronounced a similar judgment, and so of the others.* But he states that there was dissension or trouble with them all. Doubtless there was; because the question was one of grave importance which

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 27, p. 217-18.

agitated the Church through all Europe, and great names might be found on either side. If, however, the existence of trouble and dissension in large bodies of divines is to nullify their final decisions, he would find it hard to secure validity to the judgments of your Church for centuries together.

In proof of his accusation of bribery, your historian gives an amusing detail from one of the accounts laid before the king by Dr. Crook, his agent in Italy:—"To a Monk Servite, when he signed the decision in favor of the king, one crown. To the Doctors of the Servites, two crowns. To the monks of the Order of the Observants, two crowns. To the Prior of St. John and St. Paul, who had written in favor of the divorce, fifteen crowns. To the convent there, two crowns. Paid to John Maria for travelling to Milan and Venice, including what he had given to the doctors of that country, thirty crowns. To John Marino, Preacher of the Cordeliers, who had written for the divorce, twenty crowns."* If such paltry sums were really sufficient to bribe these men, we can only admire the meanness of the depravity which our historian attributes to his brethren of Rome, who were willing not only to sell their conscience, but to take such a trifling amount for their bargain.

Pope Clement VII. died A. D. 1534, and was succeeded by Paul III., who took immediate measures for the meeting of a General Council, as the only means of checking the progress of Lutheranism in Germany. He occasioned much discontent amongst his Cardinals, however, by adding to their number two of his own nephews, one of whom was only fourteen, and the other sixteen, years of age.† The following year, he fulminated a bull of excommunica-

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 27, p. 218.

† Ib. 419.

tion against Henry VIII., in which he absolved all the monarch's subjects from their allegiance, enjoined the ecclesiastics to withdraw from the country, ordered the nobility to take arms against the king, placed the kingdom under interdict, and forbade all Christians to hold any intercourse with the English. This bull, however, was not published until two years afterwards.*

In A. D. 1536, Pope Paul III. "put forth a bull to reform the city and Court of Rome, which he declared to be the capital of all Christendom, the source of doctrine, of morals, and of discipline, in order that, having purified his own house, he might more easily purify all the others. But as so great an enterprise surpassed the powers of a single man, the Pope took for adjuncts four Cardinals and several Bishops, and ordered that they should be in all respects obeyed, under heavy penalties. This body proceeded, accordingly, to apply themselves to the reformation of the Penitentiary, the Datary, and the morals of Rome; *but without success.*"† Another frank confession of the corruption which prevailed, and the impossibility that any efforts could avail to counteract it, while the errors of the faith throughout all Europe remained unchanged.

The Pope, nothing daunted, renewed his labors the following year, and appointed four other Cardinals, with five Bishops, to draw up a memoir of the chief abuses which should be reformed, and to lay it before him. They proceeded accordingly, and reduced the whole to the number of twenty-eight. From this report I shall condense a few of the items.

The first abuse was in the choice of prelates and priests.

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 27, p. 524.

† Fleury, Cont., Tom. 28, p. 33.

They complained that men were admitted to those sacred offices who had neither morals nor capacity, and who were besides, sometimes too young. From this abuse an infinitude of scandals proceeded, the contempt of the whole ecclesiastical order, and the small respect entertained for the worship of God, which was not only diminished, but almost extinct.

The second abuse regarded the collation of benefices and ecclesiastical dignities, principally those connected with the cure of souls, as bishoprics and curacies. The deputies complain that regard was only paid to the advantage of the beneficiary, without regard to the flock of Jesus Christ. The rulers of the Church, say they, ought to bestow these benefices on persons of worth and learning, who can discharge their duty properly ; and they ought not to provide an Italian with a benefice in Spain and in France, nor establish the Spanish or the French in Italy.

The third abuse was that of pensions, which ought only to be given to the poor. The fourth, the permutation of benefices, in which nothing was regarded but pecuniary profit, and the management was such, that he who bears the name of a Bishop has often neither right nor power in the diocese, and he who is really the Bishop does not assume the title. The fifth abuse, connected with the last, was that of coadjutors, by means of which a man gives his benefice to another, without being despoiled of it. This, say the deputies, is an artifice to substitute an unlawful heir, and serves as a cover for cupidity and injustice. The sixth abuse was a violation of the old rule, that the *children of priests* should not succeed to the benefices of *their fathers*—a rule which was now easily set aside, to the great scandal of the faithful.

The seventh abuse consisted in the graces expectative, and the reservations of benefices. These concessions tempt men to desire the death of the incumbents, and prevent the benefice, when vacant, from being given to the most worthy. The eighth abuse was the giving incompatible benefices to the same persons, of which it is impossible that one man can perform the duties. The ninth was of a kindred nature, when bishoprics are conferred on Cardinals, and even several are sometimes bestowed on the same man, although it is manifest that the functions of Cardinal and Bishop are incompatible, since the Cardinals should reside with the Pope, to aid him in the government of the Church, while the Bishops should reside in their dioceses.

The tenth abuse was the non-residence of Bishops, the dioceses being almost everywhere abandoned to mercenaries, and the Bishops absenting themselves often for years together. The eleventh abuse applies the same remark to Cardinals.

The twelfth abuse consisted in the impunity of the wicked, who find means to withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of their Bishop, or have recourse to the penitentiary, from whom they purchase for money an exemption from the punishment due to their crimes.

The thirteenth abuse regarded the religious orders. It is with grief, say the commissaries, that we acknowledge the existence of great disorders in those houses, and disorders so public that they cause extreme scandal to the laity. It is therefore our advice that *the monasteries which they call conventual should be abolished*, not all at once, nor by using any violence, but by forbidding them to receive any more novices, to the end, that by letting the old ones die off, more regular persons may be put into their places.

The fourteenth abuse regarded the legates and the nuncios. The commissaries say that they ought to receive nothing for expeditions, but perform their duty *gratis*.

The fifteenth abuse concerned the *disorders committed in many convents of nuns conducted by monks*, and the deputies say that this evil could only be remedied by *removing them from their government*, and giving it to others who were above suspicion, and *with whom the females would run no risk*.

The sixteenth abuse consisted in the conduct of many Universities, which suffered a great number of professors of philosophy *to propose questions full of impiety*, to *sustain impious theses even in the churches*, and to treat matters of theology itself in a manner but little edifying before the people.

The seventeenth abuse regarded the dispensations which were granted to monks to lay aside their monastic habits, and leave their monasteries. Instead of which, they should be deprived of their benefices, and of all ecclesiastical functions.

The eighteenth abuse turned upon the solicitors of St. Anthony, and others of the same sort, who were suffered to *deceive simple people, and draw them into many superstitions*.

The nineteenth consisted in the dispensations of marriage granted to those who were in Holy Orders, which should never be suffered, unless for great reasons of public good.

The twentieth abuse concerned *dispensations granted for marriage between those who were nearly related by blood or affinity*. Those should never be granted in the second degree, unless for urgent cause, and in the other degrees they should be granted more readily, the whole without money.

The twenty-first abuse was that of *simony*, and the Pope's commissaries said that this sin, which derives its name from Simon the Magician, had made such great progress, and was then *so common in the Church, that the greater part felt no shame in committing it; that they sinned boldly; that with money they thought their transgressions could be expiated;* and that they had no scruple in retaining benefices which they had obtained by means that *were very unjust, and very criminal.* What, say they, can be more shameful and more pernicious than such a traffic?

The twenty-second abuse was in the liberty taken by the clergy to dispose of the goods of the Church by their last will and testament, which should never be allowed, unless for causes of great force, lest others enrich themselves to the prejudice of the poor, and lavish the property of the Church in pleasure and in luxury.

The twenty-third abuse was the custom of having chaplains hired to celebrate the Mass in private houses, which diminished the respect for the ceremonies of the Church, and for the chief of the sacraments. They also expressed the wish that indulgences should be more rare, and should be only granted in each church once in every year.

The twenty-fourth abuse was in the *commutation of religious vows for money*, because those vows should never be made lightly, and never should be changed for any supposed equivalent.

The twenty-fifth abuse consisted in the changing of the last will and testament of those who have left pious legacies, in favor of the heirs; which should not be allowed except under very peculiar circumstances.

From these abuses, which concerned the whole Church, the commissaries passed on to others which regarded the

Church of Rome, which, being the mother and the mistress of the other churches, was bound to take the greater care that religion, morals, and piety, should flourish within herself. They say, therefore, in the first place, that strangers coming to Rome were exceedingly scandalized, when, entering the Church of St. Peter, they beheld there priests *dirty and slovenly*, celebrating the Mass with ornaments which they would not use in the poorest houses. In the second place, they remark that *strumpets and public women appear in the city, walking in the streets, or riding on mules, and accompanied by the gentlemen belonging to the Cardinals, and often by the clergy*. These women are supported in the best style, say the deputies, and occupy magnificent palaces; in a word, *mankind have never beheld a dissoluteness equal to that which reigns in Rome*, although she ought to be the example of the other cities.

In the third place, continue the commissaries, there are in Rome enmities and divisions, many private men cherishing hatred towards each other, whom the sovereign pontiff should labor to reconcile, or appoint some of the Cardinals to do so. And in the fourth place, there should be a remedy for the negligence with which the hospitals are administered, and provision should be made for the orphans and the widows. The prelates conclude by saying to the Pope, that they hope to see, from his time, that the Church will be purified, and enjoy a solid peace. "You are named Paul," say they, "and we trust that, after the example of St. Paul, you will burn with zeal for the Church of God."*

Now here we have a document from the highest authority, giving a most deplorable picture of the state of the Church,

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 28, p. 149-159.

and yet falling lamentably short of what was required for its true reformation. Not a word is said about the abuses of relics, image worship, purgatory, and the confessional. Not a word about the Papal policy which kept Europe in continual wars. Not a word about the long-standing abuse of using excommunication in the service of temporal interests. Not a word about the necessity of providing a better education for the masses. Not a word of opening to the people the pure teaching of the Scriptures. These topics would have savored of Lutheranism and heresy; and therefore the deputies confine themselves to those matters which gave rise to scandal, and hope to attain their end by the washing of the outside of the cup and platter, as if the inside were in no need of cleansing; forgetting, apparently, the maxim of the Saviour, that the tree is known by its fruits; that a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit; and that it was impossible for the whole state of the clergy to have become so corrupt, unless the faith itself, from which works must, in the regular order, proceed, like fruit from the tree, had been corrupted previously.

This report of the four Cardinals and five Bishops being laid before the Pope, he proposed the reform recommended in a full Consistory. But here it was warmly opposed by the Cardinal of Capua and others, who insisted that disorders which were already known were less likely to create scandal than new experiments; that *men were now so wicked, that in striving to hinder them from one evil, they would take pleasure in committing a greater*, and that the attempt to make any change would only furnish an occasion of triumph to the Lutherans. Other Cardinals took the opposite side, and the result was that the whole matter was left to the Council, which was soon to assemble. The Pope contented

himself with profiting by the advice he had received, to improve by insensible degrees a portion of the abuses, until the whole should be accomplished at a more propitious season.*

As the next event, however, which I shall notice, is the great Council of Trent, I shall here close this letter, inasmuch as that famous assembly formed an era in the history of your Church, and therefore merits a distinct place in our discussion.

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 28, p. 159-160.

L E T T E R X I I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE year 1545 beheld the opening of the Council of Trent, called by your Church a General Council, although in no respect entitled to the name. For, in the first place, a General Council being a body representing *the whole Church*, there could be none such since the separation of the East from the West in the ninth century. In the second place, a General Council must be *free*, giving equal rights to all the members. But it is certain that the Council of Trent was chained and riveted to the dictates of the Pope, no proposition being allowed except what his legates, who presided, were willing to sanction. Still, it was as near an approximation to what its name imports as the Papal policy could allow ; and as three centuries have elapsed without any attempt to hold another, the fact of its being the last, and set forth as the standard of Romanism throughout the world, invests it with paramount importance in theological controversy.

On the 13th of December, A. D. 1545, the day which Paul III. had appointed, the three Papal Legates, accompanied by four Archbishops and twenty-two Bishops, assembled in the Church of the Trinity, where they put on their pontifical habits, and then went in procession to the Cathedral of St. Virgilius. The Bishop of Bitonto, by appointment, preached the opening sermon. The president announced the objects of the Council to be for the increase

and exaltation of the Christian religion, *for the extirpation of heresies, the peace and union of the Church, the reformation of the clergy and the Christian people, and for the humiliation and extinction of the enemies of religion.**

The legates then read a long exhortation, in which we have this candid confession: "Let us consider the three evils which at this day afflict the Church, let us examine their origin, and we shall be obliged to acknowledge that *we are ourselves the cause*. If we have not introduced heresy, have we not contributed to it, at least, by neglecting our duty to sow good doctrine, and to pull out the tares? As to the *corruption of morals*, there is no need to speak of it, because *no one can be ignorant that the clergy and the pastors were corrupters and corrupted*; in punishment of which, God has sent the third plague, viz., war without, against the 'Turks, and *war within, among the Christian princes*. Let each one, therefore, confess his sins, and labor to appease the anger of God; since, without this, in vain will they invoke the Holy Ghost, in vain will they commence the Council."†

There was an abundance of disputation in the Council about the order in which they should proceed, the legates recommending the settlement of the *doctrines of faith*, and many others warmly contending that it was first necessary to consider *the Reformation*. At length, however, it was determined to go on with both these subjects together. But when the Pope was told of this, he informed the legates that "he was very angry that they had consented to the examination of the proposed reform; that they ought to execute the first orders which he had given them; and that they must absolutely not permit the Council to treat of

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 29, p. 2-5.

† Ib. 6-7.

other matters than those which concerned the faith, in spite of the resolution which they had already adopted.”*

In answer to this, the legates returned an humble remonstrance, showing the necessity which had constrained them, and the Pope acquiesced, only charging them to *delay the decree as long as possible, and to await his orders* as to the manner in which it should be prepared.†

The next movement of the legates was to divide the prelates into three classes, who should meet in the rooms of the three legates severally, before they carried their deliberations into the general congregation. The reason which secretly led them to this, saith your historian, was *to secure more completely the management of the fathers, to arrest all conspiracies and cabals, and to prevent the more turbulent prelates from exercising a troublesome influence by their oratory upon the whole Council.*‡ It was, doubtless, a masterly piece of policy, and produced the effect intended, since there never was a Council of the Church which was more perfectly governed by the will of one master.

The death of Luther occurred in the following year. But my object in the present work is not to trace the progress of the real Reformation, the history of which I presume to be familiar to the reader. And therefore I confine myself to those facts which concern the Church of Rome, with a view to the statements of Dr. Milner. Nor will my limits allow of my giving a full account of the acts of the Council of Trent, and still less of the contests which took place among different doctors. But I shall content myself with showing the manner in which it was conducted in reference to the *unity and sanctity* so boldly claimed for your Church by our accuser.

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 29, p. 54.

† Ib. 55-6.

‡ Ib. 57-8.

At the session held in 1547, the Spanish Bishops presented a memorial to the legates, setting forth their views on the subjects then under discussion. The legates were quite surprised, saith your historian, not so much because the contents of the memorial threatened the authority of the Pope, as because this new mode of the Bishops banding together, and presenting their views in writing, might have troublesome consequences. They took time, therefore, for their answer, under the pretext that the matter was important, and *wrote immediately to the Pope*, to whom they sent a copy of the memorial, representing to him that *the Bishops took more liberties from day to day*; that they spake to the Cardinals without any respect, and without disguising the public expression of their opinion that they ought to be reformed; that they even spared not himself, and said openly that he gave them nothing but words; and that *he only held the Council in order to amuse the public with a vain hope of reformation*. The legates added, that in future it would be *difficult to restrain them, because they often assembled among themselves, and formed cabals*. They therefore besought the Pope to suggest to them what they should do. As for themselves, they were resolved to stand firm, and *not to suffer the Bishops to imagine that they could obtain by force anything more than they were willing to grant them*, since otherwise the legates would be at their discretion. But they advised the Pope that, in order to be *sure of a plurality of votes* when the day of public session arrived, he should command the Bishops who had gone to Venice to return promptly to Trent, so that the obstinate might not have the upper hand in the assembly.*

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 29, p. 361.

The Pope followed this advice, and the effect was manifest. For the Spanish Bishops, says your historian, became more moderate when they saw the number of the Italian prelates increase who were devoted to the legates ; and on the return of the Venetian Bishops, they all made it a duty to show their docility to the orders of the pontiff.* This is one small specimen of the low human policy pursued in the management of a Council, which yet you profess to hold as being inspired by the Holy Ghost !

Paul III. died in A. D. 1549, at the age of eighty-one, and the Cardinals were divided into three factions—the imperialists, the French, and the creatures of the deceased Pope, at whose head was Cardinal Farnese, his nephew.† Cardinal Pole would undoubtedly have been elected at once, if it had not been for his modesty and disinterestedness. His enemies delayed the vote. They spread a report that he was inclined to Lutheranism, and managed with so much skill that he had not the requisite majority.‡ Two months elapsed in the usual process of intrigue, when at length the Conclave elected the Cardinal di Monte, who took the name of Julius III. His first act was to bestow his Cardinal's hat upon a young adventurer, one of his domestics, *who had been solely occupied in the keeping of his monkey* !§

The year 1551 was marked by the protestation of the King of France against the Council of Trent, in which he declines to send to it the Bishops of his jurisdiction, “because they could not have a free and assured access, and therefore the Council, from which he is thus excluded in spite of himself, *cannot be esteemed, reputed, and called a*

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 29, p. 363.

† Ib. 685-7.

‡ Ib. 680-2.

§ Ib. 696

Council of the whole Catholic Church, but only a private Council, not being convened for the reformation and establishment of discipline, and to extirpate heresies, but to favor certain parties, and to promote the interests of some individuals, instead of the public good. And therefore, neither his majesty, nor the prelates and doctors of the Gallican Church, will consider themselves in future obliged to acknowledge such Council, nor to submit to its decrees.* This was read before the Council by the king's ambassador, and proves, of itself, the partiality and practical despotism with which the Pope ruled the Council. And it is further interesting as showing another example of your boasted unity.

The Pope enjoyed his dignity but five years, dying of the gout A. D. 1555. Edward VI. had established the pure principles of the primitive Church in England, and died in 1553. He had been succeeded by Mary, who brought back the nation to the Church of Rome. The Reformation had taken root in Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, and had made great progress in France. But the hope which the Pontiff, the emperor, Charles V., and the French monarch had indulged, viz., that the Council of Trent would reunite the Church, was dissipated. The Council and the Protestant princes could not agree upon the terms of the safe-conduct, nor the conditions on which the Protestants should be admitted; and thus, after numerous attempts to manage these preliminaries, the matter was abandoned. The Council itself had been suspended, by the bull of the Pope, in A. D. 1552, notwithstanding the strong opposition of many prelates; and nothing had been done to reform the Church of Rome,

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 30, p. 141.

nor to define the proper limits of the Papal prerogative. Still, the religious wars continued in many quarters, although they were terminated in Germany, to the advantage of the Protestants, by the treaty of Passau; and all the objects for which the Council of Trent had been assembled, viz., the extirpation of what they called heresy, the union of the Church, and the restoration of discipline, were seemingly as far off as ever.

The successor of Julius II. was Marcellus II., who displayed an ardent zeal for a thorough reformation, and formed great designs for the purification of the Church, which he expressed openly. But he died in ten days after his coronation, with the suspicion by some that he had been poisoned, through the arts of those who dreaded his love of reform, leaving behind him an excellent character—too good, perhaps, for that age of corruption.

Cardinal Caraffa succeeded him, who took the name of Paul IV. The year 1556 was marked by the abdication of the emperor, Charles V. The martyrdom of Cranmer, after many other glorious victims had offered themselves to death for the truth, seemed to insure the triumph of Romanism in England. But the victory was brief. For Queen Mary died in 1558, and the succession of Elizabeth restored the Reformation established under Edward VI., which had now become far more endeared to the nation, by the experience of the difference which the bloody reign of her predecessor had taught them. So willing were the clergy themselves to receive the Reformation which was formally established by act of Parliament in 1559, that, according to the statement of your historian, “out of 9,400 holders of benefices which were in the whole kingdom, there were only fourteen Bishops, twelve archdeacons, fif-

teen principals of colleges, fifty canons, and about eighty curates, who preferred to give up their benefices rather than their religion! Their places were filled with Protestants. Many monks returned to the world, and some nuns emigrated to foreign lands.”*

And here I find that your historian relates the consecration of Matthew Parker, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, at length, without taking any notice of the ridiculous fable put out by unscrupulous Romanists, called the Nag’s Head Ordination—a contemptible fabrication, which has been repudiated by Lingard, and every other Romanist of candor.†

At this time, a general peace being concluded between France, Spain, England, and the Empire, Henry II., King of France, turned all his thoughts to counteract the great progress which the Protestant Reformation was making in that kingdom. The Duchess of Valentinois, who derived profit from the proscriptions and the seizure of the property of those that were condemned, and the princes of Guise, who attracted the popular regard by punishing the sectarians, took pains to make the king believe that the venom of heresy was diffused throughout France, and that the sovereign did not really govern in those provinces where this evil had the upper hand.‡ The death of the king, however, before the expiration of the year, threw the power into the hands of his widow, the famous Catherine de Medicis, his son and successor, Francis II., being only sixteen years of age. The court was divided between the two factions of Guise and Montmorenci, to which was now added a third, the heads of whom were the King of Navarre and his brother, Louis de Condé.

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 31, p. 320-1. † Ib. 335. ‡ Ib. 342-3.

The efforts of the queen mother, who favored the party of the Guises, directed the movements of the government, in union with the popular feeling, against the Protestants with great asperity, especially in Paris. In order to discover those who were not favorable to Romanism, they placed in all the cities, at the corners of the streets, images of the Virgin Mary, before which they set lighted tapers, while the populace and children chanted litanies and other prayers. By the side of these, they put chests and boxes, in which they importuned all who passed by to drop a little money for the wax candles ; and if any passenger refused to pay this kind of tribute, or went on his way without saluting the images, the people threw themselves upon him as a suspected heretic, and he might think himself happy if he only received blows, or if, after being dragged through the dirt, he was led to prison with his life saved.* This persecution irritated the Calvinists, and mutual animosity raged in every quarter.

The Pope, Paul IV., was zealous for reformation, and spake continually of its necessity. But he was persuaded that the only remedy for the encroachments of Protestant reform was the establishment of the Inquisition, which, as he averred on all occasions, was the sole antidote for the evil, while a Council would only serve to increase it, as it had done already in the preceding years. In this persuasion, he applied himself entirely to the functions of this redoubtable tribunal, which he stimulated to the utmost severity throughout the world.† It was according to the genius of Popery, however, for many ages, to rely on the arm of physical force, and, instead of appealing to the reason,

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 31, p. 376-7.

† *Ib.* 383.

the conscience, and the feelings of men, in obedience to the Word of God, to drive them, by the fear of tortures and of death, into an implicit subservience to the priesthood.

Paul IV. died in 1559, at the age of eighty-three; and the people, full of fury, saith your historian, ran towards the new prison of the Inquisition, from which they liberated all the prisoners, and then set it on fire. Hardly could they be restrained from doing the same to the convent of the Dominicans, in their hatred to the Inquisition with which those monks were intrusted. Not content with this, they went to the Capitol, brake the statue of the Pope, carried off the head, rolled it for three days through the streets of the city, and then threw it into the Tiber. The Commissioner of the Inquisition was wounded, his house burned, and the disorder continued for a fortnight before they could or would put a stop to it.*

In the account which your historian gives of the death of Luke Gauric, Bishop of Civita Ducale, we find a proof, incidentally, of the credit which the folly of Judicial Astrology enjoyed in the Church of Rome. "He was very learned," saith the author, "in mathematics, and, above all, in that part of the science which pretends to judge, by the stars, the life and the fortune of men. This procured him great consideration from the Popes, Julius II., Leo X., Clement VII., and Paul III., especially the last, who often had him at his table, and raised him to the Episcopate."† It is a striking fact in the character of Popery, which claims a divine right to govern the whole world, that four Popes should be recorded as believers in judicial astrology so late as the middle of the sixteenth century. It may, indeed, be truly

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 31, p. 390.

† Ib. 407-8

said, that many Protestants also believed the same. But the Protestants do not pretend to rule the world, neither do they claim infallibility.

The Cardinals entered the Conclave on the 15th of September, formed cabals as usual, and were not able to agree until the 26th of December, when they elected the Cardinal de Medicis, who took the title of Pius IV.

Philip II., returning to Spain in the same year, 1559, in order to show his gratitude to Heaven for his preservation from shipwreck during a violent storm, made it his first and chief care to cleanse Spain from the plague of Lutheranism. On his arrival at Seville, where it had made the greatest progress, the Inquisition seized all who were suspected, and condemned thirteen to be burned alive. Some of these were men of quality. And the case of Constantine Fontinus, a man of great merit, doctor in theology, and preacher of Charles V., was of especial note, as an example of inquisitorial practice. He had been condemned for heresy, (that is to say, for adopting the doctrines of Luther,) and sentenced to death. But as he died in prison before the day appointed for the *Auto da Fé*, they burned him in effigy. Another famous preacher of Seville, named John Egidius, who had been nominated by Charles V. as the Bishop of Tortosa, was seized by this terrible tribunal, and subjected to such a long and severe process, that he died. "The judges caused his corpse to be summoned," saith your historian, "and condemned to death—a man that was already dead—and, as if they had made him come out of the grave by some machine, they exhibited him as a spectacle to the people, under an image made of osiers, on which they executed the sentence."*

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 31, p. 420-2.

The following October, the same rigor was exhibited at Valladolid, for the same reasons. Philip caused twenty-eight of the first nobility of the country to be burned in his presence; and in order to stop the importunities of their relations and friends, he made a vow to carry the wood for the stake of Don Carlos, his only son, if it should ever happen that this young prince should become a Lutheran.* Here we have an instructive example (and only a small specimen out of an immense number of similar facts) of the mode in which the system of Popery strove to bear down the cause of religious truth, and the liberty of conscience.

The following year, 1560, Pope Pius IV. issued his bull for the renewal of the Council of Trent. And in the same year, your historian reports that it was determined, by the Duke of Guise, and his brother, the Cardinal, in conjunction with the king, to assassinate the King of Navarre, in an interview with the monarch, to which he was to be invited on a given day. The interview took place; but the King of France, either through timidity or repentance, suffered the King of Navarre to depart without giving the concerted signal. And the Duke of Guise, going out along with his sovereign, is reported to have exclaimed, in anger, "O Prince, fearful and cowardly!"† Francis II. died the same year, and was succeeded by Charles IX., who was only ten years and six months old on his accession to the throne. And it was resolved at the assembly of the Estates-General, that the queen mother, Catherine de Medicis, should be the regent, and the King of Navarre the lieutenant-general.‡

The troubles of France, on account of the hatred borne

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 31, p. 422.

† Ib. 521.

‡ Ib. 546.

towards the Calvinists, continued, and increased in violence, but my limits forbid the notice of the details. I come, therefore, to the re-opening of the Council of Trent, which took place on the 15th of January, 1562. Four of the Pope's legates and a hundred Bishops attended. The order which was to be observed being one of the first subjects to be decided, the legates required the insertion of the phrase, *Proponentibus legatis et præsidentibus*,—the legates proposing and presiding,—which four of the Spanish Bishops resisted, saying that this clause was a novelty which ought not to be admitted, because it was dishonorable to the dignity of an Œcumenical Council. All the rest, however, consented, and the phrase was adopted accordingly.*

At the second session, or the 18th, from the commencement in 1545, Cardinal Seripand recommended that the Council should take up the reformation concerning the Court of Rome. This course was warmly supported by the Archbishop of Braga. And as some of the prelates had suggested that it was not necessary to include the Most Illustrious Cardinals, the fearless Archbishop maintained, on the contrary, that “ *the Most Illustrious Cardinals had need of a most illustrious reformation*. He added, that the Episcopal authority had been almost extinguished since the introduction of this new order of Cardinals, which was unknown in the ancient Church; that there was no hope of a real reformation in the Church until the Bishops were restored to their authority; * * * that, in fine, considering what the Bishops and Cardinals were formerly, and what they were at that day, he could not excuse himself from saying, in lamentation before God, and in complaining

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 32, p. 210–11.

to the Church of the Church herself, that matters were not thus in the beginning.”* This remonstrance, however, was entirely ineffectual.

The Council, meanwhile, was greatly troubled with the want of unanimity amongst the prelates, and your historian uses the following language on the subject of their divisions:—“The presiding legate,” saith he, “had been very careful to recommend secrecy to the fathers, to prevent the public from being informed of the discord which reigned in the Council, and of the little moderation which they had shown in their disputes. Many, on going out of the assembly, shed tears on account of these lively altercations, contenting themselves with keeping them secret, since they could not prevent them; but the report spread very soon, the whole city of Trent was informed of them, and the letters which were sent from thence into all kingdoms lessened greatly the advantageous opinion which had been at first conceived. They did not spare the reputation of the legates,” &c.† All this looked very little like the Roman assumption that the Council was inspired by the Holy Ghost.

The Pope was so much alarmed by the accounts which he received of those divisions, that he fancied there was a conspiracy among them to drive him from the Vatican, and deprive him of the pontifical See. Therefore, he assembled six Cardinals of great experience, and after hearing their advice, he resolved to send new legates to Trent, and recall the others, for the purpose of establishing union, and sustaining, with more zeal, the interests of the Papacy.‡ But he abandoned this design on further reflection.

The constant recurrence by the legates to the directions

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 32, p. 249.

† *Ib.* 304–5.

‡ *Ib.* 338.

of the pontiff, and their dependence upon him as their master in all points, was well known, and was even a subject of irreverent jesting amongst the Romanists themselves. Thus your historian, quoting from a letter which the ambassador of France wrote to the Sieur de l'Isle, informs us, "that *the legates obliged the Holy Spirit to come from Rome in a post-bag.*" And the same expression, according to Pallavicini, had been previously applied to their mode of proceeding by the Bishop of Five Churches, in his letters to Maximilian II.* The Pope, indeed, was so fearful that some encroachment might be made upon his authority, that he replied to the demands of the French Ambassador, by insisting that "the Bishops of France must do no prejudice to his power, and that the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline and of the Court of Rome must be reserved to himself alone." And he determined "to go to Bologna with the College of Cardinals, in order to be nearer to the Council, and even to go to Trent, if it should be necessary to accomplish his purposes."† So utterly unfounded is the pretence that the Council of Trent could be considered as a free expression of sentiment, even in the Church of Rome itself, and so perfectly was it subject to the dictation of the pontiff.

The emperor was as little likely as the King of France to be satisfied with the proceedings of the Council. And of this we have a plain proof in the document which he ordered his ambassador to lay before the legates, containing twenty demands on the subject of reformation. Your historian states these demands, substantially, as follows :—

1. That the Pope should submit himself and his court to correction.

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 32, p. 351.

† Ib. 353.

2. That if they would not reduce the Cardinals to the ancient number of twelve, they should at least content themselves with four and twenty, besides two supernumeraries.

3. That in future, dispensations should not be granted so easily, to the scandal of the laity.

4. That all exemptions against common right should be revoked, and all the monasteries be made subject to their proper Bishops.

5. That no ecclesiastic should have more than one benefice; that schools should be established in the cathedral and collegiate churches; and that the offices of the Church should not be given to mercenary priests.

6. That the Bishops should reside in their dioceses, hold a Synod every year, and perform their visitations in person, without deputing their functions to others, unless in cases of necessity.

7. That everything in the Church should be done gratuitously, and that no money should be taken for the administration of the sacraments.

8. That they should restore to their proper rigor the ancient Canons against simony.

9. That in the ecclesiastical constitutions they should cut off all that was superfluous, and that those ordinances should not be made equal to the obligations of the divine law.

10. That excommunications should only be used in cases of mortal sins, and for manifest irregularity.

11. That the sacred office should be celebrated in such a manner as to be understood by all the assistants.

12. That the *breviaries and missals should be corrected, by taking away from them all that could not be found in the Holy Scriptures.*

13. That they should seek for means to *reduce the clergy to a life more holy and more pure*, and that the monks should follow their first institution, by laboring for a more exact administration of their property.

14. That they should moderate the obligations of positive law, by lessening somewhat the rigor of the fasts, and *allowing the communion in both kinds*.

15. That they should *allow marriage to the priests of some nations*.

16. That the short explanations of the Gospels which the curates used in preaching should be corrected by learned theologians, or others be substituted by public authority, and that a new ritual should be established for all ecclesiastics.

17. That they should find means to depose evil priests, and put wiser and more correct men in their places.

18. That they should establish several bishoprics in the provinces which were of too great extent, and that the rich monasteries should be converted to this purpose.

19. That ecclesiastical property which had been usurped to profane uses, should be suffered, for the present, to remain undisturbed.

20. That the Council should be prayed to consider whether it would not be advisable to decree that the constitutions of the prelates should not oblige under the penalty of sin ; that the multitude of human laws should be reduced to a smaller number ; and that for some quarters *there should be added to the Latin Psalms some prayers in the vulgar tongue*.*

The legates, instead of giving a favorable reception to

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 32, p. 380-2.

these suggestions, told the ambassador that it was unworthy of his imperial majesty, as well as of the Council, that he should have presumed to propose them. And they declined proceeding with regard to them until the emperor should be so informed, and have an opportunity to abandon his design.

It seems that the Pope, about this time, intended to dissolve the Council, on account of the great expense which it caused him. But the legates sent a special envoy to dissuade him from this course, as dangerous to the Church, and highly inexpedient.* This piece of information is given by the historian incidentally, but it explains very satisfactorily the reason why the majority of the Bishops were so easily managed, viz., *because they were dependent on the pontiff for their position, and were actual pensioners upon his treasury.* In the nature of the case, there was neither justice nor propriety in the Pope's being charged with the expenses of a Council. The income of the Bishops who had dioceses was princely in those days, and they were able to support themselves in opulence, as long as it should be necessary, in any city of Europe. There were few amongst them who did not, in fact, reside out of their dioceses, as we see by the general complaint on the subject of non-residence. But the policy of the Pope was to fill up the ranks of his party with *Bishops in partibus*, and men subservient to him, and doubtless the expense of supporting these so long was a very serious matter.

As a specimen of the difficulty, nevertheless, which the legates experienced in managing the Council, your historian states the votes on the proposition to allow the use of

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 32, p. 382-3.

the cup to the laity in the communion, a concession to which the King of France and the Emperor of Germany attached great importance, in the hope of conciliating the Protestant reformers. "The prelates," saith our author, "who were in number one hundred and sixty-six, composed several different parties. Thirty-eight were for refusing the cup; twenty-nine for granting it; twenty-four thought it best to leave the matter to the Pope; thirty-one admitted one part of the proposition, and denied the other; that is to say, they thought the concession should be granted, but preferred committing the execution to the Pope instead of the Bishops; ten were for the negative, who desired the Pope might be requested to send delegates to Germany; and nineteen limited the concession to Germany and Hungary."* Here, again, we see all the ordinary marks of an assembly composed of common mortals, showing the absurdity of your theory that your Councils are infallibly directed by the Holy Spirit.

The King of France sent them a remonstrance during the same year, in which he complained of what he heard from all sides, viz., that "they spent their time on matters of doctrine, and neglected what concerned the reformation of morals and the discipline of the Church, and that from such conduct no advantage could arise, nor repose nor union for the Church of God."†

Up to this period, there had been an ambassador from France, but no Bishops of that kingdom had attended the Council. Now, however, the Cardinal of Lorraine and several French prelates received the royal orders to repair to Trent, and the Pope and his party were not a little

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 32, p. 501.

† Ib. 555.

alarmed by the fear of consequent trouble in the Council. The Cardinal was instructed to insist on the concession of the cup to the laity, the marriage of the priests, and the administration of the sacraments in the vulgar tongue. With regard to the second point, your historian states the language of the king as follows, viz. :—"It was with the utmost regret that his majesty thought himself obliged to complain of the *licentious life of the ecclesiastics, who caused so much of scandal, and even of corruption among the people, that it seemed to him necessary to provide for the evil promptly.*" Amongst the measures recommended for this end, "*the marriage of the priests*" was particularly specified.*

In the oration of the Cardinal of Lorraine before the Council, after setting forth the dreadful condition of France through religious dissensions, he candidly blamed the clergy for the melancholy results. "Whom," saith he, "shall we accuse? Who will pass for the author of all these evils? *It is ourselves who have excited this tempest, therefore cast us into the sea.*"† But the ambassador of France spake with much greater freedom. "All the demands of the king," said he, "are contained either in the Holy Scriptures, or in the ancient Councils of the Church Catholic, or in the writings of the holy fathers, or in the constitutions of the Popes, the Decretals, and the Canons. He desires that you will re-establish the Church, not in general clauses, but according to the express words of that perpetual and divine edict, against which there can be no prescription, so that the holy rules which the ancient enemy, Satan, has held captives so long, may appear in open day, and return into the holy city of God.‡ But if you will not do this, holy

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 33, p. 17.

† Ib. 33.

‡ Ib. 38.

fathers, it is in vain that you will ask if France does not enjoy peace.. We shall reply to you what Jehu replied to King Joram : ‘ *How can there be peace, so long as* ’ * * * You know the rest. Unless we work seriously for reformation, it is in vain that we have recourse to the alliance of Spain, or that we implore aid of the Pope, of Venice, of the Dukes of Lorraine, Savoy, and Tuscany. All these, believe me, will be useless, if you will not employ yourselves to reform the Church.”*

In the matter of the cognizance and decision of accusations against Bishops, the Council of Trent determined that they should belong solely to the sovereign pontiff, or, if it were absolutely necessary to send the cause out of Rome, it should be committed to metropolitans, or to Bishops appointed by the Pope, in a commission signed by his own hand. Your historian states, however, that “in France they keep up the ancient rule, according to which the Bishops ought only to be judged by the Bishops of the province assembled in Council, calling in those of the neighboring provinces, to the number of twelve, saving the appeal to the Pope, recommended by the Council of Sardica. Since the time of the Council of Trent, the clergy of France have protested against their decree on this subject.”† But we shall find other points than this in which the Council failed to produce unity, even amongst yourselves.

The 24th day of December, A. D. 1563, beheld the termination of this famous Synod. The decrees were signed by two hundred and fifty-five names, in which there were four legates, two Cardinals, three Patriarchs, twenty-five

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 33, p. 39.

† Fleury, Cont., Tom. 34, p. 24-5.

Archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight Bishops, thirty-nine proxies of absentees, seven Abbots, and seven Generals of Orders, viz., the Dominicans, the Minor Observants, the Minor Conventuals, the Hermits of St. Augustin, the Servites, the Carmelites, and the Jesuits.* The Pope expressed great satisfaction with the result, and confirmed the acts of the Council without any reservation.

The Council was received, first by Sebastian, King of Portugal, and next by the Republic of Venice. The King of Spain received it with a reservation (implied, though not formally expressed) of the rights of the prince and the kingdom; and in Naples, Sicily, and Flanders the same course was taken. But in France there was an abundance of difficulty. The Cardinal of Lorraine was reproached for the course he had taken, and all the excuses he could make did not remove the impression, that his conduct concerning the decrees of reformation had been altogether contrary to the rights of France and the royal authority.† The Parliament also opposed the reception of the Council strongly.

With respect to the emperor there was also some difficulty. He applied to the Pope for the concession of the cup to the laity, which was granted by the advice of the Cardinals, though with conditions and restrictions. But the emperor made another demand which was not so successful, viz., the permission for priests who had married to retain their wives in returning to the Church. On that point the Pope was inflexible.‡

Poland also received the decrees of Trent, but Scotland could not act in the troubled condition of Queen Mary and the kingdom. And thus this important matter was situated,

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 34, p. 122.

† Ib. 164-5.

‡ Ib. 173.

according to your historian, when Pope Pius IV. died, the 18th of December, 1565, two years after the conclusion of the Council.*

Here we see again a glaring absurdity in your Papal system, that while you profess to regard the acts of a General Council, regularly called and confirmed by the Pope, as the infallible work of the Holy Spirit, binding upon the whole Church, you are obliged, nevertheless, to allow the national Church of each country to decline receiving them as long as may seem proper. True, you make a distinction between matters of faith and matters of discipline, claiming inspiration for the first only. But your writers have never discovered any mode of proving this distinction, which has, indeed, only been invented to meet the difficulty. It is impossible to show why the Holy Spirit, if He condescends to guide a Council in the one, should abandon the same Council in the other, since the unity of the Church, to be complete, requires the same rule to be observed in both. Neither can they justify this notion from Scripture, because it is unquestionable that the Almighty deigned to give a divine rule to Israel in matters of discipline as well as in matters of faith, and it is equally manifest that the very first Council, held by the Apostles at Jerusalem, concerned a question of discipline, and yet the Holy Ghost directed it. Moreover, the marriage of Bishops and deacons is laid down as an inspired rule by the Apostle, though it be only a point of discipline; and many other examples might be added to these to disprove your distinction.

Nor can your theologians justify themselves by the reason of the case, because faith, being in its own nature unchange-

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 34, p. 247.

able, while discipline may be changed according to circumstances, a Council of the Church requires the guidance of special inspiration far more in respect to discipline than in respect of faith. It needs no inspiration to *keep up* the faith "once delivered to the saints," since it is only necessary to guard it from any innovation. But it does need supernatural guidance to enact *new laws of discipline*, which may work the most serious consequences in the end, far beyond the power of human wisdom to foresee. Thus, when the early Councils changed the inspired Apostles' rule of clerical marriage into the Church's rule of clerical celibacy, the Holy Spirit would have forbidden such an act of profanation, which presumed to abrogate, by what is acknowledged to be a rule of expediency, the liberty given by the wisdom of God. Yet what mortal could have foreseen, at that time, the flood of licentiousness and immorality which followed in the train of this single alteration?

Hence, this very Council of Trent, convened for the purposes of unity, failed most signally. Not only was it perfectly inoperative on the Reformation which was then at work, but it even failed in reference to the Church of Rome itself. In matters of faith it made no change; but in matter of discipline, where it undertook to lay down the law, it was at the mercy of each particular nation to accept it or not; and in point of fact, it is not universally received to this day. And yet, you are never weary of boasting about your Church's unity!

LETTER XIV.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE new Pope, elected in 1566, took the title of Pius V., and commenced his pontificate by manifesting great zeal against the heretics, condemning one distinguished man to the flames for being intimate with heretics, and another for only having spoken ill of the Inquisition.* He also made severe ordinances against the prostitutes of Rome, much against the will of the Cardinals and the clergy. He ordered the Cardinals, moreover, to reform their trains, to avoid pomp, and to lead a sober and frugal life. He forbade the combats of beasts in the circus, and endeavored to re-establish the monastic discipline. In a word, he labored to extirpate all the former licentiousness with great severity, and displeased very many in consequence.†

In A. D. 1570, Pius V. published his bull of excommunication against Queen Elizabeth, separating her and her adherents from the body of Christ, as corrupted members, depriving her of all right of royalty, dispensing her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and forbidding them to obey her, &c.‡ Two years after this impotent display of authority, the Pope died, and your historian informs us that the people were rejoiced, because they disliked the severity

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 34, p. 305.

† Ib. 306-8.

‡ Fleury, Cont., Tom. 35, p. 3.

of his morals, and the rigors which he had exercised by means of the Inquisition, of which he had always been one of the most zealous patrons. His coffers were found filled with more than a million of crowns in gold, which he had amassed during a pontificate of only six years and a quarter.*

The conclave, for a wonder, completed their work in a single day, and Gregory XIII. was proclaimed as the new pontiff in May, 1572.

This was the year when Charles IX., the young King of France, under the advice of his mother, Catherine de Medicis, planned and executed the detestable massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, in which the leaders of the reformed or Calvinistic party, invited to the court for the very purpose; under the professions of amity and peace, were cruelly assassinated, with every circumstance of horror and barbarity. The Duke of Guise willingly undertook the execution of the diabolical scheme. The people were also excited, by studied lies, to take part in the slaughter. At a concerted signal, the work began in every quarter. "They spared," saith your historian, "neither old men, nor children, nor pregnant women, and carnage reigned on every side." At the palace of the Louvre, "the galleries and the staircases were almost covered with dead bodies, and the assassins pursued their unhappy victims even into the apartments of the princesses."†

"The butchery continued for seven days in Paris, and more than five thousand persons are reported to have perished."‡ A thorn-bush, planted in the cemetery of the Holy Innocents, served, strangely enough, to augment the

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 35, p. 117-18. † Ib. 141-2. ‡ Ib. 151.

fury of the people. For, on the day of the massacre, which was the festival of St. Bartholomew, although this bush was half dry and leafless, it put out an abundance of flowers. "This circumstance," saith the historian, "might have been quite in the course of nature, but they regarded it as a miracle, and pretended to prove by this fact that the murder of the Calvinists was acceptable to God! The drums were beaten, the religious fraternities walked in procession, the king himself came to see the miraculous thorn-bush, and the massacre continued."*

"On the 25th of August, the king, either alarmed at the barbarity of such an action, or apprehensive that the blame of it would fall on himself alone, wrote to all the governors of the provinces, to cast the whole upon the Princes de Guise; assuring them that the sedition had been excited without his knowledge; that the Guises, having discovered that the friends of the admiral, Coligny, had resolved to revenge the wound he had received, gathered together a great number of gentlemen and of Parisians to prevent them; that with this force they had overcome the guards whom the king had given to Coligny, and had killed him and all that were with him; that this example had been followed with so much violence and fury in all the other quarters of the city, that it was not possible to remedy it; that the cause of the tumult was only the ancient enmity between the two houses; and that, as this evil had occurred against his will, he wished all men to know that he had not violated any article of the treaty of peace, but, on the contrary, desired that it might be religiously observed," &c.†

But the queen mother and the Duke of Anjou took a dif-

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 35, p. 151.

† Ib. 151-2.

ferent view of the matter soon afterwards ; and lest the Guises should avail themselves of the position in which the king had placed them, and keep up an armed force, and thus give rise to a renewal of the war, they persuaded him to avow his act, and acquit them of all blame, inasmuch as all that they had done was in obedience to the royal orders. Accordingly, the king "went the following day to the Parliament, and there publicly acknowledged the fact, declaring that he had been constrained to use violent measures, in consequence of his being informed that the admiral and his accomplices had conspired to kill him, his mother and his brothers, in order to place the Prince de Condé on the throne ; that extreme perils required extreme remedies ; and that therefore he wished all the world to know that all the murders of the last few days had been committed by his sole order, that he might prevent the results of a detestable conspiracy."*

"They presumed," continues your historian, "to make a procession, at which the people assisted in great numbers, with the king and all his court, to render thanks to God for the happy success of an enterprise which covered France with confusion, and which could not be otherwise than abhorred by Heaven and all good men. And they even had medals struck to eternize an action which they were afterwards obliged to regard with the detestation it deserved."†

"But there were several of the provinces which were no better treated than Paris. For the king had written to the governors the day before the massacre, ordering them everywhere to lay violent hands upon the Calvinists ; the consequence of which was, that during two months there was

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 35, p. 153-4.

† Ib. 155.

nothing to be seen but murders in almost all France. The numbers killed in the different provinces amounted to no less than twenty-five thousand persons.”*

“This execution,” adds your historian, “was regarded with a favorable eye at Rome and in Spain. Gregory XIII., beholding only the good which he persuaded himself would result to the Catholic religion in France, ordered a procession, at which he assisted in person, from the Church of St. Peter to that of St. Louis, to give thanks to God for such happy success. And he caused some medals to be struck, to perpetuate the memory of the transaction, where the Pope was represented on one side, and on the obverse an angel, holding a cross in one hand, and a sword in the other, exterminating the heretics, and particularly the admiral, Coligny. In Spain, a panegyric of the action was pronounced in presence of King Philip II., and they dared to give it the name of the triumph of the Church militant.”†

This foul and nefarious transaction is condemned as it deserves by your historian, and by all candid men of your own communion. But the facts show the character of your people at that day, and the true spirit of the religion which their priests had taught them. And therefore the narrative is worthy of serious contemplation, as an irrefragable proof that kings and queens, and the highest noblemen of the most civilized nation in Europe, were capable of committing the deepest and darkest treachery, and the most cruel and wholesale murder, and of framing the most despicable lies, in the supposed service of the God of peace and truth, while Popes, and Bishops, and mighty sovereigns, were ready to applaud the diabolical achievement, and insult the majesty of heaven with a public religious thanksgiving.

* Fleury, *Cont.*, Tom. 35, p. 156-7.

† *Ib.* 159.

The festival of the Rosary was established by a bull of Gregory XIII. in the following year, and your historian states that it had been introduced by a Dominican only about a century before.* So modern is this form of devotion, which has become such a special favorite amongst the worshippers of the Virgin.

Gregory XIII. died in A. D. 1585, at the age of eighty-three, after a pontificate of twelve years and ten months. Your historian praises him for piety and wisdom, and gives him credit for a mild, moderate, generous, and beneficent disposition. He is only reproached for two faults—that he had too much complaisance for his own family, and too little firmness to arrest and punish the disorders of the citizens. The bandits took advantage of their opportunity under his pontificate to scour with impunity the Campagna of Rome, and dared to carry on their terrible trade in open day, within the very walls of the city.† When we see a Pope so praised for amiable qualities that he carried his easy kindness to an extreme, rejoicing over the bloody massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, and zealous, as the author saith elsewhere, for the Inquisition,‡ it only gives us a deeper impression of the quality of that religion, which could outrage every feeling of humanity and every precept of the Gospel in the horrid work of persecution and of blood.

The election of the new Pope resulted in the elevation of the Cardinal Montalto, who took the name of Sixtus V. The moment that he found himself chosen, saith your historian, he flung into the middle of the hall the staff on which he had been accustomed to lean, like a man bowed down

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 35, p. 228. † Fleury, Cont., Tom. 36, p. 23.

‡ Fleury, Cont., Tom. 35, p. 177.

with infirmity, and stood erect, as if he were a youth of thirty. Two hours before, he seemed scarcely able to speak without pain, but now he intoned the *Te Deum*, with a voice which rung in strength and energy.*

Sixtus V. displayed vast talent, force, and vigor, in his pontificate, with an abundance, of course, of the ambition and pride of his office, as king of kings. He published a bull against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, which went so far in violence beyond previous examples, that it outraged the King and Parliament of France. Henry III. was then in possession of the throne, and the King of Navarre stood next in succession. So far was this prince, however, from yielding to the attack of the Pope, that he caused to be affixed to the gates of the Vatican, in all the streets of Rome, and on the doors of the Cardinals, a protestation, in which he gave the pontiff the title of *Monsieur Sixtus*, maintained that, in calling him a heretic, the Pope had lied, and threatened vengeance, appealing to a free General Council, and treating the assault as an insult to his house, and to the whole French nation.†

This Pope, however, deserved credit for some other matters. Among the rest, he put a considerable check to the debauchery of the city, issued a bull against judicial astrology, and watched over the administration of justice with commendable care.

In A. D. 1588, Sixtus V., "desirous to favor the designs of Philip II. upon England," as your author expressly states, renewed the bull against Elizabeth, and put the kingdom under interdict. His pretexts were, that "England was a fief of the Holy See, that the queen had never rendered

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 35, p. 25.

† Ib. 36, p. 37-8.

homage for it, and that she persecuted the Catholic Church. Therefore, he pronounces her deposed, and commands her subjects to cast off their allegiance, and to join the army of the King of Spain as soon as it should arrive, and to obey the Duke of Parma, who was the commanding general, in all things." Moreover, the pontiff promised great rewards to those who should secure Elizabeth, and deliver her to the Catholics, that she might be punished for her crimes. And he concluded his bull by opening the treasures of the Church to all who should favor the expedition. Your historian adds, that an agreement to subject England, not only to the faith, but to the homage of the Holy See, had been concluded between the Pope and the Spanish sovereign.*

This bold effort of Papal ambition was backed with the most imposing preparations for conquest. Philip II. sent out a fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels, the most formidable that had ever appeared upon the ocean. Not only were they stocked with six months' provisions, and supplied with a numerous army, but also, saith your author, with a great many monks of various orders, who, after they should have effected a landing, were intended to exhort the people to return to their obedience to Rome.† In fact, the Pope was the soul and centre of the expedition. It was all right, in the policy of Rome for centuries together, to propagate your religion in the style of Mahomet, with fire and sword. Treason was nothing, civil war was nothing, the blood and misery of a whole nation were nothing, when weighed in the balance against Roman supremacy. I need not repeat the familiar story of the fate which the Almighty prepared for the Spanish Armada; how the elements them-

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 36, p. 163-4.

† Ib. 165.

selves warred against the cruel and unchristian enterprise, and a large portion of the vast fleet, like the hosts of Pharaoh, "sank as lead in the mighty waters." But I quote it as a proof of the principles and practice of your Papal system, and an example of what your Popes would do again if they had the power. The heads that could plan and the hands that could execute the terrible crusades against the Albigenses and Waldenses—the hearts that could rejoice over the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day—were not to be controlled by the precept of the Saviour to St. Peter himself: "*Put up again thy sword into his place : for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.*"

I pass on to the year 1589, to notice the statement given by your historian of the battle at the bridge of Tours, between the troops of the kings of France and Navarre upon the one side, and those of the Duke of Mayence, with the other Papists who formed the famous League, upon the other. The King of Navarre, who was the next heir to the crown, had made profession of Romanism, and had afterwards returned to the Calvinistic branch of the Reformation. Hence, the Pope held him to be a relapsed heretic, and the object of the League was to prevent his succession to the throne. Thus, a civil war broke out in France, patronized and upheld by the pontiff's policy, notwithstanding the reiterated pledges of the King of Navarre that he would not seek in any way to disturb the religion of the kingdom.

In this battle, the Leaguers conquered the royal army. And "the soldiers," saith your author, "committed a thousand outrages, respecting what was sacred no more than what was profane. The monasteries were pillaged, the churches ravaged, the altars despoiled; the women

were forced even at the foot of the sanctuary, often in the very presence of their husbands; and the maidens were violated. *And in the midst of these excesses, the leaguers boasted that everything was permitted them, because they were fighting for religion, under the protection of the Pope, who would grant them the pardon of their sins.*"* A lively specimen of the operation of your system upon the consciences of its poor, blind, and deluded votaries, before it was compelled to borrow a purer light from the progress of the Protestant Reformation!

Sixtus V. excommunicated Henry III., King of France, during the same year, 1589; and it was not long before a Dominican, named Jacques Clement, undertook to assassinate the monarch, as the enemy of the Church. Your author saith that he was excited by the priests, who treated the king as a tyrant, or by the persuasions of some theologians, or by some secret intrigue. "*The Duchess of Montpensier was reported to have urged him on, assuring him that if he escaped, the Pope would not fail to make him a Cardinal; and if he perished, he would be put into the rank of the saints, for having delivered the kingdom from the persecutor of the faith.*"†

The king died from the wound inflicted by this assassin, who was himself sacrificed upon the spot, and his body was dragged by four horses through the dirt, and burned.‡

Your historian gives a very graphic account of the way in which the clergy and the people testified their feelings on the occasion. "The leaguers, to show their joy," saith he, "clothed themselves in green; the Duchess of Montpensier embraced the man who brought her the first news

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 36, p. 238.

† Ib. 245.

‡ Ib. 246-7

saying, 'Welcome, my good friend. But can it be true that this wicked and perfidious tyrant is dead? Great God! how happy you make me! I am only sorry for one thing, that he did not know before he died that it was I who caused him to be assassinated.' She went immediately to find Madame de Nemours, her mother, and they rode together in a carriage through all the streets, crying out, wherever the people were assembled, 'Good news, my friends! good news: the tyrant is dead—there is no longer any Henry de Valois in France!' It was even said that, at the monastery of the Cordeliers, Madame de Nemours harangued the people from the steps of the altar, and told them to make bonfires that evening throughout the city."

"The theologians and preachers," continues your historian, "did not fail to play their part, and manifest their fury. These last cried out in their sermons, that Jacques Clement, who had suffered death with so much constancy to deliver the kingdom from a miserable tyrant, was a true martyr. They compared this monk to Judith, and Henry III. to Holofernes, and the deliverance of Paris to that of Bethulia. They ordered prayers in all the churches, to render solemn thanks to God for this assassination. They even made processions, which lasted a whole week, and exposed the image of Clement on the altar for the veneration of the people."*

"When the news of the murder of Henry III. arrived at Rome," saith your author, "Sixtus V. held a Consistory of his Cardinals, and praised the zeal and courage of Jacques Clement, whom he compared to Judith and to Eleazar. Such was the force of the prejudices which

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 36, p. 249-250.

reigned, founded on those principles which an extravagant zeal had established in those times of trouble and confusion, before they had leisure to recognize their falsehood, as they have done in a more tranquil period.”* This is the best apology which your historian, as a Romanist, is able to make for his ancestors. But it is manifest that there is no ground for the excuse. Whatever allowance might be made for the immediate actors in France, where there was certainly enough of confusion, this could not operate in Rome, where there was nothing of the kind. And hence, when we find a deliberate approbation pronounced by the Popes themselves, with the assent of their Cardinals, of such deeds as the massacre of St. Bartholomew’s, and the assassination of Henry III., it is in vain to deny that we have a display of neither more nor less than the true spirit of Popery.

The King of Navarre became the King of France, by the title of Henry IV.; and this was followed by the death of Sixtus V., A. D. 1590. It was believed that he was poisoned, and he had himself, saith your historian, the same suspicion, as he is reported to have declared to his physician, “I think the Spaniards are so tired of seeing me Pope, that they will seek means to shorten my days and my pontificate.” In fact, after his death, they examined his cranium, and “found the substance of the brain injured by the malignity of the poison which was attached to it.” The people, urged by malcontents, amongst whom were reckoned the Spaniards, ran to the capitol, and brake the statue which the Romans had erected in honor of the Pope, complaining loudly of the exactions and new taxes with which he had burdened them, to satisfy his passion for

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 36, p. 251-2.

amassing money. And doubtless the reproach was not unjust, as he left an immense amount of treasure in the Castle of St. Angelo.* The Cardinal Castagna was elected his successor by the title of Urban VII., and gave great hopes of being a benefactor to Rome, from his character. But, as was the case with several good men before him, he died within a short time. He fell sick the third day from his election, and his death followed ten days after. The Cardinals proceeded to a new election forthwith, and Gregory XIV. became the wearer of the tiara. Your historian records the usual amount of cabals and intrigue in both these conclaves, but the last was not concluded until two months of contest had passed away.†

The new Pope gave all his influence to the party of the League in France, and sent his nuncio with an admonition to the Parliament, in which he treated Henry IV. as an excommunicated and relapsed heretic, and enjoined them to withdraw themselves from their allegiance. But the Parliament pronounced the act of the Pope a nullity, and ordered the nuncio to be arrested, appealing to the future Council against Gregory XIV. The king confirmed this act of his Parliament, and issued the Edict of Nantes to establish the liberty of conscience.‡

The principal prelates united to sanction the declaration of nullity, and refused to obey the order of the Pope ; but the party of the League, which had also a Parliament in Paris, took the other side of the question, sustained the acts of the pontiff, and pronounced the declarations and acts of the royal Parliament and clergy *null and void*, full of *heresy and sedition*. Meanwhile, the war between the king and

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 36, p. 304-5.

† Ib. 315.

‡ Ib. 332-6.

the League continued to be waged with bitterness. The Pope died after a pontificate of six months and ten days, and his successor was Innocent IX., who was consecrated A. D. 1591. But he also died in two months after his coronation.

The next pontiff was Cardinal Aldobrandino, who took the name of Clement VIII., and followed the same policy as his predecessors with regard to France, with the same results precisely.*

In 1592, a Capuchin monk, who had formerly been a Knight of Malta, named Antonio Scipio, was chosen by the party of the League to be their general. He declined on account of his religious vows. But the Bishops and theologians of that party assembled at Thoulouse, and decided that he might not only quit his monastery and his habit to command the army, but even that he was *obliged to do it, under pain of mortal sin*, because it concerned the defence of religion.†

The dispensations were accordingly obtained from the Pope, and the monk was transformed into a general, with the title of the Count de Bouchage, which change the people applauded greatly.‡

The following year, King Henry IV. professed, a second time, his change of religious sentiments, and was openly reconciled to the Church of Rome, with great pomp, by the Archbishop of Bourges, who gave him absolution and the sacrament. The party of the League, however, treated the act as a nullity, on the ground, 1st, that none but the Pope could give absolution to a heretic relapsed; and 2d, that it was not a sincere, but simulated conversion.

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 36, p. 375-8.

† Ib. 390.

‡ Ib. 391.

The year 1593 witnessed another example of conspiracy. "The Spaniards plotted in France," saith your author, "against the life of the king. About the end of August, they arrested a soldier named Peter Barrière, who had undertaken to assassinate the sovereign. He had opened his design to some monks, who, as he said, had strongly pressed him to execute it. But a Dominican of Florence, who happened to be at Lyons, being also consulted by him, took measures to have the king put upon his guard. On the arrival of Barrière at Paris, he was taken to the house of the curate of St. Andrew, and afterwards to that of the rector of the Jesuits' College, both of whom persuaded him that the king's conversion was feigned, and animated him to the accomplishment of his project. This fact, nevertheless, the Jesuits have always strongly denied. But however this may have been, he bought a knife, and sharpened it himself, and left Paris for Melun, where the king was then sojourning. Here he was recognized and arrested. After being put to the question, he was condemned to death, and then he acknowledged his fault, and declared that there were two priests, whose person and countenance he described, who had formed the same plan, and had set out from Lyons to execute it."*

Your historian closes his work with the year 1595; but all the world knows that this celebrated king was at last, in A. D. 1610, the victim of the same religious hatred. A bigoted fanatic named Ravallac plunged a long two-edged knife twice into his heart, in the streets of Paris, having mounted for that purpose on the steps of the carriage in which the monarch was sitting, as it was obstructed by a

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 36, p. 449-451.

crowd in the street de la Feronnerie. It appears to have been a settled design of this man for a considerable time before, but he died without inculpating any other in his villany. We can be at no loss, however, to understand that he acted on the same principles, and under the same guidance, which were exhibited in the case of Jacques Clement, and believed his crime to be an acceptable offering, under the delusive guidance of superstition.

I have now gone over the history of your Church, with the single aim of proving, from your own records, the rise, progress, and terrible extent of its corruption, up to the close of the sixteenth century. Here we see that, for a period of seven centuries together, there had been a constant outcry for reformation ; that the Popes and the priesthood were the objects of continual complaint on the part of the laity ; that by their own acknowledgment, although the Church was never destitute of true Christians, yet holiness was the exception, and iniquity the rule, since the great body of the clergy were steeped in licentiousness, avarice, simony, cruelty, violence, falsehood, and blood ; that the University of Paris, one of your most famous nurseries of theological education, was infested with an infidel philosophy, and with habits of libertine sacrilege ; that the boasts of absolute atheism were heard from the lips of pontiffs and Cardinals ; that the reliance of your Church was in the terrors of the Inquisition, in the rack, the dungeon, and the stake ; that war, and treachery, and assassination, were patronized in the service of religion ; that Bishops, and Cardinals, and Popes, were ready to lead their troops to battle ; that there were constant revolts and rebellions against the tyranny of the priestly power ; that there were many schisms in the Papal kingdom, in which two or three

pretenders to infallibility cursed each other at the same time, in the name of God and His Apostles ; and that every effort to banish these horrible iniquities proved utterly abortive, until the success of the Protestant Reformation compelled them to respect public opinion, by fear for their very being, if they continued to brave it any longer. The task has been a painful one, but it was necessary, in order to defend the truth against the perversions of Milner's "End of Controversy." We shall see, in the progress of my work, the bearing of all this upon that author's most false assumptions. We shall see how it stands opposed to his unblushing claim of *unity* and *sanctity* for the Church of Rome. And thus, when we are able to compare the results of the two systems upon the morals of Christendom, we shall have the best practical proof of the argument which we maintain in favor of the Reformation.

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L E T T E R X V .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

HAVING given, from your own historian, a statement of facts proving the terrible extent of corruption amongst the priesthood and clergy of your Church up to the period of the British Reformation, and for some time beyond it, I now return to the course of Dr. Milner's book. And here, in his eighth letter, he commences his assault upon the principle of the continental Reformers, that *the Bible alone*, according to each individual's private judgment, is the *Rule of Faith*; and he extends his censure to the Church of England, as if that Church had not most carefully provided the Apostolic ministry for the work of interpretation, and preserved, in her Articles, all the guards of primitive antiquity. I have already said that I should not meddle in the controversy with regard to others. They are, doubtless, able to take all the care which is possible of their own position. But as it respects our own branch of the Church Catholic or Universal, we claim the whole benefit of the Rule of Faith laid down by the Church of Rome, according to the statement of Dr. Milner, namely, that it must be *the Word of God*, having, besides the rule itself, *a living, speaking judge, to watch over it, and explain it in all matters of controversy. That therefore the rule of faith appointed by Christ must be certain and unerring, that is to say, it must be one which is not liable to lead any rational and sincere in-*

quirer into inconsistency or error, and this rule must be UNIVERSAL—*proportioned to the abilities and circumstances of the great bulk of mankind.* The only point in which we differ from your Church with respect to the rule of faith is this: that we confine the Word of God to the *inspired Scriptures*, while you extend it to what you call the Word of God both *written and unwritten*, which takes in the Apocrypha, and all your so-called *Apostolical traditions*, as well as all the decisions of your nominal General Councils, thereby putting the inventions of subsequent ages upon a level with the Scriptures, or rather above them, on the plain principle that the last law abrogates the former one, so far as it is contrary to it. *Leges posteriores priores contrarias abrogant.* Practically, therefore, you make the *voice of the Church* the master over the WORD OF GOD, and while you treat it, theoretically, with all possible reverence, you overrule its authority at pleasure by your unauthorized assumption, that the Church speaks, all along, with the positive majesty of divine inspiration.

Now, in order to show the falsity of this assumption, I shall first prove, by the direct testimony of those early fathers to whom Dr. Milner himself appeals, that the true and only *rule of faith* is the WRITTEN WORD OF GOD, in the canonical Scriptures. I shall then show the respect due to the decisions of the Church, as the interpreter of Scripture, which we admit as well as yourselves, so long as the Church remained united and practically Catholic. I shall consider, by the way, the various allegations of your ingenious but most unscrupulous advocate, on the Canon of Scripture, on our authorized English version, and on the statements of certain English Bishops and divines. I shall show that the provision of the Church of England and our

own for the *living, speaking judge in all matters of controversy*, is not only as complete and satisfactory as that of the Church of Rome, but in fact much more so, because it embraces all that you have derived from the Apostles, while it excludes only those later inventions in favor of priestly despotism, which almost brought Christianity to utter ruin. This order will dispose of every point which belongs to the real argument between the two Churches, and I trust that you will find the conclusion clear enough, although I cannot expect that you will think it satisfactory.

1. *That the primitive Church held the Scriptures to be the rule of faith*, which is the first point proposed in the order of argument, I shall prove by the following authorities:—

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in A. D. 170, in ch. xxviii. of his work against heresies, saith, “We ought to leave all such questions to God who made us, knowing most rightly that *the Scriptures truly are perfect*, since they were dictated by the Word of God, and His Spirit.”* Again: “We know the plan of our salvation by no others except those by whom the Gospel came to us, which truly they *then preached*, but afterwards, by the will of God, *delivered to us in the SCRIPTURES*, to be the *foundation and pillar of our faith*. * * * Thus, Matthew put forth the Scripture of the Gospel to the Hebrews in their tongue, when Peter and Paul preached at Rome, and founded the Church there. And after their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing those things which Peter had preached. And Luke, the follower of Paul, arranged in a book the Gospel which had been preached by him. Afterwards, John also, the disciple of our Lord, who

* Iren. *Contra Hæreses*, Lib. 2, cap. xxviii., § 2, p. 156.

had reclined upon his breast, published a Gospel while he sojourned at Ephesus, in Asia.”*

“But when,” continues Irenæus, “the heretics are put down by the Scriptures, they turn to accusing the Scriptures themselves, as if they were not correct, nor from authority, because things are related variously, and therefore the truth cannot be found from them by those who are ignorant of tradition. For this was not delivered by writing, but by the living voice.” * * * “And when, again, we challenge them to compare their doctrine with that tradition which is from the Apostles, and is kept by the succession of the elders in the Churches, then they oppose tradition, saying that they, being wiser than the elders and the Apostles themselves, have found the sincere truth, * * * which is nothing better than to blaspheme against their Maker. Thus it happens that they assent neither to the Scriptures nor to tradition.”†

Here the intelligent reader will see at once the meaning which Irenæus gives to *tradition*, viz., the sense which the Church had handed down *from those Scriptures, which were given to be the foundation and the pillar of our faith*; not as being a *distinct and additional revelation*, according to the Gnostics and Dr. Milner, but as the *fixed and settled interpretation of the Scriptures in the Church of God*. In this sense, which includes the early creeds and the really General Councils, Dr. Milner well knew that our Church accepts tradition, and reverences it sincerely. And he also knew that we respected the primitive tradition in matters of form and ceremony. But when tradition presumes to add to the original faith, and claims to be a guide superior

* Iren. *Contra Haereses*, Lib. 3, cap. i., p. 173-4.

† Ib. Lib. 3, cap. ii., p. 174.

to the Scriptures, and an *independent rule* of perfect obligation, beyond and above what the primitive Church derived from the written Word, we hold with Irenæus, that such a pretended tradition is nothing better than a blasphemy against our Maker.

Irenæus proceeds to establish this true apostolical tradition by the successions of the Bishops from the Apostles ; and then, as if to prove, beyond the possibility of dispute, that he intended nothing different from the settled interpretation of the Scriptures, he speaks as follows :—

“Therefore, the tradition which is from the Apostles, thus existing in the Church, and remaining with us, let us return to it, which is the manifestation FROM THE SCRIPTURES of those Apostles who wrote the Gospel, by whom was written the Word of God, showing that our Lord Jesus Christ is the truth, and there is no falsehood in Him.”* And again : “The faith is therefore firm, and not feigned, but the only true one, according to our teaching, having its plain manifestation FROM THOSE SCRIPTURES, which are interpreted in the manner already shown, and announced to the Church without interpolation. And thus the Apostles agree with our interpretation, and our interpretation accords with the tradition of the Apostles.”† And once more : “Let us then flee,” saith Irenæus, “from the doctrine of heretics, and beware of them, and we shall not be troubled ; and let us take refuge in the Church, and be brought up in her bosom, and be nourished BY THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES, for the Church is planted as a paradise in this world. *You shall eat food, therefore, from every tree of paradise*, saith the Spirit of God, that is, EAT OF ALL DIVINE SCRIPTURE, but

* Iren. Contra Hæreses, Lib. 3, cap. v., p. 179.

† Ib. Lib. 3, cap. xxi., § 3, p. 216.

of any foreign doctrine you shall not eat, neither touch the dissentient heretical opinions.”*

These extracts are but a small portion of the evidence furnished by this father, since, in truth, his whole work is a constant appeal to the Scriptures, from which alone he argues every branch of the Gnostic heresy. But my limits will not allow me to go more largely than is necessary into the testimony of each witness; and there are many more to be heard upon this fundamental error of your Papal system.

The next authority which I shall set before you belongs to the year 200—the celebrated Tertullian, who is quoted largely by Dr. Milner.

Thus, speaking of the worshipping assemblies of the Church, in his apology to the Gentiles, he saith, “We come together to commemorate THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES. * * * We feed our faith with holy words, we elevate our hope, and establish our confidence.”† “We have the APOSTLES OF THE LORD FOR AUTHORS, who did not choose of their own will what they should set forth, but faithfully delivered to the nations what they had received from the teaching of Christ. Therefore, although an angel from heaven should evangelize otherwise, he should be called anathema by us.”‡ “How can they speak of the *things of faith* except from the SCRIPTURES OF FAITH?”§ “But this heresy does not receive certain portions of Scripture, and what they do receive, they do not receive entire, but distort it, by additions and subtractions, to their own purpose.”||

* Iren. Contra Hæreses, Lib. 5, cap. xx., § 2, p. 317.

† Tert. Apol. xxxix. A, p. 31.

‡ Ib. de Praes. Hæret., cap. vi., p. 204.

§ Ib. cap. xv., p. 207.

|| Ib. cap. xvii., p. 208.

Again, after a long and eloquent castigation of the heretics, on the ground that the Church alone has a right to the Scriptures, Tertullian, speaking of the true Christian, saith, "He acknowledges one God, the Creator of the Universe, and Jesus Christ, the Son of the Creator, from the Virgin Mary, and the resurrection from the dead. HE UNITES THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS WITH THE EVANGELICAL AND APOSTOLICAL SCRIPTURES, AND FROM THENCE DRINKS IN HIS FAITH. Water signs it, it is clothed with the Holy Spirit, the Eucharist feeds it, martyrdom exhorts it, and against this institution it receives no one." * * * "Therefore, they are not Christians who DO NOT TAKE THE LAW FROM THE SCRIPTURES OF THE CHRISTIAN."*

I shall close these extracts from Tertullian with two maxims, which are of the highest value to the safety of the Church. "Heresy," saith he, "is not overcome by the charge of novelty so much as by the truth. Whatever is *wise against the truth* IS HERESY, although it be an *ancient custom*."† "That which is *first* is TRUE, and that which comes *after* is *adulterous*."‡ Here is the sure principle adopted by our English reformers, in going up to the fountain head of the Scriptures and the primitive Church, notwithstanding the errors of the Papacy had become venerable by antiquity.

Nearly contemporary with Tertullian was Clement of Alexandria, the master of the Catechetical School in that city, and a man of eminent learning in his day. His testimony on the subject of the rule of faith will be sufficiently manifest from the following words:—"Whoever, being re-

* Tert. de Praes. Hæret., cap. xxxi., p. 215.

† Ib. de Virgin. Vel., p. 172.

‡ Ib. Adv. Praxeam, p. 501.

covered from his error, OBEYS THE SCRIPTURES, and gives up his life to the truth, is made, in a certain sense, God from man. For we have the Lord as the head of doctrine, who, by the prophets, by the Gospel, and by the blessed Apostles, led our knowledge in various ways from the beginning to the end. * * * Whoever, therefore, is faithful from himself," (that is, faithfully disposed,) "is worthy of faith from THE VOICE AND SCRIPTURE OF THE LORD. For we use this as a criterion, * * * and we are trained by the voice of the Lord to the knowledge of the truth." * * * "We do not expect the testimony which is given by men, but we prove what is sought by the voice of the Lord, which is more worthy of faith than any demonstration, or rather, which is the only demonstration, by which knowledge, those who have only tasted *the Scriptures* are believers. * * * Therefore we, perfectly demonstrating FROM THOSE SCRIPTURES, are persuaded demonstratively *by faith*."*

We pass next to the testimony of Origen, which will be found equally clear and conclusive.

Thus he speaks of the intelligent and instructed Christian: "He knows," saith Origen, "that the whole Scripture is a *perfect and apt instrument of God*, which utters one harmony from many sounds to those who wish to learn the voice of salvation, calming and restraining all the power of the evil spirit, in like manner as the music of David bound the evil spirit who assailed Saul, and suffocated him."† And again: "I dare to say that the Gospel is the first-fruits of *all the Scriptures*."‡ Again: "Paul writes in

* Clem. Alex. Strom., Lib. vii., p. 757.

† Origenis in Evangel. Mat., Tom. 1, p. 204-5.

‡ Ib. Com. in Joannem, Tom. 2, p. 3.

a certain place, *According to my Gospel*. Yet, among the writings of Paul, there is no book extant which is commonly called Gospel. But whatever he preached or said was the Gospel, and *what he preached and said he also wrote*, and therefore it is properly inferred that HIS WRITINGS ARE HIS GOSPEL.* Here is an important statement, proving that Origen, the most eminent man of his day in the primitive Church, had no idea of your Papal dogma, that the Apostles delivered many things belonging to the faith which they did not put in writing.

I come next to Cyprian, the eminent Bishop and martyr, who flourished about the year 250. In his dispute with Stephen, the Bishop of Rome, concerning the rebaptizing of those who had received their baptism at the hands of heretics, he quotes the appeal which Stephen had made to tradition, and answers in these words: "From whence is this tradition? Has it descended from the divine authority of the Gospel, or does it come from the commands and epistles of the Apostles? For God testifies that *those things are to be done which are written*. * * * If, therefore, it is ordered in the Gospel, or is contained in the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles, that those who come from any heresy shall not be baptized, but shall only have the imposition of hands in penitence, let this divine and holy tradition be observed. * * * But what obstinacy is this, what presumption, to prefer human tradition before the system of God, and to be thoughtless of this, that God is wrathful and indignant whenever human tradition sets aside the divine precepts!"† "Nor let custom, which has broken in with some, hinder the truth from overcoming. For *custom*

* Origenis Com. in Joannem, Tom. 2, p. 6.

† Cyp. ad Pompeium, Contra Epistolam Stephani, p. 152-3.

without truth is only the antiquity of error; therefore let us forsake the error, and follow truth.”* * * * “And if in anything the truth is shaken, let us return to the divine original, the evangelical and apostolical tradition.”† Here we see that Cyprian applies the term Tradition in both the senses. *The divine and apostolical tradition* he confines expressly to what was DELIVERED IN THE SCRIPTURES, and refuses to obey any other. The human tradition he treats with contempt, where it seemed to him inconsistent with Scripture. I need hardly observe that the word Tradition signifies simply a thing *delivered* or *handed down*, and hence it admits of either application.

It may be interesting to advert to the testimony of Athanasius, whose numerous labors in defence of the Nicene Creed would seem to place him, in the opinions of your modern theologians, in the front rank of those who rest upon tradition as an equally faithful guide in faith with the Scriptures, or rather, as some have not blushed to say, a superior one. Quite contrary to this false and perilous notion, however, was the opinion of Athanasius. Speaking expressly on the very subject of the first Council of Nice, he saith, “It is manifest that they did not write concerning the faith otherwise than to declare that the Catholic Church believes in this manner, and the confession of faith was immediately added, in order to prove that this was not a new opinion, but apostolical, and that what they set forth was not their invention, but THE DOCUMENTS OF THE APOSTLES.” Then, adverting to the numerous Councils which had been held by the heretics, he adds, “They ask in vain for *Councils concerning the faith*, when THE DIVINE SCRIP-

* Cyp. ad Pompeium, Contra Epistolam Stephani, p. 155.

† Ib. p. 156.

TURE IS MORE POTENT THAN ALL. For if, in that respect, the employment of a Council is desirable, the acts of the fathers remain. Nor were those who assembled at Nice neglectful on the subject, but they wrote accurately, in order that whoever should read their writings might be easily reminded of that religion in Christ, which is ANNOUNCED BY THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.* Again: "THE HOLY SCRIPTURES have taught us to speak thus of the monarchy of Christ. And these things we are compelled to explain more largely, since the compend of our faith is published, not by reason of ambition, but that we might purge ourselves from all suspicion which could in the least attach to us among those to whom our acts are known, and that all the Western Churches may understand the calumnies of those who teach error and irreverence, as well as the ecclesiastical elevation of mind of those Oriental Christians towards Christ; THE DIVINELY INSPIRED SCRIPTURES FREELY BEARING THEM WITNESS with all who are uncorrupted."† And again, Athanasius records this true statement: "For the orthodox Church, RIGHTLY READING AND EXACTLY EXAMINING THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES, builds herself upon the Rock—that Church which is the perfect dove, which holds the rule of a right and pious faith in the apostolic vessel, while the vast waves dash upon the immovable Rock, and, cast backwards upon themselves, disappear in foam. And such waves are all heresies."‡ Thus we see how plainly Athanasius rests the Nicene Creed, in strict accordance with the eighth Article of the Church of England and our own, not upon an *independent apostolical tradi-*

* Athan. de Syn. Arim. et Seleuciæ Epist. Op., Tom. 1, p. 873.

† Ib. p. 899.

‡ Ib. Contra Om. Haereses, Op., Tom. 1, p. 1087.

tion, as Dr. Milner would persuade the world, but upon the *faith derived from the DIVINE SCRIPTURES*. And as this eminent father was himself a member of the first General Council, his statement is conclusive and irresistible.

Let us now turn to Cyril, the Archbishop of Jerusalem, whose catechetical lectures have come down to our day as a valuable relic of antiquity. "Embrace and keep," saith this eminent father, "the faith which is now delivered to you by the Church, *TAKEN FROM ALL THE SCRIPTURES*. For as all cannot read the Scriptures, but some are prevented by unskilfulness, and others by occupation, lest any soul should perish through ignorance, we comprehend the whole doctrine of faith in a few verses. * * * And this faith I command you to have as your *viaticum* through life, and to receive nothing more besides it, not even if we ourselves should change, and speak contrary to those things which we now teach you ; nor even if an opposing angel, transformed into an angel of light, should seek to lead you into error. For although we or an angel from heaven should preach unto you another Gospel besides that which you now receive, *let him be anathema*. And what you have in words, retain in your memory, and *TAKE THE ORIGIN* (Gr., *σύστασιν*) OF EACH HEAD, at a fitting time, *FROM THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES*. For the sum of the faith was not composed as it pleased men, but the most important things, (Gr., *καριώτατα*,) *SELECTED OUT OF ALL THE SCRIPTURES, complete one doctrine of faith*. And even as the mustard-seed includes many branches in a little grain, so this *faith*, in few words, incloses, as in a bosom, all the knowledge of piety contained as well in the *Old as in the New Testament*. Behold, therefore, my brethren, and hold fast *the traditions* which you now receive, and write them in the

breadth of your hearts.”* Here we have the most distinct statement that the Original Creed of the Church was *not an independent tradition*, orally delivered, but a compend taken from THE SCRIPTURES. And yet, notwithstanding its scriptural origin, it is called *the traditions*, because it was *transmitted, or handed down*, just as we have seen the same word employed by the other fathers. It is too obvious to require any argument, however, that the tradition of the faith contained in the Creeds, and derived entirely from the Scriptures, cannot yield the slightest warrant for your Romish tradition, which presumes to add new Articles of faith, of which the primitive Church had no conception, not only without warrant from the Word of God, but even against it.

A few other extracts from the same ancient writer will strengthen the true ground of this all-important distinction. Thus, Cyril, speaking of the Sonship of Christ as an impenetrable mystery which no man can safely venture to explain, saith : “ Who can know the deep things of God, except the Holy Spirit alone, *who has dictated the divine Scriptures?* And yet the Holy Spirit Himself has not spoken in the Scriptures concerning the generation of the Son from the Father. *Why, then, should you laboriously inquire into those things which the Holy Spirit has not written in the Scriptures?* Why shouldst thou, who knowest not those things which are written, seek to penetrate what is not written ? There are many questions in the divine Scriptures : we do not comprehend what is written. Wherefore should we fatigue the mind about what is not written ? Let it suffice us to know that God begat his only Son.”†

* Cyril, Hierosol. Cat. 5, De Fide et Symbolo, p. 78.

† Ib. Cat. 11, De Filio Dei, p. 154.

Again, speaking of the incarnation, Cyril saith, "*Are not the DIVINE SCRIPTURES our salvation? Are not these the predictions of the prophets? Therefore, this deposit is committed to me, to be kept immovablè. Let no one move thee. Believe that God was made man.*"*

Again, treating of the Holy Spirit, Cyril repeats the same solemn truth in another form. "*Let us speak only those things which are written; if anything be not written, let us not curiously seek to know it. THE HOLY SPIRIT HIMSELF HAS UTTERED THE SCRIPTURES; He has said whatever He chose concerning Himself, and all that we were able to receive. Let us speak, therefore, those things which are dictated by Himself, for what He has not said, we dare not.*"†

The same honor was rendered to the perfection of the Scriptures by the famous Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who adorned the fourth century. Thus, he saith in one place, "*All truth is in the New Testament.*"‡ Again, in commenting upon St. Luke's Gospel, he saith, "The Gospel is complete, and overflows in redundance to all the faithful throughout the world, and waters the minds of all, and confirms them."§ Again: "*The reward of the Scriptures is our faith, for what is read therein is estimated by the judgment of him that understands it. And the remission of sins is the reward of both the Testaments, for what was announced in type by the lamb, was completed by Christ.*"|| "*And now God walks with me in paradise when I read the divine Scriptures. The book of Genesis is a paradise, in*

* Cyril, Hierosol., Cat. 12, p. 170.

† Ib. Cat. 16, De Spiritu Sancto, p. 244.

‡ Ambros. in Psalm. 118, Expos. Op., Tom. 1, p. 1206.

§ Ib. p. 1266.

|| Ib. Op., Tom. 2, p. 895.

which the virtues of the patriarchs are put forth ; Deuteronomy is a paradise, in which the precepts of the law spring up ; the Gospel is a paradise, in which the tree of life bears good fruits, and diffuses the commands of eternal hope to all people.”* And once more, Ambrose uses this strong language : “ The *traditions of the SCRIPTURES are the body of CHRIST.*”†

The famous Jerome expresses his reverence for the completeness and authority of the Scriptures with equal clearness. “ Our care,” saith he, “ is to say, not what any one can or may, but *what THE SCRIPTURES authorize.*”‡ “ Love the holy Scriptures, and Wisdom will love thee.”§ In another of his works, arguing against the advocates of certain errors into which Origen had been led by his disposition to affix an allegorical and a spiritual sense to every passage in Scripture, Jerome enters largely into the praises of Origen’s zeal, his extraordinary learning, his astonishing industry as a voluminous writer, and all the other excellencies of his character. But although, in point of fact, Origen did not advance his errors with dogmatic certainty, and, on the contrary, merely propounded them as conjectural opinions, yet Jerome censures them, on the ground of their being departures from the *faith of the Scriptures* laid down to the Church from the beginning. And therefore, Jerome reproves his admirers in these memorable words : “ Whoever thou art that assertest new dogmas, I pray thee to spare Roman ears. Spare them, because the Romans are praised by the Apostle. Why, after four hundred years, dost thou

* Ambros. Op., Tom. 2, p. 992.

† Ib. Tom. 1, p. 1391, § 33.

‡ S. Hieron., Tom. 2, p. 75, D.

§ Ib. Tom. 1, p. 46, G.

endeavor to teach us what we never knew before ? Why dost thou bring forward now WHAT PETER AND PAUL WERE UNWILLING TO SET FORTH ? To this day the Christian world was ignorant of this doctrine. I will hold, as an old man, the same faith into which I was born when a boy.”* Here we see how Jerome rested his faith on the Scriptures, and how sternly he repelled the idea that he could suffer it to be adulterated by any innovation.

I shall pass on next to the evidence of Augustin, and commence with the language of his prayer : “ O Lord my God, * * * let THY SCRIPTURES be my chaste delight ; may I neither be deceived in them, nor deceive from them. * * * May I confess to Thee *whatever I shall find* IN THY BOOKS. May I hear the voice of praise, and drink of Thee, and consider the wonderful things of Thy law from the beginning, in which Thou madest the heavens and the earth, even to the eternal kingdom of Thy holy city with Thee.”†

In one of his strong remonstrances against the Donatists, Augustin saith, “ We know not what men may cast forth against themselves, who take pleasure in scandalous dissensions. *In the Scriptures* we learn Christ, *in the Scriptures* we learn the Church. These Scriptures we have in common. Why do we not hold in them Christ and the Church in common also ?” Then, quoting a great number of texts in which Christ is spoken of, and His Church likewise, Augustin renews his appeal in the end with these words : “ Behold, the Scriptures are common to us. Behold where we know Christ. Behold where we know His Church. If you hold Christ Himself, why do you not hold His Church ? If you believe in Christ, of whom you read, but whom you

* Hieron. Op., Tom. 2, p. 131, D. Ad Pammachium, &c., Epist.

† Augustin. Confes., Lib. 11, cap. ii. Op., Tom. 1, p. 147.

do not see, *by reason of the truth of Scripture*, why do you deny the Church, which you both read and see?"*

Again, in another epistle, Augustine treats the same subject in the following words: "Heresies and offences were foretold, that we might be perfected among enemies, and our faith and love be more approved: Our faith, lest we be deceived by them; and our love, that we should consult for their correction as much as lies in us, not only watchful that they do not hurt the weak, and that they may be delivered from their nefarious error, but also praying for them, that the Lord may *open their sense, and that they may UNDERSTAND THE SCRIPTURES*. Because, *in the holy books* where the Lord Christ is manifested, there also His Church is declared. But these men, with wonderful blindness, although they *only know Christ Himself THROUGH THE SCRIPTURES*, yet do not acknowledge the Church *by the authority of the same divine writings*, but fabricate it by the vanity of human perversions."†

And yet more clear is Augustine's statement that the Scriptures are THE RULE OF FAITH, in the following words, extracted from his greatest work, *De Civitate Dei*:—"The City of God," saith he, (that is, The Church,) "BELIEVES THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, both Old and New, which we call canonical, FROM WHICH THE FAITH ITSELF IS CONCEIVED by which the just man liveth, by which we walk without doubtfulness, so long as we are absent from the Lord: which faith being safe and certain, we may doubt without censure concerning other things, which we do not perceive either by the sense or reason, which are *not made clear to us by*

* Augustin. ad Donatistas Op., Tom. 2, p. 228, § 14 and § 17.

† Ib. de Correctione Donatistarum, Op., Tom. 2, p. 490.

the canonical Scripture, nor brought under our notice by witnesses whom it is absurd not to credit.”*

Lastly, on this all-important question, we may cite the authority of Vincent of Lerins, who died during the reign of Theodosius and Valentinian, in the fifth century, and whose *Commonitorium* is acknowledged by all your writers to be a true expression of the *Rule of Faith*, as held by the primitive Church.

“If any man desires,” saith this author, “to avoid the frauds of heretics, and to remain safe and sound in the saving faith, he must fortify his faith in a twofold manner. First, namely, by the authority of the divine law, and then by the tradition of the Church Catholic or universal. But here, perhaps, it may be inquired, Since *the canon of Scripture is perfect, and is enough, and more than enough, for all things*, what need is there to join the authority of ecclesiastical interpretation? Because the holy Scripture, by reason of its sublimity, is not received in the same sense by all, but is interpreted in various ways by various interpreters. For Novatian expounds it in one way, Sabellius in another; Donatus in another; Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, in another; Photinus, Apollinaris, Priscillian, in another; Jovinian, Pelagius, Celestius, in another; and finally, Nestorius. And therefore it is absolutely necessary that the *line of prophetic and apostolic interpretation* should be directed according to the rule of the *ecclesiastical and Catholic sense*. In the Catholic Church itself, too, we must be particularly careful to hold that which was believed *everywhere, always, and by all*. For this it is which is truly and properly CATHOLIC, as the very force and reason of the

* Augustin. De Civitate Dei, Lib. 19, cap. 18, p. 425, E.

word declares, which comprehends almost all things universally. And this will be our case if we follow *universality, antiquity, and consent*.”*

The application of this rule by Vincent is a wonderfully close approximation to the state of the case at the time of the English Reformation. “What, therefore,” continues our author, “shall the Catholic Christian do if a portion of the Church should cut itself off from the communion of the universal faith? What, truly, but that he should prefer the soundness of the whole body before one pestiferous and corrupted member? *What if some new contagion should labor to stain, NOT A PORTION ONLY, BUT THE WHOLE CHURCH TOGETHER?* Even then, also, he will take care that he adheres to *antiquity*, which now certainly cannot be seduced by any fraud of novelty. What if, in antiquity itself, some error be found of two or three men, or of one city, or even province? Then he will prefer the decrees of a Universal Council *generally accepted in ancient times, if any such there be*, before the rashness and ignorance of a few. What if something should arise where nothing of this kind can be found? Then he will labor to consult and interrogate the opinions of the great majority, comparing them together, especially of those who, although in different times and places, yet continuing in the faith and communion of the one Catholic Church, were esteemed as approved masters; and whatever he shall know that not one or two only, but all alike, with one and the same consent, have openly, frequently, and perseveringly held, written, and taught, let him understand that this he also should believe without any dubitation.”†

* Vincentii Lirinensis Commonitorium, cap. ii.

† Ib. cap. iii.

Now here we see not only the liberty, but the absolute duty, of the exercise of *private judgment*, in order that the individual Christian may *discover the judgment of the Church* in the ancient days of true Catholicity. For Vincent plainly supposes the case possible that the *whole Church may be infected by a new contagion*. And even then, he insists that the *truly Catholic Christian shall adhere to antiquity*. And in order that he may be able to determine what was the doctrine of antiquity, he must examine, compare, and decide from the works of the fathers, until he is satisfied and convinced of what the great majority of the approved masters held and taught. That very work, however, evidently requires an exercise of *private judgment*. And yet, so soon as this task is honestly completed, the individual is bound to adopt the teaching of the true Catholic Church, and hold to that, though the whole Church, in his own day, might decide against him.

And, as a practical illustration of his meaning, Vincent next recurs to the past history of the Church. "Thus," saith he, "when the poison of the Arians contaminated, not a portion only, but *almost the whole world*, so that the minds of nearly all the Latin Bishops, partly deceived by force, and partly by fraud, were overspread with a certain darkness as to the course which should be followed in such a confusion of things, even then, whoever was a true lover and worshipper of Christ, *preferring the ancient faith to the new perfidy*, was not spotted by the plague of this contagion."*

On this ground we stand, and we ask no other. The Scriptures, as THE RULE OF FAITH, according to the *primi-*

* Vincent. Lir., cap. iv.

tive Catholic interpretation, with the right of private judgment, in order to decide *what that interpretation was*, and the duty of rejecting all that innovated, or presumed to add any new invention to the pure doctrine of antiquity, even though the corruption had spread almost over the whole Church :—such is the position of Vincent—such was the teaching of all the fathers—and such was the principle for which the martyrs of England were content to lay down their lives in the flames of Papal persecution.

L E T T E R X V I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

ENOUGH of authority has been cited, from the very sources to which Dr. Milner himself appeals, to establish the doctrine of the Church of England and our own, viz., that the Rule of Faith is the word of God recorded in the Scriptures, as they were received and interpreted by the primitive Church. I shall now return to your favorite advocate, and consider those parts of his argument which are so subtilly directed against this ancient and really Catholic doctrine.

Thus, in his 8th letter, (p. 60,) he ventures to make this absurd assertion, that “if Christ had intended all mankind to learn His religion from a book, namely, the New Testament, He Himself would have written that book, and would have laid down, as the first and fundamental precept of His religion, the obligation of learning to read it.” This impious attempt to lessen the divine authority of the Scriptures can only impose on the most shallow mind. For it strikes, in one blow, at the whole majesty of the Bible. On the same principle, the Pentateuch would cease to be the Word of God, because it was written by Moses. The prophets would lose their authority, because it does not appear that their writings were put into their present shape by any express command of the Almighty. The Gospels would be robbed of their celestial character, because the Saviour did not become, in person, His own biographer ! And when Dr.

Milner had prostrated, in this profane way, the supreme authority of the Scriptures, how would he prove that the Lord Jesus Christ speaks to men by the priesthood? Alas! what madness possesses your Papal theologians to utter such an impious slur upon the Book of God, in the vain hope of magnifying their own authority! But we know that the blessed Redeemer told the Jews to SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES, and called them THE WORD OF GOD. We know that the Apostle declared *in writing*, "If any man among you think himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge what I say to be THE COMMANDMENTS OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST." We know that the same Apostle recorded the statement, "ALL SCRIPTURE IS GIVEN BY INSPIRATION OF GOD." And I have already proved that the primitive Church, with one voice, professed to derive their faith from the Scriptures, and settled every question belonging to the faith by an appeal to their divine authority.

But suppose Dr. Milner's infidel suggestion to have been the plan of the Lord, what then? Is it not manifest that Christ would have descended to the level of all human teachers? For the ancient philosophers wrote down their own systems, with the single exception of Socrates. Mahomet wrote the whole of his Koran. How infinitely more sublime and worthy of Deity, that the Lord should send forth His inspired messengers, and qualify them, by the divine gift of His own Spirit, to record His revelations to mankind!

Again, Dr. Milner informs us, that "only a part of them (the Apostles) wrote anything, and what these did write, was, for the most part, addressed to particular persons or congregations, and on particular occasions. St. Matthew wrote his Gospel at the particular request of the Christians

of Palestine, and St. Mark composed his at the desire of those at Rome. St. Luke addressed his Gospel to an individual, Theophilus, having written it because it seemed good to him to do so. St. John wrote the last of the Gospels in compliance with the petition of the clergy and people of Lesser Asia. * * * No doubt, the Evangelists were moved by the Holy Ghost to listen to the requests of the faithful in writing their respective Gospels; nevertheless, there is nothing in these occasions, nor in the Gospels themselves, which indicates that any one of them, or all of them together, contain an entire, detailed, and clear exposition of the whole religion of Jesus Christ. The canonical epistles in the New Testament show the particular occasions on which they were written, and prove, as the Bishop of Lincoln observes, that they are not to be considered as regular treatises on the Christian religion."

Nothing can manifest more plainly the real spirit of Popery, than the necessity which its unhappy priests are under to disparage, in this style, the Scriptures of divine truth, in order to draw away the confidence of mankind from the sacred oracles to their own corrupt teaching. And therefore I must ask your attention to the various points which Dr. Milner puts in this most irreverent and blasphemous specimen of argumentation.

He had just before stated that the Saviour does not appear to have commanded His Apostles to *write*, though he repeatedly and emphatically commanded them to *preach* His Gospel. And your inference, of course, is, that what they said *orally* is to be taken for our guide, as the Churches who heard them have handed it down by tradition, since in this mode your innovations may be imposed upon the world, under the pretence that they are derived from the *oral* teach-

ing of the Apostles, notwithstanding there is not a trace of them to be found in the *written word*.

But does not the command to *preach* include every mode of preaching? When, for example, the Apostle Paul addressed his epistles to the Churches, *commanding that they should be read by the disciples when they met together*, was not this the *PREACHING* to those Churches, with the single difference, that as writings are intended to remain as the permanent monuments of instruction, they are always expected to be more full and deserving of repetition than the oral teaching, which is confined to a single delivery?

And what does Dr. Milner mean by saying that the Gospels and Epistles were addressed to particular persons or congregations, and on particular occasions? Did he ever hear of any divine revelation that was *not* addressed to particular persons, and on particular occasions? And, in the name of common sense, does that fact prevent its application to all other persons and occasions where there is equal need of it? And on the same ground, what advantage would he gain for his *oral traditions*, which are pretended to be derived from the same source? For I suppose that when the Apostles delivered the truth of God by the living voice, they must have done it to particular persons or congregations, and on particular occasions, inasmuch as they certainly could not address the whole Church at once, except in writing, after they were dispersed throughout the world, in the fulfilment of their sacred mission.

He tells us, however, that the Christians of Palestine, and those at Rome, and those in Lesser Asia, requested that the Gospels might be written. He also says that "St. Luke addressed his Gospel to a single individual, *Theophilus*," apparently forgetting that this name cannot be shown to be

the title of any particular man, since it signifies *a lover of God*, and hence it is at least as likely, if not much more so, that it was addressed to *every believer*, because each one of the faithful is a *Theophilus*, of necessity. But Dr. Milner takes care not to inform his readers *why* those requests were made, supposing, what cannot be proved, that the sacred writers did not prepare their several contributions until they had been requested. And yet it is most obvious that there could have been but one reason for such a request, viz., that the hearers desired to have a *permanent record of what had been delivered to them by the voice of the Apostles*, in order that they might be reminded of the truth by a lasting standard, and freed from the danger of distorting or losing any portion of the celestial revelation, through the inevitable infirmity of human memory. The ancient fathers state this expressly in the case of St. Mark's Gospel; and if it had not been stated, the slightest reflection would prove the necessity of such a course. And the history of the Church confirms it most painfully. Since if, *with the Scriptures*, so much falsehood and superstition have been added to the faith by a pretended apostolical tradition, what must have been the condition of the Church in case the wisdom of God had furnished no *fixed monuments of divine truth* as the standard of His will?

Neither is this the whole of Dr. Milner's sophistry. He informs us, that the Gospels, taken altogether, do not contain an entire, detailed, and clear exposition of the whole religion of Jesus Christ. If he means by this that the rest of the New Testament, together with the Old, is supposed to be unnecessary, he treats his adversaries with the most absurd unfairness, because no one has ever undertaken to say that the rest of the Scriptures were superfluous, and

that the whole religion of Christ is in the Gospels alone. If he means by an entire, detailed, and clear exposition of the religion of Jesus Christ, the system of your Papal Church, I fully agree with him, since it is very certain that the distinctive dogmas of Popery, which the Church of England renounced, are not only unwarranted by the Scriptures, but are, in many respects, directly opposed to them. But if he means that the Scriptures of the New Testament do not contain all the doctrines of the Gospel faith, and all the morality of Christian practice, and, moreover, when taken in connection with the Old Testament, all the warrant required for the details of form and ceremony which the primitive Church adopted in worship and discipline, and which we have retained, I deny the assertion on the authority of the fathers, and on the ground of all sound argument. His quotation from the English Bishop of Lincoln, that "the epistles of the New Testament are not to be considered as *regular treatises* on the Christian religion," is nothing to the purpose. The question is, whether the divine Scriptures, as a whole, contain *a full and ample revelation of the Rule of Faith*, and not whether it has pleased the Spirit of God to put their instructions into the form of what Dr. Milner or any other uninspired man would call "a regular treatise."

Your Church, Most Reverend Sir, is compelled to acknowledge the Bible as THE WORD OF GOD, notwithstanding, like the ancient Pharisees, she makes it *void by her traditions*. Why, then, I ask, were these divine Scriptures given at all, if they were not designed to be the *standard for the Church of Christ*, just as the Books of Moses were the *standard for Israel* under the previous dispensation ? For if, according to your hypothesis, the faith of the Church

was intended to rest on *oral tradition*, it is manifest that the written word would be of no real value. What can be more absurd than the idea that the Holy Spirit would dictate to the Church in this permanent shape an *incomplete, inconclusive, and unsatisfactory exposition*? That, while there are many things recorded there which are not strictly necessary to be known for our salvation, yet the Spirit of God *neglected to set forth the whole of the faith, without which no one could be saved*! That, while the Scriptures contain a rich abundance of fruits and flowers, yet they do not contain a sufficient amount of the Bread of life! As well might they charge upon the Lord any other gross incongruity. As well might they persuade us, that although He has adorned our bodies with various members, and provided for the least among them the form of grace and the beauty of color, yet He neglected to furnish the lungs to breathe, the brain to govern, or the heart to circulate the blood of their vitality! As well might they contend, that although His bounty had filled our lower world with an exuberance of light and a vast variety of vegetation, yet He had omitted the supplies of food which were essential to our being! Is it not an amazing proof of infatuation that your Papal Church will thus persist in charging an absurdity to God which would be a reproach to any human lawgiver? For who does not know that every earthly governor is chiefly careful to provide first what is most necessary? Or what mortal author ever sought to instruct the world, without giving his chief attention to that which he thought most important for his reader's information?

But such is the deplorable irreverence of your writers towards the Word of God, that they deny its chief office as *the Rule of faith, the Guide to heaven, the Light of the*

Church and of the world. The Scriptures are indeed inspired, they admit ; but the dictates of the Holy Ghost are not of half so much importance as those of a Roman Council ! The Evangelists and Apostles wrote the Gospels and Epistles by the direction of the Almighty ; but the Pope and the Bishops of Trent are far better teachers than they ! The Lord undertook to teach the way of life, but left out an essential portion of the lesson ! The Redeemer placed His saving truth in the permanent record of a Book, but the truth thus recorded was not worthy of being received as sufficient for salvation ! He inspired His special messengers, and gave them holiness, and miracles and tongues, and made them His organs to publish a written revelation, and called it, by pre-eminence, the Gospel. But he intended, notwithstanding, that their work should be full of fatal defects, in order that a succession of uninspired men, many of them destitute of holiness, some of them monsters of crime, and all of them without miracles or any other supernatural gift, might accomplish the task of supplying them !

Such is the fundamental proposition of Popery. The Bible must be cast down, in order to set up its traditions. The supremacy of the divine Scriptures must be dethroned, and the dictates of Popes and Councils must be invested with the crown and sceptre. And there is the head and front of your offence against Heaven. It is cunningly devised. It is artfully set forth. It is eloquently defended. But it comes to this at last, and no sophistry can disguise it. And hence I look upon your Papal system as involving a high and very awful, though a covert blasphemy against the majesty of God.

The next assault of the unscrupulous Dr. Milner is upon a man of straw which he has set up in the name of Prot-

estants in general, including the Church of England in particular. Thus he saith, (p. 61,) that "in supposing our Saviour to have appointed His bare written Word for the rule of our faith, without any authorized judge to decide on the unavoidable controversies growing out of it, you would suppose that He has acted differently from what common sense has dictated to all other legislators." But who supposes any such absurdity? Certainly, the Church of England, when she declares in our 20th Article, that "the Church hath authority in controversies of faith," asserts the very contrary. The apostolic ministry appointed by the Redeemer were the *teachers and the judges* in all matters of religion. Being inspired for the purpose, they established *the Rule of faith and the maxims of discipline*, which they left on record in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, to be the permanent law of their successors; and from that time, those successors have acted as *the judges* in matters of religious controversy, and will so act to the end of the world. Hence, the Scriptures are the LAW OF FAITH, and the ministry are the *official interpreters*. I have said that it was no part of my design to answer Dr. Milner's charges against the various Protestant sects which came into existence in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. They have a sufficient body of their own defenders, and probably would not desire that I should intrude into their office. But with respect to ourselves, we derive our rights, as teachers and judges, from the apostolic root, as well as the Church of Rome, and exercise all the powers which properly belonged to the primitive ministry. And we define them according to the same standard, viz., the early ages of pure Catholic Christianity.

And here it may be as well to notice the argument of

Dr. Milner, (p. 80,) where he saith that the Church of Rome hath a twofold rule or law, tradition and Scripture, and an interpreter or judge to explain them, and then refers to the analogy of the common law and the statute law of England, according to the statement of Blackstone. "The municipal law," saith he, "may be divided into *Lex non Scripta*, the unwritten or common law, and the *Lex Scripta*, or statute law. 'The common law is the first ground and chief corner-stone of the laws of England. And if the question arises, how the customs and maxims of the common law are to be known, and by whom their validity is to be determined? the answer is, by the judges in the several courts of justice. They are the depositaries of the laws, the living oracles, who must decide in all cases of doubt, and who are bound by oath to decide according to the law of the land.'" This analogy Dr. Milner applies to the Church, and justly, to a certain extent, but in some respects quite erroneously.

Thus, the notion that the law of the Church was like the *common law*, derived, as Blackstone saith, from "*custom, whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary*," is manifestly untrue, because the Church, not being a human institution, could not possibly have such an origin for its laws. On the contrary, the Church takes its origin from *divine revelation*, and has its very being by the act of faith in that revelation, followed by the sacrament of Baptism, which grafts the believer into the body of Christ. This revelation was *committed to writing*, so far as the chosen nation were concerned, fifteen hundred years before the advent of the promised Redeemer. The law and the prophets, the Aaronic priesthood and the tabernacle, the temple service and the sacrifices, were all established by *express enact-*

ment from the divine Lawgiver, and assuredly, at the coming of Christ, there was nothing in the Jewish system which could be properly compared to the supposed analogy of the Common Law, unless it was the traditionary system of the Pharisees, which our Lord denounced in such strong terms of condemnation.

When the divine Saviour fulfilled His wondrous mission, accomplished the prophecies, and commissioned His Apostles to plant His Church throughout the world, giving them for that purpose the extraordinary powers of miracles, tongues and inspiration, there was still nothing in the whole process which resembles tradition or the common law. True, indeed, it was, that eight years elapsed before St. Matthew's Gospel was written, that nearly thirty years elapsed before the Gospel of St. Mark and St. Luke, the Acts of the Apostles, and the greater part of the Epistles were composed and published, and that sixty or seventy years elapsed before the Scriptures were produced which claimed St. John for their author. But still there was not the slightest element of tradition, in the sense of the Pharisees or of the common law, throughout the work, because the Spirit of God was supernaturally present with His chosen messengers, and everything was done by His direct dictation. And all that the Church could require for the laws of faith and the maxims of official administration, was committed to writing under the influence of the Holy Spirit, before the Apostles passed away. The appointment of deacons, the ordination of presbyters, and finally the consecration of Bishops, with the rules by which they should teach, govern, and administer discipline in the Church, all appear in the written documents. The holding of a Council, though St. Peter neither called it nor presided, has a place among

the Acts of the Apostles, and there is not an essential feature belonging to the full organization of the Gospel system, which is not clearly set down in the inspired record.

I do not forget that the word *traditions* is used by the Apostle in a sense which includes both oral commands and writing; as where he saith to the Thessalonians, (2 Thes. ii. 15,) "Hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle." And we have already seen that the fathers used the same term in reference to Scripture. But this application of the word proves nothing on either side of the question. For it is admitted that the doctrines which the Apostles taught were *first delivered orally*, and that when thus received, they were indeed *oral traditions*. And it is evident that when committed to writing, and given to the Church, they would be called, according to the language of the above text, *written traditions*, the word tradition in both cases applying only to the fact that the doctrines had been *delivered*, for the Greek term *παράδοσις*, and the Latin *traditio*, bear the same meaning of *delivery*, or a *thing delivered*, without respect to the mode. This, however, yields no support to Dr. Milner's assumption; for the question is not whether the contents of the New Testament were delivered orally before they were written, which no one denies, but whether an *additional and independent set of doctrines was orally communicated by the Apostles*, which were not intended to be written, but to be handed down, as the Pharisees pretended that their traditions had been from Moses, and which would thus form a *distinct branch of faith, equally binding with the Scriptures*, to the end of time. And this claim which Romanism makes to what you call "the unwritten Word of God," I hold to be an utter absurdity, for the following reasons:—

1. Because it is admitted, on all sides, that the entire Gospel system was in the first place preached orally by the Apostles. But Milner does not pretend to deny that a large portion of it was afterwards recorded in the Scriptures, and it is impossible to assign any reason why a *part* should have been so recorded, and *not the whole*.

2. Because the claim of the Pharisees was precisely the same, namely, that while Moses gave the *written law* to Israel, he delivered at the same time a set of *oral traditions* which were not designed to be recorded, but which were equally obligatory. And it is certain that our Saviour disallowed this claim, denounced those traditions as making void the true law of God, and declared to them, "In vain do ye worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

3. Because the manifest reason why the Lord had given a written system to Israel was to guard them, as far as possible, against the corruption of doctrine. For oral tradition was fearfully corrupted before the flood, leaving none who were true believers except Noah and his family. It was again corrupted after the flood, by the gradual introduction of idolatry, so that the Almighty called Abraham by a new revelation to be the father of the faithful. It was sadly defiled again among the Israelites themselves, during their sojourn in Egypt, and then the wisdom of God gave them the *written revelation and the law*, dictated to Moses. Now assuredly it is not to be believed that Christ Jesus, who came to establish His kingdom in its power, would deprive His Church of this best safeguard of the truth, and turn the world back again to the perils of oral tradition without any assignable causes or intimation of such an incongruity. For no one can be so absurd as to consider an

oral tradition equal to a *written record*, as an evidence of truth, of law, of history, or of any fact whatever. And if the inspired writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, like those of Moses and the prophets, were confessedly the *best adapted instrument for the preservation of the faith*, how can it be believed that our Almighty Lawgiver would fail to make the record complete? How can any reasoning mind believe that He would do what no earthly legislator ever did—cause *one part* of His law to be *written*, and leave the *other part* to the uncertainty of an *oral proclamation*?

4. Because the Apostles, in their arguments with the Jews, *always appealed to the Scriptures, as the ground of their religion, and never to tradition*, just as Christ Himself had done before them. And it is not reasonable to suppose that the Church in after ages was to be left without an equally sure and sufficient guide for her faith and practice.

5. Because the ancient fathers, as I have shown by numerous extracts, held the Scriptures as THE RULE OF FAITH, expressly stating that the creeds and doctrines of the Church were all DERIVED FROM THEIR AUTHORITY.

6. Because, in arguing against the heretics, and on all other subjects of controversy, they constantly appealed to *the Scriptures*, and when, in addition to these, they appealed to tradition, it was never in any other way than this, viz., to show that the same *interpretation* of Scripture had always been held by the teachers and judges in the Church, from the beginning.

And this brings me to the true idea of tradition, so far as it concerns the doctrine of faith, in which the analogy of human law is fairly applicable. We allow, as well as Dr. Milner, that the blessed Redeemer appointed His commissioned ministers to preach His Gospel and establish His

kingdom. We repudiate, as much as Dr. Milner, the absurdity of the notion that this could be done merely by the written revelation. And we acknowledge, as well as Dr. Milner, that there were millions of men who were unable to read the Scriptures, and who were, nevertheless, able to receive the knowledge of the faith from the voice of the living preachers, since they must always be, like the judges in the earthly court, the *actual administrators* of the established system. But the result of all this leads us only to the manifest distinction between the *divine Scriptures* which contained the LAW of the celestial Legislator, and the *interpretation* of those Scriptures, which was the office of the ministry, the judges, and the administrators of the law.

The ministry of Christ, therefore, we readily admit, fulfil an office analogous to that of the earthly judges. And we all know how careful these judges are to abide by the *construction of the law* established by their predecessors, and how unwilling they are to depart from the precedents thus laid down. We know, too, that they always pay the highest respect to that interpretation of a statute, which is *first pronounced after the law was enacted*, on the reasonable ground that the judges were then most likely to understand the true meaning of the legislature. But with all this, no one is so ignorant that he cannot understand the distinction between the LAW ITSELF, and its *judicial interpretation*. The judge has no power to *add to the law*,—none to *take away from it*—none to *change its plain provisions*. His duty is to interpret or expound it according to what he believes to be the *true intent and meaning of the legislature*. And while it is the privilege of the people to read the law for themselves, and to complain to the legislature if they think the court has not expounded it correctly, and to have the

corrupt judge impeached if he has knowingly administered it wrongly, yet, for the most part, they are content to learn the law from the lips of the judges, and thus enjoy all the benefits intended by its administration, whether they understand its mysteries or no.

In like manner, precisely, the Bishops were left by the Apostles to discharge this part of their office in the Church. The Apostles themselves had a twofold office. As the organs of the Holy Spirit, they were the *legislators of the Church*, and, like all other legislators, they committed this portion of their work to *writing*. There were the rule of faith, the laws of Christian morality, the three orders of the ministry, the sacraments, confirmation, ordination, the observance of the first day of the week as a day of united worship, suspension, excommunication, the separation from heretics, and the general maxims of discipline, obedience to spiritual rulers, a council in questions of controversy—in a word, all that the Church of God required for a supreme and infallible directory, and all laid down on the express authority of the “GREAT LAWGIVER, who is able to save and to destroy.” But, like the mode pursued by the same divine wisdom in legislating for ancient Israel, it was not drawn up in the form of what men would call “a regular treatise,” but mingled with history, biography, miracles, wonders, exhortations, denunciations, prophecy, precious promises, and awful maledictions, in all the rich exuberance of comprehensive love. And why? In order that the Church might never separate what God had joined together—that *faith* might never be disjoined from *morality*; nor hope, from holiness; nor charity, from justice; nor redemption, from the means of grace; nor the mercy of heaven, from the practice of mercy upon earth; nor the

discipline of man, from the responsibility to Christ ; nor religion, from the ordinances ; nor the flock, from their lawful pastors ; nor any or all of them, from the marvellous history of the planting of the Church, and the amazing life and death of the blessed Lamb of God, whose Bride that Church was designed to be, in the glory of His celestial kingdom.

And if it be demanded why the Apostles spent so many years in preaching, guiding, and governing, before their writings were complete, I answer by asking, why the same Lord who inspired them, thought fit to delay the written law for Israel until they were delivered from Egypt, and almost brought through the wilderness into the promised land ? In both cases, the Almighty might have begun His work by the inspired Scriptures ; but in neither, according to my humble judgment, would such a course have been so consonant with right reason. For the Israelites did not need the records of the written law, so long as they had Moses with them. Nor did the first Christians need the New Testament, so long as the inspired Apostles were alive.

The immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit, in both cases, superseded all other ; and the written word only became necessary, when the supernatural instructor was about to be taken away. And so far is this fact from being favorable to Dr. Milner's hypothesis, that it operates directly towards the contrary conclusion. For it is evident, that if the Scriptures of the New Testament had been first completed, and the inspired Apostles had then spent almost forty years in converting the nations, there would be an incomparably better ground for the notion that during this long ministry, they had found occasion for a large increase of matter which was not noticed in their previous writings. Whereas now, as the Scriptures were produced from time

to time, and a considerable portion of them were among the last acts of their ministry, and St. John added his supplement nearly thirty years after his inspired colleagues had gone to their reward, there seems to be a tenfold absurdity in the notion that the whole together did not comprise a complete provision for faith and practice, to the end of time.

But the Apostles were not only the commissioned guides, teachers, and legislators of the Church, as Moses was of Israel; they were also the *actual administrators* of their divine system, in the ordinary work of the ministry. In the legislative part of their office they were not intended to have successors, and neither had Moses. In the ordinary administration which the Church needs at all times they must have successors, since otherwise the promise of Christ could never have been fulfilled: *Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.* Thus, as Joshua succeeded Moses in the *ordinary* administrative capacity, but yet was bound himself by the *Scriptures*, which the inspired legislator left as *the law of God for Israel*, even so the Bishops who (as in the case of Timothy and Titus) succeeded the Apostles, were ordained to administer the regular functions of preaching and discipline, being bound by the *Scriptures*, which their inspired leaders had left as *the law of Christ for His Church.* And just as the Jewish priesthood, after the death of Moses, became of necessity the *interpreters* of the divine Scriptures which were the law of Israel, in like manner the Bishops, after the death of the Apostles, became of necessity the *interpreters* of the Scriptures which were the law of the Church. In cases of alleged heresy, they assembled to judge the offender, and in all questions of doubt, they would, of course, consult together. And thus

was formed, from the general decisions of these official judges, the line of consistent *interpretation* which formed a TRADITION OF THE CHURCH, and to which the writers quoted by Dr. Milner frequently appealed with perfect propriety ; just as one of our secular judges would appeal to preceding decisions of the courts in the construction of a statute of the legislature, but without the least idea of claiming the office of *lawgiver*, or of suggesting that the *law itself was only a tradition*.

Besides this additional interpretation of the Scriptures, however, there is another application of the term tradition, which belongs not to the doctrines of the faith as they are recorded in the Scriptures, but rather to the *forms, rites, and ceremonies*, appended to them in their practical administration. And these were left to be modified at the discretion of the Bishops, so long as the essentials laid down in Scripture were retained, because the inspired Apostles had no desire to tie up the Christian liberty of their successors in minor points of mere formal expediency. Thus, St. Paul united with all the other Apostles in allowing the Jewish converts to retain circumcision, while the Gentile converts were declared free from the ceremonial law. Thus, the same Apostle adopted rules of order in the use of veils for women, which were not supposed to be intended as a permanent or general regulation for the Church. Thus, too, he used a "form of sound words," which he recommended Timothy to hold fast, but without enjoining it as a matter of positive obligation on others. Thus, the first Church in Jerusalem is stated to have had all things in common ; yet this was not regarded as a precept. The consequence of which was the variety in creeds, in liturgies, in the days of fasting, in the festival of Easter, and

many other matters, which are frequently referred to by the old writers ; and it is in the same sense that the word tradition is employed in our 34th Article. It is very certain that many such traditions became established before the close of the third century, as matters of ancient custom, in various parts of the Church ; such as the use of the sign of the cross, of white garments for seven days after baptism, of holy oil, of incense, of religious services annually at the tombs of the martyrs, &c., to which the people and the priests attached themselves with great tenacity, and of which not a few of the fathers strongly complained. But so far were they from seeking for them an *apostolic origin*, that the only really apostolic traditions, the *form of sound words* given by St. Paul to Timothy, and the precise language used by the Apostles themselves in the administration of the sacraments, in confirmation, and in ordaining, are nowhere preserved ; and the Church of Rome herself pretends to know no more about them than we do. Indeed, it is somewhat extraordinary, that with all your zeal for imaginary apostolical traditions, your Church has chosen to administer confirmation for many centuries without the laying on of hands, which the Book of the Acts records expressly as the *apostolic mode* of conferring the ordinance. And she has likewise chosen to deny the cup to the laity in the sacrament of the Eucharist, in defiance alike of the practice of the Apostles, and the uninterrupted usage of the Church for at least twelve centuries together. Both of these we repudiate as gross and inexcusable departures from the apostolic rule, and from all antiquity.

The liberty left to the Bishops of the Church, however, in matters of mere form and ceremony, is not a question of law, but a changeable rule of practice. And it may be il-

illustrated by the prerogative exercised by the judges in our civil courts, who hold themselves competent to institute new modes of form within their respective jurisdictions, although they do not give up the old ones without considerable reluctance. In this way, every lawyer knows the extensive changes which have been gradually introduced in the ancient modes of pleading, in the technical forms of actions, in matters of judicial costume, and other things, which do not at all touch the principles of justice, nor the majesty of the written law. And precisely in like manner did the primitive Church distinguish between the divine authority of the Almighty Lawgiver, recorded as the *rule of faith*, in the holy Scriptures, and reverently handed down in the Creeds of the Church, by traditional interpretation, as the great *law* of her being, and those traditions of form and ceremony which might be, and actually were, various and changeable, according to the views of her rulers from time to time.

It follows, naturally, from the same allowance of Christian liberty, that the Church was permitted to regulate every minor point of discipline according to her own discretion. The same power had been exercised by the Jewish Sanhedrim, without any invasion of their divine law, as given by Moses, and without any censure by our blessed Lord. And hence arose the powers of the various Councils, the subdivision of the Church into provinces, and the body of Canon law, all of which belonged to the institution of Christianity as a spiritual commonwealth. But in the primitive ages there was no arbitrary conformity in these lesser things. That impossible result was not attempted, until the rise of papal supremacy and the ambitious struggle between the rival Bishops of Rome and Constantinople effected the great

schism between the East and the West, which has never been healed to this day. The bond of union in the primitive ages was sufficiently secured by *the faith of the Scriptures, the Apostolic Episcopate, and the spirit of brotherly affection*. Happy would it have been for the Church and the world, if that bond had not been broken by the combined influence of superstitious fraud, false faith, avaricious cupidity, and licentious indulgence, of whose terrible fruits the extracts which I have given from your own historian furnish but a weak description, until at length priestly despotism and priestly corruption had almost destroyed the religion of the world.

I have now, I trust clearly, explained the various senses in which the primitive fathers employed this word, *tradition*. First, they used it occasionally to mean the Scriptures themselves, as was done by St. Paul, in the text quoted from 2 Thes. ii. 15, and also by Cyprian and others. Secondly, they used it for the Creeds and early Councils of the Church, in which sense I have proved from Cyril's catechetical discourses and other authorities, that it was directly *taken from the Scriptures*, the Bishops fulfilling their office as judges to interpret and expound the faith revealed in the oracles of God. Thirdly, they employed the word to signify the various usages, forms, and ceremonies introduced or sanctioned by the same Bishops, after they had become somewhat venerable by the lapse of a few generations; and this, too, grew out of the same Episcopal prerogative as judges, being analogous to the rules of practice in our courts of law.

Not one of those meanings, however, at all approaches to your papal doctrine, viz., that the Apostles delivered a set of dogmas *orally*, which they did not put in writing, al-

though they were equally the Word of God, and equally intended to be a *rule of faith*, which dogmas inculcated the worship of the Virgin and the Saints, together with their relics, purgatory, and every other error which cannot be proved by any plainer evidence. And yet, notwithstanding Dr. Milner well knew that the sense in which the word was used by the fathers, whom he has quoted, was altogether different, he did not hesitate to mystify his readers by citing them with an air of honest triumph, never hesitating to employ the *pious fraud*, nor pausing to examine the moral character of the means, if he could only win the victory. If any intelligent reader, however, will undertake the trouble to compare my quotations with his, and apply the true explanation of the term tradition, it will be at once apparent that there is no inconsistency whatever to disturb the clear and distinct statements of the fathers which I have cited, as conclusive on the question.

I shall make but a few remarks in addition, to show the worthlessness of the objection which Dr. Milner ingeniously advances against the Scriptures being given as the Rule of Faith, namely, that our Lord knew the impossibility of their being understood by the people, the mass of whom were unable to read them.

To this weak though specious argument I shall answer by the following questions :—

1. Supposing that the Scriptures, as containing the Rule of Faith, the laws of Christian morals, and the great events of the Gospel history, were designed only as furnishing *the materials for the ministry*, would it not be enough to justify their controlling operation on the whole welfare of the Church ? Have not the people at large, in every nation, the entire benefit of the written laws of the land, although those

laws may not be often read, except by the advocates and judges? And was not the mass of the ancient Israelites at least as ignorant of letters, when the Lord gave them the *written law* by the hand of Moses?

2. A much more conclusive reply, however, belongs to the truth. I ask then, next, whether the Scriptures were not *universally read publicly* in all the assemblies of the Church, according to the fixed custom of the Jewish synagogue, and the express command of the Apostle? Were they not *translated without delay for that very purpose*, into the Latin, the Syriac, the Ethiopic and other languages? Was not the ordinary mode of preaching, for the first few centuries, a *familiar Homily upon some chapter of the Scriptures*? And was not the *knowledge of the Scriptures* thus brought within the reach even of those who could not read, as it is in the Church of England, by the very order of the services, at this day?

3. And in the third place, I ask, whether copies of the Scriptures were not so numerous in the hands of private Christians during the first three centuries, that in the principal persecutions against the Church, there was a command always given by the heathen magistrates that the sacred writings should be given up? And were not those copies so highly esteemed that the Church held it to be a special sin to part with them on a heathen summons? And were not those who thus surrendered them excommunicated, by the opprobrious name of *Traditores*?

I am sorry to be obliged, by the necessities of the task which I have undertaken, to spend so much time in refuting these impieties. But a falsehood may be uttered in a line, which it takes many pages to answer. I shall next expose the dishonest cavils of your favorite and specious, but

reckless writer, in reference to the Canon and the version of our Mother Church ; and meanwhile invoke the patient perseverance of my readers, in the full belief that their labor will not be in vain.

L E T T E R X V I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

IN his ninth letter, Dr. Milner undertakes to show that the Church of England has no sufficient evidence in favor of the genuineness of the Bible ; that the canon of Scripture was not fixed until the third Council of Carthage, and a Decretal of Pope Innocent I. in the fourth century ; that there is a palpable omission of four verses from the 14th Psalm ; that our English version is not faithful ; that the Protestant Churchman can never be certain that he understands the whole of his Bible rightly ; that the divine oracles present many difficulties which need an interpreter ; that the Protestant, on the principle that the Bible is the rule of faith, cannot make an act of faith, because he cannot have a full and perfect persuasion of its truth ; that many absurd and ridiculous speeches and doings were found amongst the ranks of Protestants. Finally, he quotes passages from Bishop Watson and other divines, to show their doubt and uncertainty concerning the truth of their religion, and asserts, that while many Protestants seek to be received into the Church of Rome at the hour of death, not a single instance can be produced of a Roman Catholic wishing to die in any other communion than his own.

To dispose of all this specious but most absurd matter, will take some time and trouble, but the result, I trust, will

be satisfactory, if not to your mind, yet to that of every candid reader.

1. With respect to the first of these imaginary difficulties, viz., that our Mother Church has no sufficient evidence in favor of the genuineness of the Bible, it is simply ridiculous, because we have all the evidence which exists, and there can be no more. Dr. Milner repeats continually what he well knew to be an atrocious misrepresentation, namely, that in rejecting the errors of the Church of Rome, our reformers rejected all the truth which she derives from the pure ages of primitive antiquity. But he was perfectly aware that the controversy turned upon the corrupt *additions* which she adopted, and not at all upon the *truths which she still retained*. Our reformers, for the most part, held that the Pope was Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God, and usurping to himself a false, impious, and most dangerous authority ; but they never denied that *it was the temple of God*, that is to say, a true Church, in which he was sitting, nor did they ever question, that by reason of the truth which remained from the beginning in that Church, there had always been more or less of faithful Christians saved. And it was in this very union of the false with the true that the subtlety of Satan was manifested. The Evil One had engrafted upon the most fruitful branch of the true vine the poisonous fruit of superstition, priestly celibacy, Papal despotism, the enforced confessional, purgatory and indulgences, the worship of the Virgin and the saints, pictures, images, relics, and the cross, the mutilation of the Eucharist, works of supererogation, the Inquisition with all its horrors, the denial of the Bible and public prayers in the vulgar tongue, false miracles, and monkery. All of these were corrupt innovations and unwarrantable additions to the true Chris-

tianity of the Apostolic Church, and the reformers desired that they might be done away. But the rest of the system was identical with the pure Gospel. The Bible was there, only with some apocryphal additions. The original Creeds and the early Councils were there, only overridden by modern Councils of no real authority. The succession of the Apostolic Episcopate was there, though sadly stained, yet genuine. The Church of England had become united with the Church of Rome since the sixth century, and had gone hand in hand with nearly all her innovations, but now, awakened to the knowledge of the truth, she sought to return to her primitive purity of faith and practice, taking the same Scriptures and the early fathers for her guide, and changing nothing of her previous faith except what she knew now to be a corrupt innovation. Of course, she had only to keep the Bible which she had from the beginning, the true faith which she had from the beginning, the Apostolic Orders which she had from the beginning. None of these had the Church of England received from Rome, and what Rome had not given, it would be strange, indeed, if Rome could take away.

To make this point plain, however, beyond the reach of cavil, let me here prove directly that the Church of England was not indebted to Rome for her commencement. First, then, Irenæus, in A. D. 170, speaking of the unity of the faith diffused throughout the world, enumerates the Churches of Germany, the Churches among the Hibernians, and the Churches among the Celts, expressly.* Tertulian, a few years afterwards, not only confirms his statement, but adds to it the very fact which I advance. For,

* Irenæi Contra Hæreses, Lib. 1, cap. x., § 2, p. 49.

in a long list of the countries which had received the Gospel, he sets down "the various nations of the Gauls, and the places of the Britons, INACCESSIBLE TO THE ROMANS, but subject to Christ."* There is the positive testimony, that however, or by whomsoever, the Church was first planted in Britain, which is a matter of uncertainty, it was *not planted by a missionary from Rome*. Indeed, it was impossible that it should have been, for during the three centuries of persecution no Bishop or diocese was in a condition to think of distant missionary enterprises. That it was in a flourishing state, however, in the beginning of the fourth century, and possessed of the regular apostolic ministry, is clearly shown by the fact, that the great Council of Arles, held by the command of the Emperor Constantine in A. D. 312, to settle a controversy which the Bishop of Rome and his colleagues had previously failed to determine, numbered the following names amongst its members :—

"Eborius, Bishop of the City of York, in the Province of Britain.

Restitutus, Bishop of the City of London.

Adelfius, Bishop of the Colony of London.

Sacerdos, Presbyter. -

Arminius, Deacon."†

True, indeed, it is, that the irruption of the Saxons gave an opportunity, which the zeal of Pope Gregory I. improved, to send Augustin as a missionary to the King of Kent towards the close of the sixth century; and here began the connection of Rome with Britain. But Augustin found the ancient Church still in being, though the Christian Britons

* Tertul. adv. Judæos, cap. vii., p. 189. His words are, *Et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita.*

† Hardouini Con. Gen., Tom. 1, p. 267.

were much distressed by their heathen invaders. He held a conference with several Bishops and doctors, and was unable to induce them to give up their own customs, or submit to the Papal jurisdiction, although, as the monkish chronicler asserts, he performed a miracle before them, by giving sight to a blind man after they had attempted it in vain. A second conference was appointed, A. D. 601, and seven British Bishops and many learned men, chiefly from the "most noble monastery" of Bangor, met Augustin accordingly. And here he offered to tolerate their other peculiarities if they would consent to three things: 1. That they would keep Easter at the same time as the Church of Rome. 2. That they would adopt the Roman mode of administering baptism. 3. That they would unite with him in preaching to the Anglo-Saxons. But they refused to comply, or to take him for their Archbishop, and Augustin left them with a menace, which the Romanists convert into a prophecy. An army of the Anglo-Saxons attacked the Britons, slew twelve hundred monks because they prayed against their enemies, and so, after a time, force compelled the British Church to submit to the authority of Rome.* It was a just retribution of Providence when the day of Reformation came, that force should break the yoke which force imposed.

Whatever credit, therefore, may be due to Gregory I. and Augustin, the missionary, whom the Pope created Archbishop of Canterbury for the work of converting the King of Kent, and establishing the Church of Rome among the Anglo-Saxons, it is very certain that he had no right whatever, on

* Hard. Con. Gen., Tom. 3, p. 539, where the Conference is called *Synodus Wicoricensis*, and the details are quoted from the Venerable Bede.

true ecclesiastical principles, to set up altar against altar, and invade the rights of that ancient British Church, which had held possession for so many centuries, and which he could not charge with any heretical deviation from the true faith. It was but a little more than a hundred years since Jerome had published the sound doctrine of the primitive Church, that, in official rank, all Bishops were equal. "Wherever there is a Bishop," said this eminent father, "whether at Rome or at Eugubium, &c., he has the same authority and priesthood. For they are all the successors of the Apostles."* True, the triumph of the Saxon arms had dispossessed the native Bishops of their proper field in part and for a season. But this was no excuse for the Pope or for Augustin to impose upon them a foreign authority. The King of Kent had married Bertha, of the royal house of Clovis, the sovereign of France, and not only was she a Christian, but her husband, though a heathen himself, had granted her the exercise of her religion, by the ministry of Luidhard, a Bishop of her own nation. Through him, the door was already open for the conversion of the Saxons of Kent, and the old and established Church of the country might soon resume their proper jurisdiction. And, therefore, the mission of Augustin, conducted in open violation of their rights, was a flagrant usurpation, in defiance of the true order of the Church, of the precepts of charity, and of the golden rule of Christ, to do unto others as we would they should do unto us ; which rule, of itself, would have condemned such a course, even if there had been no fixed laws of Episcopal administration.

Taking these unquestionable facts of history into view

* Hieron. Op., Tom. 2, p. 220-1.

it is obvious that the ancient Church of Britain must have derived her first principles from the Oriental stock, as we know, from various sources, that, previous to the period of Augustin's mission, the Churches of the East differed from those of the West in many points of unimportant ritual observance, while, nevertheless, they all held the same doctrines of faith, derived from the Scriptures. And after the enforced union, which gave to Rome the chief authority over the British Church, the perpetuation of the Church in England must have been mainly from the native stock, because the Bishops of that stock were far more numerous than the imported clergy, and the ordinations must therefore have been chiefly from their hands. And hence it resulted that the Church of England continued her proper life and functions without interruption, submitting, indeed, to the necessity laid upon her, united perforce to Rome, governed by Rome, and becoming awfully corrupt in the course of her subsequent history, yet still competent to resume her separate rights, and to cast off the foreign yoke, whenever she should be awakened to the knowledge of the truth, and should receive from the hand of Providence the power to accomplish her reformation.

When, therefore, Dr. Milner pretended to make the Church of England dependent on the Church of Rome for the Bible, or for anything else belonging to the attributes of a true Church, he must have relied with the most absurd confidence upon the ignorance of his readers. But even if it had been otherwise—if, in truth, the Church of Rome had been the first to plant the Gospel in Britain, yet that would not have affected their right to reform themselves, nor thrown into doubt their heritage of the Scriptures, or the pure principles of the primitive faith, derived from

Christian antiquity. For those Scriptures and that pure faith were not the exclusive property of Rome, but were given alike by the bounty and grace of the Redeemer to all Christians. And no bond of ecclesiastical or artificial tyranny could ever take away the duty and the privilege of each particular Church to cast off the slavery of falsehood and superstition, and return to the liberty with which Christ had made them free. Hence, as we have seen, Vincent of Lerins, the great authority to which Dr. Milner himself refers, lays down the principle, that even the individual Christian, *though the whole Church should become infected with error*, must look for the rule which was observed from the beginning, "always, everywhere, and by all," *semper, ubique et ab omnibus*, and follow that; since that alone, as he most justly declares, "is TRULY CATHOLIC."

2. I proceed next to the second position of Dr. Milner, that the canon of Scripture was not fixed until the fourth century, and then by the third Council of Carthage and a Decretal of Pope Innocent I. This I shall show to be one of those specious misrepresentations in which your favorite author abounds; and as it involves the most important principles with respect to the whole foundation of Christianity, I must bespeak my reader's patience for a thorough exposure of its fallacy.

First, then, let it be carefully remembered, that the great body of the Scriptures was received, acknowledged, and everywhere dispersed, as fast and as far as the Church extended, the Old Testament being already derived from the Jews, and the New Testament being accepted as soon as each portion was produced by the inspired writers, and read, by apostolic precept, at the assemblies of the faithful. The Book of the Revelations was almost the only one

which remained for a considerable time out of the canonical list. But there was a number of apocryphal books which were found appended to the Greek version of the Old Testament, on the claims of which there was much variety of opinion. Nevertheless, this uncertainty did not affect the doctrines of the faith; because it is perfectly demonstrable that the disputed books, whether they are included or cast out, do not furnish a single clear authority for any doctrine, beyond that which is derived from the great mass of the Scriptures, about which there was no question.

Secondly, it must be remembered, that the controversy between our respective Churches on the subject of the canonical Scriptures, affects only the apocryphal books which are supposed to belong to the Old Testament. With regard to the New Testament, there is no difference whatever in the Books, although there are a few points of variance in the versions.

Now, in order to have a satisfactory view of the whole, I shall show the differences in the ancient catalogues, and cite the opinions of some of the most authoritative fathers, from which the reader may readily see whether your Roman Church or our own has the best evidence upon the question.

First, then, I commence with the *Apostolic* Canons, so called, many of which were, most probably, among the earliest rules adopted by the Church, although, taken as a whole, your writers themselves do not allow them to be entitled to the name of apostolic; and it is certain that, in giving them such a title, a fraud was committed, whether unconsciously or otherwise. But the catalogue of the Books of Scripture is the first of which we have any detail, and is as follows:—

CANON LXXXIV.

“Let those books be esteemed holy, and entitled to veneration by all the clergy and the laity, viz. : The 5 Books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; of Joshua, 1; Judges, 1; Ruth, 1; of the Kings, 4” (the first two of which we call the 1st and 2d Books of Samuel); “of Chronicles, 2; Ezra, 2” (one of which we call the Book of Nehemiah); “Esther, 1; of Maccabees, 3; Job, 1; the Psalms, 1; the Books of Solomon, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; of the Prophets, 12; Isaiah, 1; Jeremiah, 1; Ezekiel, 1; Daniel, 1. Besides which, let it be understood that your youths should learn the wisdom of the most erudite Sirach” (i. e., the Book of Ecclesiasticus).

“And our own, that is, the four Gospels of the New Testament, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; fourteen Epistles of Paul; two Epistles of Peter; of John, three; of James, one; of Jude, one; of Clement, two; and the Constitutions addressed by me, Clement, to you who are Bishops, in eight books, which are not to be divulged to all, because there are mysteries in them; and the Acts of us the Apostles.”*

Here we have three books of Maccabees, of which your Roman Church retains two, and also Ecclesiasticus, which, however, the above author does not reckon amongst the sacred books, but enjoins it as a useful instruction to the youth. The rest of the Old Testament books are the same with our own. But in the New Testament list, the difference is, that the Book of Revelations is omitted, and the Epistles and Constitutions of Clement are inserted, contrary to the Canon,

* Hardouin. *Con. Gen.*, Tom. 1, p. 30, Can. 84.

as received by both the Churches of Rome and England. All the other books of the Apocrypha, however, which your Church retains, are omitted, viz., two books of Esdras, Tobit, Judith, the rest of Esther, Wisdom, Baruch, the Song of the Three Children, Susannah, Bel and the Dragon, and the Prayer of Manasses.

Next, we find the famous Origen, who devoted so much labor to the Scriptures, setting forth the Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament, excluding all the apocryphal books except the Maccabees.*

We may thirdly refer to the Canon adopted by the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 372, in these words :

CANON LIX.

“It is not fitting to read Psalms composed by private persons in the churches, nor books which are not allowed by authority, but only the canonical books of the Old and the New Testament.”

CANON LX.

“Those which should be read and received as authority are these : The Genesis of the world, the Exodus of Egypt, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jesus of Nave (Joshua), Judges, Ruth, four books of the Kings, two books of Paralipomenon (Chronicles), two of Esdras (Ezra and Nehemiah), the book of one hundred and fifty Psalms, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job, Esther, the Twelve Prophets, i. e., Hosea, Amos, Joel, Abdias (Amos), Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habaccuc, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. Also, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel. And of the New Testament, four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John ; the Acts

* Orig. Com., Tom. 1, p. 41.

of the Apostles ; seven Catholic Epistles—of James, one ; of Peter, two, the first and second ; of John, three, the first, second, and third ; of Jude, one : of the Apostle Paul, fourteen Epistles—to the Romans, to the Corinthians (the first and second), to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, to the Thessalonians (the first and second), to Timothy (the first and second), to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews.”*

Here is a list which corresponds with our own throughout, except that it omits the last book of the New Testament, the Apocalypse. It may have been partly because this book was so highly symbolical, and partly because it was written while the Apostle was in exile, that it was so much more slowly adopted throughout the whole Church.

I come now to the third Council of Carthage, held A. D. 397, where the list is found which corresponds rather more nearly with that of your Roman Church, though it lacks still a considerable portion of the apocryphal books which you have adopted. The words of this Council are as follows :—

CANON XLVII.

“ Also it pleased the Council, that nothing be read in the Church under the name of the divine Scriptures, besides the Canonical Scriptures. And these are the Canonical Scriptures : Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jesus Nave (Joshua), Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings (2 of Samuel and 2 of Kings), two books of Paralipomenon (Chronicles), Job, the Psalter of David, five books of Solomon, twelve books of the minor prophets. Also, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Tobit, Judith,

* Hard. Con. Gen., Tom. i, p. 791.

Esther, two books of Esdras, two books of Maccabees. And of the New Testament, four books of the Gospels, one book of the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul, one of the same to the Hebrews, two of the Apostle Peter, three of the Apostle John, one of the Apostle Jude, and one of James. One book of the Apocalypse of John.”*

Here the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are included in the five books of Solomon ; but as there is only one statement of Esdras, containing the books which we call Ezra and Nehemiah, while there are two other books attributed to Esdras in the apocryphal list, these last are evidently omitted, as are also Baruch, the Song of the Three Children, Susannah, Bel and the Dragon, and the Prayer of Manasses.

The next list which may be mentioned is that of a Roman Council, held A. D. 494, under Pope Gelasius, by seventy Bishops, for the express purpose of separating the canonical Scriptures, the Councils and the fathers, from the numerous apocryphal books which were in circulation, and of which a long list is added. And here we find the same books as in the third Council of Carthage, saving only that there is but one book of Ezra, and one of Maccabees.†. The Lamentations of Jeremiah are also distinguished as a separate book. According to this, therefore, we see a Roman Council, held almost a hundred years later than the third Council of Carthage, by a much larger number of Bishops, (seventy instead of forty-four,) and under the Pope, Gelasius, rejecting as apocryphal one book of Esdras and two of Maccabees, which the third Council of Carthage

* *Hard. Con. Gen.*, Tom. 1, p. 968.

† *Ib.* Tom. 2, p. 938.

admitted. Thus we have stricken off from the list adopted by the Council of Trent, seven writings, viz., Baruch, three books of Esdras, the Song of the Three Children, Susannah, Bel and the Dragon, and the second book of Maccabees. And yet, Dr. Milner tells us that the Canon of Scripture was not settled before the third Council of Carthage, and the Decretal epistle of Pope Innocent I., implying that it was settled then. Whereas he ought to have said that the Church of Rome did not settle it until nine centuries afterwards, and then took care to differ seriously from the previous opinion of her own Popes and Councils.

But when we come to the famous Capitular of Aix-la-Chapelle, put forth under the authority of the celebrated Charlemagne, A. D. 789, as the result of the best labors of all the Bishops and doctors of his vast empire, we have the Canon of Scripture laid down again, in perfect correspondence with that of the Council of Laodicea; the same with our own, excepting the book of the Apocalypse.* This furnishes a decisive proof that the authority of Rome had not yet settled the Canon.

With respect to the apocryphal books of Esdras, we have another direct condemnation in the fourth Canon of the Confessor, Nicephorus, who expressly orders them, along with some other books, not to be received, but rejected.† And Epiphanius, the Bishop of Cyprus, in the fourth century, sets forth a list of the books of the Old Testament, which agrees with that of the Council of Laodicea, adding only the book of Baruch; but the books of Wisdom and that of Ecclesiasticus, as he saith, are regarded by the Jews,

* Hard. Concil., Tom. 4, p. 831.

† Ib. p. 1051.

along with other books, as apocryphal.* With him, also, Cyril, the Archbishop of Jerusalem, agrees, giving the list precisely as the Council of Laodicea had done, with the single addition of Baruch, but excluding the whole of the books which the Church of England classes as apocryphal, and even warning his people not to read them.†

Thus we find that the Scriptures were universally received from the beginning, in the same way, without the slightest question or difficulty, saving only the Book of Revelations, which was recognized universally at a later day, and those apocryphal books which the Council of Trent adopted as canonical in the middle of the sixteenth century, notwithstanding they had been rejected by so large a portion of the early Church, and had been only partly received in any quarter.

I have yet, however, a few testimonies to add before I have done with Dr. Milner's statement. The famous Jerome, whose version of the Scriptures obtained the highest credit in the Church of Rome, and whose judgment claims superior authority, adopted the true principle of taking the Hebrew Scriptures for the Old Testament, in preference to the Greek Septuagint version, which was, as you know, the translation made by a company of learned Jews at Alexandria, in the reign of Ptolemy. Whatever he found in the Hebrew originals he admitted, and all else, before the time of Christ, he counted apocryphal. And his opinion of the books which the Church of England calls apocryphal is clear and decisive. Thus, in his Preface to the Proverbs of Solomon, he mentions the book of Ecclesiasticus, the book of Wisdom, Judith, Tobit, and the books of the Mac-

* Epiph., Tom. 1, p. 19.

† Cyril. Hierosol., Cat. 4, cap. xxxvi., p. 69

cabees, and saith, that "the Church, indeed, reads them, but *does not receive them among the canonical books*, only reading them for the edification of the people, and not for the confirmation of ecclesiastical doctrine."* Elsewhere he specifies the History of Susannah, the Song of the Three Children, Bel and the Dragon, and calls them "Fables."† Now, Jerome could never have presumed to use such words as these, unless the authority of those books had been considered, in his day at least, entitled to no confidence.

If, however, any further proof be necessary, I shall appeal to a name which Dr. Milner could not consistently contradict, if he were still in the land of the living. Pope Gregory I., surnamed the Great, in his Commentary on the Book of Job, expressly states that the 1st book of Maccabees was not admitted into the Canon. For this is his language, in quoting a passage from that book, (p. 46): "We shall not go too far if we bring forward a testimony from those books, which, *although not canonical*, are used to edify the Church."‡ And the same eminent pontiff praises the version which Jerome had given to the Church as superior to the previous versions, by saying, that "the new translation from the Hebrew exhibited all things more truly."§

Thus we find that your favorite, Dr. Milner, misleads his readers both negatively and affirmatively. *Negatively*, when he suggests that the Canon of Scripture was *not* fixed from the beginning, so far as faith and practice were concerned, since, in point of fact, there never was any doubt with regard

* S. Hieron., Tom. 3, p. 18.

† Ib. Tom. 2, p. 154, e.

‡ S. Greg. Mag. Moral. in Job. Lib. 19, cap. xxxiv. Op., Tom. 1, p. 622, a.

§ Ib. p. 665.

to the list of those books from which the Church derived her whole doctrine. And *affirmatively*, when he leads the world to conclude that in the fourth century the Canon *was* fixed by the 3d Council of Carthage and the Decretal of Pope Innocent I., whereas, in truth, the Capitular of Charlemagne and the opinion of Pope Gregory I. clearly show that the Council of Laodicea came far nearer to the mark ; and the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, thought fit to go beyond all that had spoken before them. As the matter actually stands between the Churches of Rome and of England, we are justified in putting the Apocryphal books out of the Canonical list, by the Apostolic Canons, by Origen, Jerome, Cyril, Epiphanius, the Council of Laodicea, Pope Gregory I., and the Capitular of Charlemagne ; while your Church has only the 3d Council of Carthage, Augustin, Pope Innocent I., and the Roman Council under Gelasius, to warrant her in *part*, and not one amongst them all justifies her altogether. Let the rule of Vincent of Lerins be applied to the question, that we must hold what was held *everywhere, always, and by all* ; and especially let it be noted that in a question concerning the true Scriptures, the earliest authority must needs be the most reliable ; and the reader will see, at once, the vast superiority of the evidence in our favor.

I come now to the absurd objection of your reckless advocate, that in our English Bible there are four verses omitted from the 14th Psalm, although they are inserted in our Prayer Book. This is, in truth, a very contemptible cavil ; but as Dr. Milner has thought fit to make it a part of his argument, it must be answered fairly.

The simple truth, then, is this. The Prayer Book was first published in the reign of Edward VI., and the version

was taken from the Latin Vulgate, which was then in general use throughout Europe. The corrected translation of the Scriptures was not set forth until several years afterwards, in the time of James I., and was the result of a thorough examination of the best authorities of the Ancient Church. It was found that those four verses were not in the original Hebrew Scriptures, which our translators took for their guide, but had been transferred from one of St. Paul's Epistles. And therefore, in faithful adherence to the Hebrew original, and to the course pursued, as we have seen, in the primitive Church, they properly omitted them. But the Prayer Book was suffered to remain as it was, first, because habit had endeared its language to the people; and next, because as the verses in question were really the words of St. Paul, and therefore scriptural and true, there could be no possible danger in retaining them, since, at most, it was only a repetition of one part of Scripture in another, the whole being the unerring Word of God. The objection, however, displays an amusing example of fastidiousness on the part of Dr. Milner, when his own Church had *added to the Bible* a whole list of Apocryphal Books, which the voice of all antiquity had excluded from the Canon. And it reminds one very strongly of those respectable prototypes of Romanism, the old Pharisees, who so piously "strained at a gnat, and swallowed a camel."

The next accusation of your author is, that a Protestant can never be sure that he understands the whole of the Bible rightly! A grave charge, undoubtedly, from a man who is obliged to acknowledge that there are so many matters in Scripture which his own infallible Church does not pretend to explain. But what greater certainty has the Church of Rome in arriving at the sense of the sacred oracles than

we have? In all the cardinal doctrines of the faith which the primitive Church derived from the Scriptures, we hold the interpretation of the fathers and the old General Councils precisely as you do yourselves. And as it respects all those modern doctrines where we repudiate your errors, it is not on the *written word of God* that you pretend to rest them, but on your imaginary Apostolical and oral *traditions*. None of the really General Councils, held before the great schism, were Roman Councils. The 1st Council of Nice, the three Councils of Constantinople, the Council of Ephesus, the Council of Chalcedon, were all held in the East. The Pope of Rome neither summoned them, nor presided in them, as I have already proved from your own historian, Fleury. And it was then and there that the voice of the whole Church settled forever the *interpretation* of the primitive faith *as derived from the Scriptures*. All this heritage we possess in full, together with the ancient fathers and doctors. And when your Church goes on from these to proclaim her subsequent corruptions, we meet her, as I shall hereafter show, with the positive proof that she has brought in heretical novelties, which were not only unknown to the pure ages of the faith, but would have brought down upon her head, at any time before the sixth-century, the sentence of anathema.

That the divine oracles present many difficulties which need an interpreter, is truly said by Dr. Milner. And I have already shown that we take for our interpreter the Church, as fully as Rome herself. But we hold, with Vincent of Lerins, and with the *theory* of Romanism, that the Church must adhere to the *primitive interpretation*, and not presume to depart from *those* SCRIPTURES which Irenæus, Tertullian, and all the ancient fathers, held to be "*the ground and*

pillar of the faith." If Dr. Milner would insinuate here, however, that the priests of your Church are possessed of any better knowledge of the Scripture, or can explain its various parts more thoroughly than ourselves, we deny the fact, not only as being totally unsupported by any evidence, but as involving an absurdity : 1st. Because they have no helps nor knowledge of Scripture beyond what we possess in common with them. 2d. Because they are so far from seeking to interpret the Scripture, that their main efforts are directed to give their people a distrust in its teaching, as being a dangerous and imperfect guide, and a confidence in tradition, as a far superior instructor. 3d. Because your Church has even forbidden the laity to have the Bible in the vulgar tongue, by the decrees of many Popes and Councils, and has only allowed it since the Reformation under great restrictions, through fear and necessity. And 4th. Because the Scriptures are so directly opposed to your modern dogmas, that the only way in which you *interpret* many passages is to argue them away.

The allegation of Dr. Milner that the Protestant cannot make an *act of faith*, because he cannot have a full and perfect persuasion of the truth, is simply ridiculous. He quotes Augustin, where he saith, that "if it were not for the authority of the Catholic Church, he would not have believed the Scriptures," and I have quoted the same eminent father, saying, that "In the Scriptures we learn Christ, and in the Scriptures we learn the Church." Both these declarations are perfectly consistent, and it is only the Romanist who finds it so hard to reconcile them. For the Scriptures contain the revelation of God, first to His chosen people, the Jews, in the Old Testament, and next to His Church, in the New Testament. Who else but the Jews

could lead the inquirer to the sacred books in which their revelation was contained? Who can inform the world as to the written constitution and government of any nation, but the nation itself to which they belong? Hence it is manifest that "if it were not for the *authority of the Jews*, no one would or could have any belief in the Old Testament Scriptures," since, if there were no such people, there could be no warrant for believing that a divine constitution and laws had ever been delivered to them. And in like manner, the law of the Christian faith given to the Church, in the New Testament, could only be identified by the *authority of the Church*. For the Christian Church is the kingdom of Christ on earth, and St. Peter applies to it the title of "A royal nation, a peculiar people." Hence, if it were not for "the authority of the Church," no man could or would believe the Scriptures of the Church's constitution. But when the inquirer has been led to acknowledge *the Scriptures of Israel*, it is *from them* he has to learn what was, in fact, their divine system, and not from the traditions of their Pharisees, nor the unbelief of their Sadducees, nor the man-worship of their Herodians, nor their mixing of the true faith with their deviations into heathen idolatry. From *the Scriptures*, and from them only, could he infallibly derive their origin, their rule of faith, their laws of practical morality, the wonders of their first settlement, the promises and privileges which the divine benevolence had granted to them, as the chosen people of God. And just so it is, that when the inquirer into Christianity is led by the *authority of the Church* to the *Scriptures of the Gospel*, it is *from them*, and from them only, that he can infallibly learn the divine constitution of the Church, the rule of faith prescribed by their celestial Lawgiver, and all the essential

laws, sanctions, and blessings secured to His loyal people.

All this, therefore, is perfectly clear, to any intelligent and reflecting mind. Thus, it is from the American nation that a foreigner must learn what is our written Constitution, from which our whole law and government derive their being. For, if there were no such nation, there could be no constitution, and the written document itself would never be received as a real institute, but only as an essay of the imagination, like the Republic of Plato, or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More. When, however, the stranger is led to the *written rule*, it is from that he must learn the distinctive principles of our people. And in order that he may understand it rightly, he does not trust himself implicitly to the assertions of presidents, governors, or statesmen of the present day, but he appeals to those who lived nearest to the time of its establishment. He reads the *Federalist*. He examines the opinions of the Supreme Court, and with these, *as interpreters*, he knows that he cannot err in the true meaning of *the written rule*. Therefore, according to the very same maxims of St. Augustin, he learns from the universal testimony of the American nation what the Constitution is. And then he learns from the CONSTITUTION, *rightly interpreted*, what the American people should be, in the whole length and breadth of their peculiar principles and organization.

But now let us suppose that, in the lapse of time, our people should become ignorant and debased, and their rulers should become, in the same proportion, corrupted and despotic. Suppose that our President gains command over the national treasury, and wields a tyrannical power over a vast standing army, and governs the Senate and House of Rep-

representatives, and all the officials throughout the land, by the bond of a common interest, so that all look up to him, as their great fountain of honor, safety, and success, and, like the case of the late President of France, actually desire to maintain him, in the exercise of enormous prerogatives, to which he has not the shadow of any legal claim. If now, an honest band of reformers should rise up to oppose this iniquitous usurpation, what should they do but go back to the WRITTEN CONSTITUTION, and appeal to the *interpretation* put upon it in the pure and early days of the Republic, and insist from this that the presidents and rulers were appointed for the benefit of the people ; that it was not the aggrandizement of the few, but the advantage of the whole, for which the Constitution was designed ; and that the nation must return to the true character of its original institution ? And if the President and statesmen and office-holders should fiercely denounce this claim, and insist that the written Constitution was an imperfect instrument, and was not intended to be their rule at all, but that there was given along with it an *oral tradition* which supplied its defects, and of which they, the President and office-holders, were the *sole authorized expounders* !—that this *oral tradition* was the *real fundamental law*, and that if any man dared to say the contrary, he should be sacrificed forthwith, as a political heretic and traitor to his country :—if such tyranny as this should force the reformers to withdraw their own State from the Union, who would be to blame ? And how absurd would it be to tell them, after they had seceded, that they had no confidence in their own principles—that, in the language of Dr. Milner, they could not *make an act of faith*, that they could not really believe the Constitution *to be the Constitution*, or that they had not read aright the *interpretation*

of its earliest expounders, because, forsooth, the President and office-holders were *infallibly gifted* to decide, and no one could have any true and sincere faith, except it were according to their teaching!

Now here is a supposed case which bears some analogy to the actual position of the Church of Rome, in relation to the Reformed Church of England. Dr. Milner tells us that we cannot make *an act of faith*, on the principle that the Bible is the *rule of faith*, because we cannot have a full persuasion of its truth. And it is certainly difficult to decide whether the folly or the effrontery of such a statement is most worthy of admiration. For how can Christian men have faith in anything, if they cannot have it in the written Word of God? And how is their faith in that Word to be weakened by their belief that God gave it to be the only sure and unerring *constitution* of His Church—the great *fundamental law* of His people? I marvel much that your advocate forgot the proof so awfully displayed against his preposterous assumption in the bloody reign of the English Mary; when hundreds of true reformers stood firm amidst the horrors of the torture and the stake, and consummated their *act of faith* by the *act of martyrdom*.

I come next to the charge which Dr. Milner brings against the weak and fanatical speeches and doings of certain men—Luther, and Fox, and Naylor, and Wesley, with others. And while I shall certainly allow him all due credit for his industry and ingenuity, and at the same time shall save myself and my readers the trouble of examining how much of his narrative is true, and how much is a most unfair exaggeration, I reply to the whole by saying, that the Church of England had nothing to do with it, and that we are only responsible for our own course of principle and

action. But here I must appeal to the long array of facts which I have stated from your own historian, Fleury, and ask how your infallible Church proved the superiority of her *rule of faith*, during the ages prior to the Reformation; and how, whenever she has the power, she proves it down to the present day? Where is the systematic licentiousness, ambition, cruelty and avarice of the Protestant ministry, exhibited, century after century, generation after generation, as they were confessedly displayed throughout Europe, by the priesthood of Rome? When and where did the reformed clergy light up the flames of the most inhuman wars and persecutions, arm the assassin, immolate thousands upon thousands, as in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, and then appoint a public *Te Deum*, and strike medals in honor of the atrocious and execrable triumph? When did the princes of every or of any land charge the reformed clergy, as they have so often charged the Romish priesthood, with all the vices of unbridled and notorious libertinism? When were they branded, like the Jesuits, as public nuisances, and ignominiously expelled as enemies to the public welfare? But I shall not enlarge now upon this odious comparison. Suffice it to say, that when Dr. Milner presumed to direct his readers to the sins and follies of Protestants, he must have either reckoned largely upon the ignorance or forgetfulness of the world, or supposed that the specious ingenuity of his attack would deprive them of their understanding.

I have reached at length the last topic of reproach, in the assault which he directs against the security of the faith in the Church of England, based upon certain passages in the works of Hoadly, Balguy, and Watson, on the reservations with which some men have signed the 39 Articles,

and other matters of a similar character; winding up with the assertion, that as a consequence of the *uncertainty* of their religion, *many Protestants desire to be received in the Church of Rome at the hour of death, while not a single instance can be produced of a Roman Catholic wishing to die in any other but his own communion.*

Now here we have another specimen of Dr. Milner's reckless disregard for all the ordinary maxims of truth and honest dealing. He could not have been ignorant that the Church of England, as a whole, had no respect whatever for the theological character or learning of either Hoadly or Watson. Nor were any of the clergymen whom he has quoted entitled to represent her system or her principles, farther than they spake according to the manifest sense of her Creeds and Articles. He knew, likewise, that no Church on the face of the earth could at all times secure the consistency of her clergy within the strict rules of her dogmatic teaching. But these men were a few dozen amongst a body of twelve thousand. And they were pure as angels of light in comparison with the mass of his own priesthood. For how, as it respected the *unity* of the Rule of Faith, could he have forgotten the dissensions of Romanism? Two and three Popes at once, cursing each other!—the Council of Basle excommunicating the Pope and the Council of Florence, and the Council of Florence and the Pope anathematizing the Council of Basle! The same spectacle displayed in the Council of Pisa! The variances with respect to the reception even of the Council of Trent! The long quarrels between the Dominicans and Franciscans about the immaculate conception! The bitter controversies between the Jesuits and the Jansenists upon the doctrine of predestination! The disputes between the

Popes and the Gallican Church about the Pragmatic Sanction ! The interminable strife concerning the power of the Pope to dethrone a sovereign, and the mooted point whether a General Council is superior to the Pope, or the Pope to the Council ! Nay, had he forgotten the downright atheism charged upon Pope Boniface and Cardinal Cajetan by the King of France, and the infidel philosophy so long permitted in the theological schools of Paris, where the clergy themselves were not only in the habit of the most disgusting licentiousness, but even showed their infidelity by playing their games of dice on the very altars of God ? I have referred to a mere sprinkling from your own historians, and shall we be told by your advocates of the superior *certainly and unity* of your system, in the face of facts like these ?

True, indeed, it may be said that these disorders are passed away since the Reformation, and that your Church has long exhibited the aspect of unity and peace. And to this I answer, that your unity and peace are merely the outward result of prudence and policy, and that it is a very ignorant and weak credulity which would ascribe them to your religion. For it is your own perpetual and constant boast that YOUR RELIGION WAS THE SAME BEFORE THE REFORMATION AS IT IS NOW ; and therefore, if the strifes and dissensions in which you were then continually involved are since kept down, and out of sight, it results, of necessity, that it must be the *change of circumstances*. In point of fact, you are as little united as ever, but your quarrels are more wisely concealed from public observation.

And as for the last of Dr. Milner's assertions, that " many Protestants seek, at the hour of death, to be received into his Church, while not an instance can be found of a Roman Catholic wishing to die in any other than his own commu-

nion!" it caps the climax of absurdity. What marvellous reliance must he have placed on the thoughtlessness or stupidity of his readers in venturing upon such a statement! For who were the Albigenses and the Waldenses of former ages, whom the Popes persecuted with fire and sword, but *Romanists*, who had been forced, by the corruptions of the Church, to abandon her communion? Who were the millions of the reformed in Germany, France, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, but men who left the Church of Rome, at the peril of property and life, in the hope of a purer religion? Who were the millions in England that resolved to restore the Church to her primitive rule of true Catholicism, by taking the Bible for the Rule of Faith, along with the interpretation of the ancient fathers? Who are the thousands upon thousands within the last few years in Ireland, that have gone out from Rome to join the pure Church of the Apostles' planting? And what is the handful of deluded or ignorant Protestants, who, from time to time, have fallen victims to the wily sophistry of such men as Dr. Milner, in comparison with such mighty hosts as these?

That there has been a large amount of strife and dissension among Protestants, I admit with sorrow. Nor am I justified in denying that their want of complete unity is to be ascribed to their over-sanguine reliance on the exercise of private judgment, without regard to the primitive models of interpretation. We hold the right and duty of the Church to be the judicial expounder of the Bible in all controversies of faith, as well as in the great rules of ecclesiastical order. And doubtless it is to this, mainly, under the favor of Divine Providence, that we are indebted for such admirable unity in the Church of England, and her offspring, during three centuries together, so that there is at this mo-

ment a larger and firmer amount of efficiency within our pale than at any former period. But the question will recur again, under its own head of controversy ; and here I shall leave it for the present, content with repelling the unjust attack of our unscrupulous adversary.

LETTER XVIII.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

BEFORE I proceed to the positive branch of Dr. Milner's argument, it may be proper to notice his remarks about our English version of the Scriptures, which he charges with being erroneous. In reply, I shall only say, that while it is impossible, in the nature of things, that any translation can be, in all respects, equal to the original, yet that, so far as the *substantial meaning* is concerned, which is all that is required to its being the *Rule of Faith*, no fault has ever been, or can ever be, found with the English Bible.

Indeed, Dr. Milner himself is obliged to acknowledge, that "in this inquiry, the Catholic Church herself can afford no security." He does not explain his meaning, and therefore I shall do it for him. He would have said, if it had suited his purpose to be explicit, that your own Church was obliged to use a translation as well as ours, and this translation, though adopted by the Council of Trent, is far from being immaculate. He might also have said, because it is the unquestionable truth, that the primitive Church in the West, where the Latin tongue was spoken, had several versions, the work of individuals, and used sometimes one, and sometimes another, according to the judgment of the Bishops, until the version executed by the celebrated Jerome from the original languages, the Hebrew and the Greek, obtained the general confidence, and be-

came, with some exceptions, the prevailing text of the Latin Vulgate throughout Europe. Yet all these versions were so far a safe guide, that their inaccuracies never gave rise to any error of doctrine. For the wisdom and goodness of God, who intended His holy Scriptures to be a guide for the whole world, and who knew, far better than we, the inevitable imperfection of all translations, guarded against the difficulty by the very form of the Revelations themselves. Thus we find that no doctrine of the faith is dependent upon a single text, or a single chapter. But all our doctrines, on the contrary, are spread abroad throughout a vast range, expressed in a multitude of forms, and placed in various connections ; the duty of faith being to compare, as Origen saith, Scripture with Scripture, and out of the general consent and mutual bearing of the whole, to derive the definite result of every article.

The question, then, of the versions of the Scriptures, since none are absolutely perfect, while all are accurate enough for the purposes of a right faith, so long as the interpretation of the primitive Church is taken along with them, is purely a question of comparison. And here I claim for our own the highest place in the whole catalogue. For it was the work of FIFTY MEN, the first for learning and piety in England, appointed by the royal mandate of James I., a man of uncommon attainments, with all the advantages of the previous versions before them. Whereas the German version was the work of *one* man, the French, of another, the Latin Vulgate used by the Church of Rome, of another ; so that in no case, since Ptolemy employed the seventy Jews in Alexandria to translate the Old Testament into Greek, were so many superior minds congregated together for such an enterprise. And the result has been answerable to the

munificent and pious care employed, since, although we do not call it perfect, which no translation can be, in comparison with the original, yet we challenge the realms of Christendom to show a version which, on the whole, is more worthy, if as worthy, of entire confidence and admiration.

Perhaps the best proof of this may be found in the fact, that Dr. Milner, with the strongest disposition to censure, has not ventured to say that there is any error which could possibly affect the faith of the reader. He does, indeed, in the note, specify two passages, the first of which reads thus: Mat. xix. 11. *But he said unto them, All men CAN NOT receive this saying, save they to whom it is given.* Here Dr. Milner rightly observes, that the original means, *All men DO NOT receive this saying, &c.* But the difference really amounts to nothing, for the very simple reason, that no man can receive either that or any other saying of our Lord, unless it be given to him. So that the variation has no effect whatever upon the substantial truth of the text.

The other passage is 1 Cor. xi. 27, where the Apostle saith, *Whoever shall eat this bread AND drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.* Here Dr. Milner remarks, that the *and* should be *or*, and he is correct, undoubtedly, according to the Greek original. But neither does this affect the substantial meaning of the Apostle, for the following reasons:—

1. Because in the 26th verse, immediately preceding, we read, *For as often as ye eat this bread AND drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come.* In this verse, the conjunction is *AND*, and not *OR*, as in the following one, the Greek and Roman Vulgate both agreeing with our English. And therefore it is manifest that the Apostle used either form indifferently.

2. Because the error of your Church in taking away the chalice from the laity could not be defended by the word *OR*, taken in its strict meaning, inasmuch as this would not prove that *the bread might be taken without the cup*, any better than it would prove that *the cup might be taken without the bread*, which last you do not admit any more than we do.

3. Because the question of doctrine does not depend on this text, but on the Institution of Christ as related in the Gospels, and the uniform rule of the Church, from which there was no authoritative license to depart until the Council of Constance, more than twelve centuries after.

These, then, are the most serious of the cavils made against our English Bible. But now, in return, I must ask your attention to three errors in your own. And these are not merely trifling verbal inaccuracies, which do not affect the doctrine of the Scriptures in the slightest degree, but grave misrepresentations, directly contrary to what we hold to be the true faith.

Thus, in Genesis iii. 15, the Almighty addresses these words to the tempter of our first parents: "*I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.*"

The word *IT*, in this important text, evidently refers to the seed of the woman, which was our Lord Jesus Christ. And in the original Hebrew, it is the *masculine* אָדָם. But the Latin Vulgate of your Church has changed it into the *feminine*, "*SHE shall bruise thy head*," thus furnishing a strong support of your idolatry of the Virgin Mary, as the *efficient instrument* of the victory over Satan. Not only the famous Jerome, but long afterwards your own learned Pag-

nini, decided this text against the Church of Rome, and in our favor, on the conclusive testimony of the original Hebrew. And yet you continue the error to this day, and have given it the further sanction of your English Douay version.

The second text that I shall specify is in St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, v. 31-2, where we read as follows : "*For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great MYSTERY.*" The Greek original is *μυστήριον*, the very word from which the Latin *mysterium*, and our English *mystery*, were both derived. And yet the Vulgate translates it thus : *SACRAMENTUM hoc magnum* ; and your Douay Bible, *This is a great SACRAMENT* ; thereby manufacturing a very direct proof, to the ordinary mind, that *marriage is a sacrament, in the theological sense*, although you know, or ought to know, that the Church never accounted it to be one of the sacraments, until long after the days of Gregory I., in the time of the Schoolmen.

The third passage is a very gross perversion, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, xi. 21, where we read : "*By faith Jacob, when he was a-dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph, and worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff.*" Here, the word *leaning* is supplied by our translators, and is put into italics, according to their invariable rule, when they add anything to the original. If we omit that word, however, the meaning is precisely the same, *worshipped upon* (Gr. *ἐπὶ*) *the top of his staff*. But the Vulgate has transformed it effectually by leaving out the word *ἐπὶ*, signifying *upon*, and translating it, "*adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus* ; or *WORSHIPPED THE TOP OF HIS ROD*, according to your Douay Bible. Here, therefore, we have the manufacture

of a very plausible proof in favor of image or relic worship.

My readers may see, in this brief enumeration, another specimen of Dr. Milner's truth and fairness. Was he aware of these facts? If he was not, he must have been far more ignorant than I am willing to suppose. But if he was what must we think of the assurance with which he could venture to assail our English Bible, for two trifling inaccuracies which signified nothing, while his own *infallible* Church had adopted the Latin Vulgate, containing such grave and important departures from the Word of God?

But it would be doing injustice to this important matter, if I should pass by the course taken by your Roman Pontiffs on the great point of Biblical accuracy. The version of Jerome, as I have already stated, though warmly opposed, yet obtained the general confidence of the Church, and held it for a long period. Nevertheless, it was thought necessary to have many recensions, because the older versions were still in use, and there was no perfect uniformity. Thus, in the time of Charlemagne, Alcuin revised the whole with great care, under the patronage of that emperor, about A. D. 788.

Again, in A. D. 1089, as the Scriptures had become extensively faulty by the carelessness of the copyists, Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, set forth another corrected edition. This was followed by the amended version of Stephen, Abbot of the Cistercian Monks, in the twelfth century, and others of less note were made after that, the result of the whole being by no means satisfactory to men of research and learning. The decree of the Council of Trent, therefore, which adopted the Vulgate, gave no small trouble to Pope Sixtus V., twenty years afterwards, because,

in fact, there was no copy of the Latin Bible which deserved to be considered a standard. To remedy this defect, that energetic Pontiff assembled some men of known acquirements at Rome, and after the best examination in his power, as he supposed, he published a rectified edition of the Bible as the standard Vulgate, along with a Bull, in which these words appear: "*Nostra nos ipsi manu correximus, * * * * Ex certa nostra scientia, deque Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, statuimus eam Vulgatam sacræ tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti paginæ Latinam editionem, * * sine ulla dubitatione aut controversia censendam esse hanc ipsam, quam nunc prout optime fieri potuit emendatam;*" i. e., "We have corrected it with our own hand, * * * and from our certain knowledge, and from the plenitude of Apostolical power, we decree that this Vulgate Latin edition of the sacred page of the Old as well as the New Testament, is to be esteemed, without any doubt or controversy, as thoroughly amended as it can be."

Yet, before two years had elapsed, so many errors had been discovered in the edition which Sixtus V. had thus published *from his certain knowledge and from the plenitude of Apostolic power*, that Pope Clement VIII. was constrained to call in the copies, and to put out another, which is the present standard. And the Preface to this expressly states that, *in hac tamen pervulgata Lectione, sicut nonnulla consulto mutata, ita etiam alia, quæ MUTANDA VIDEBANTUR, consulto immutata relictæ sunt;* i. e., "ALTHOUGH SOME THINGS WERE ADVISEDLY CHANGED FROM THE COMMON READING, THERE WERE OTHERS, WHICH SEEMED TO REQUIRE A CHANGE, ADVISEDLY SUFFERED TO REMAIN UNALTERED."*

* The scholastic reader will find this matter fully set forth in the admirable Prolegomena of Professor Lee to Bagster's Polyglott Bible,

Most truly, therefore, though doubtless sore against his will, did Dr. Milner confess that, "in this inquiry the Catholic Church herself" (meaning, of course, his own) "can give no security." And the whole affair exhibits an amusing specimen of your assumed *infallibility*.

For, in the first place, the Council of Trent, which being guided, as you say, by the Holy Spirit, ought to have known the errors of the existing Latin version, solemnly decide that the Latin Vulgate should be the authorized and adopted copy. But twenty years afterwards, Pope Sixtus V. being resolved to establish a noble printing office for the headquarters of the Church at Rome, where Bibles and the fathers and Councils should be published in the best possible style, discovered that the copies in general use were not reliable ; and therefore he determines to print a new and corrected edition. The decree of the Council, therefore, evidently went for nothing, since the version to which the Pope resolved to apply it was *yet to be produced*, twenty years afterwards !

Next, the Pope, after consulting with several men of learning, corrects the new edition with his own hand, and publishes it with all the formality of a Papal Bull, *from his certain knowledge and from the plenitude of Apostolic power*. And it is evident that the PLENITUDE OF APOSTOLIC POWER ought to include the infallible assurance of inspiration.

But lo ! two years after this, Pope Clement VIII., being also endowed, as all Popes must be, with the same *certain* vide Prol. V., p. 44-5. The copies of the edition of Sixtus V. are extremely rare, because they were called in as extensively as possible by the Roman prelates. I had, however, in A. D. 1839, the opportunity of examining one of them, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and was astonished to see the number of corrections which some learned critic of their own had made upon its pages.

knowledge and plenitude of Apostolic power, discovers that the Bible of Sixtus V. was full of errors, and therefore he finds himself obliged to publish a more correct copy. And in this, he is so far from claiming absolute perfection, that the preface itself records the fact, dictated by the master spirit of Romanism, *expediency*: "Some things were changed," saith this preface, "and some which seemed to require change" (*quæ mutanda videbantur*) "*were suffered to remain!*" There we have, undoubtedly, a fair specimen of your Roman infallibility. Alas! how much longer will your leaders practise upon the weak credulity of the world? And how wonderful is the audacity with which Dr. Milner, under such circumstances, could presume to assail the fidelity of our English Bible, when he ought to have known that it was, to all intents and purposes, so much more trustworthy than his own!

I need hardly remind my readers of the blessing pronounced by the written Word on the faithful reading of the Scriptures: "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners: nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful. *But his delight is in the law of the Lord: and in His law doth he meditate day and night.*" (Ps. i.). "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes. The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring forever: the judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold: sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb. Moreover, by them is thy servant warned: and in keeping of them there is great reward."

(Ps. xix.). "Search the Scriptures," saith our blessed Redeemer, "for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me." (S. John, v. 39). "What is written in the law?" saith He, elsewhere: "How readest thou?" (S. Luke, x. 26). "All Scripture," saith St. Paul, "is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." (2 Tim. iii. 16).

We have seen that such was the practice and feeling of the primitive saints—how Augustin prayed for grace to understand the Scriptures—how Ambrose compared the reading of them to the walking in Paradise—how Irenæus likened it to eating of the good fruit in the Garden of the Lord—how every doctrine of faith was derived, and every error in the faith resisted, from their authority. In nothing does your Church of Rome show the anti-Christian spirit which possesses her more plainly than in her efforts to supersede these precious oracles of God by her traditions. In nothing does the Church of England demonstrate her truly *Catholic* character more than in the fixed principle that the Scriptures shall hold the first place of honor in all the worshipping assemblies of her people; and that thus, even those who cannot or will not read, shall at least *hear*, from the lips of all her ministers, the pure and unadulterated teaching of the Bible.

L E T T E R X I X .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I COME, at length, to the great point of Dr. Milner, namely, the settling of the question, " Which is the true Church ?" He saith, with perfect propriety, " that we profess to believe in the HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH," or, as the Nicene Creed expresses it, in " ONE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH. Hence it evidently follows that the Church must possess these four marks, UNITY, SANCTITY, CATHOLICITY, AND APOSTOLICITY. All we have to do, therefore, by way of discovering the true Church, is to find out which of the rival churches or communions is peculiarly One—Holy—Catholic—and Apostolic." I accept this statement willingly, and shall proceed to consider the evidence which he adduces to prove that the Church of Rome is the true Church, in the full confidence that the result will rather demonstrate the superior claims of the Church of England. But in entering upon this important and most interesting question, I shall insist upon the *primitive Church* being the standard of appeal, according to the rule of Vincent of Lerins. The decisive maxim, from which Rome herself does not dare to dissent, at least in theory, is, that we must hold what was held ALWAYS, EVERYWHERE, AND BY ALL, *semper, ubique et ab omnibus*, FOR THAT ALONE IS TRULY CATHOLIC.

I proceed, therefore, to the first of those four points,

UNITY. Dr. Milner devotes his 14th letter to proving that God cannot be the author of different religions, and hence the Church must be strictly One, in *Doctrine*, in *Worship*, and in *Government*. He quotes the language of Christ, in which He prayed that *all His Disciples may be One*; and the text of St. Paul, where he saith, that *we, being many, are One body in Christ. There is One body and One Spirit, One Lord, One faith, One baptism.* And again, that *a man who is a heretic must be rejected.*

All this, of course, I fully admit, because it is the doctrine of Scripture. Your favorite author next quotes several declarations from the fathers, to show that no one can be saved out of the Catholic Church. And here, likewise, there is no ground of controversy. Having thus prepared, as he supposes, the groundwork of his argument, he passes on, in his fifteenth letter, to prove the lack of unity in the Church of England, although he admits that she has "better pretensions to this and the other marks of the Church, than any other Protestant Society possesses." He then quotes, as he has previously done, various passages from certain divines belonging to the Church, to prove that it is not united, to which I have already answered sufficiently. He might have said that the Church of England has been indulgent to a fault in suffering her clergy to write as some of them have done, without any formal censure. But that is not a question of *unity* in the Church herself, so much as a question of *discipline*. And on this ground your own Church is incomparably more open to censure, as the extracts from your historian, Fleury, have abundantly demonstrated.

Dr. Milner next undertakes to assert and "maintain, as a notorious fact, that the Catholic Church, meaning the

Church of Rome, is, AND EVER HAS BEEN, strictly *One*, in her faith, worship, and government." And this we utterly deny, and prove our denial by the unquestionable evidence of Scripture, and the fathers of the primitive Church. He says, indeed, that all her members, and all her priests throughout the world, would give precisely the same answers if they were examined as to their faith. But this is little better than a mere begging of the question, because it is appealing to a kind of evidence which is impossible. No one can interrogate every individual, to ascertain the reality and extent of his faith. We know, however, from facts sufficiently public, that the assertion cannot be true—that you do not agree in your sentiments concerning the prerogatives of the Pope—nor where to place the infallibility which you claim, whether in the Pope, or in a General Council. That the decrees of Trent are received in some countries and not in others. That your divines are of different minds concerning predestination, the immaculate conception of the Virgin, the lawfulness of persecution, the binding effect of oaths made to heretics, and the whole extensive system of Jesuit morals. That in consequence, there is no security for unity amongst you in your secret tribunal of the confessional, and no sufficient guard against the most shocking licentiousness, in those countries which are solely governed by your Church, as Italy, Spain, France, and South America. That there is a large variety of sentiment amongst your authors with regard to purgatory, the lawfulness of usury (which many confound with the interest allowed by the legislature), and mixed marriages. Nay, that the Bulls of your Popes are not allowed to be read by all your Bishops, but some receive, and others exclude them, according to the notions of the individual prelates.

In a word, I might safely defy your writers to specify as many points of internal discord in the Church of England, as there are among yourselves, even at this day, notwithstanding the caution with which your strifes are kept secret from Protestants since the Reformation, on the one hand, and the foolish publicity which is given to all our Church disputes, upon the other.

But this, after all, is nothing to the purpose, although Dr. Milner places so much stress upon it in his 16th letter. The completeness of unity of sentiment amongst yourselves, even if you possessed it at the present day, would not prove that you are free from error, but only that you are more thoroughly drilled, because your priests are so anxious to keep their people from the influence of Protestants in general, and the Church of England in particular. We doubt not that there is quite as much of this sort of unity amongst the Buddhist and the Hindoo idolaters, and the followers of the false prophet. But *unity*, in itself, never can be a proof of any truth, in religion or in philosophy. The Church of Rome was united in the propriety of treating Galileo as a heretic, because he maintained the motion of the earth. And the Church of Rome is probably united now in the conviction that their ancestors were grievously mistaken. The ancient Church of Israel was united with its priesthood when they cried out against the Saviour, "Crucify him, crucify him." But no Christian can doubt that such unity was produced by the influence of Satan in deluding the minds of men.

What, therefore, Dr. Milner had to prove, was the unity of his Church, not simply among themselves, but *with the primitive Church of the Apostles, in faith, worship, and government*. And this he could never do, without a total mys-

tification of all the monuments of Christian antiquity. I have already proved your fatal departure from the primitive doctrine, in the fundamental article of the holy Scriptures being the *Rule of Faith*, as interpreted by the Church universal. I have also shown your error in adding to the Canon of the Scriptures. And I shall prove, by and by, when we come to the specific details, that you have further corrupted the original Gospel with your saints, relics, images, and purgatory; that you have corrupted the ancient liturgy in your worship; and that you have corrupted the original government by your priestly celibacy, your secret confessional, and your Pope. And in all these respects, so far from yielding the point of Unity to the Church of Rome, I shall claim it, in a far superior degree, for the Church of England.

I pass on next to the second note of the true Church—SANCTITY, or HOLINESS. And this, Dr. Milner divides into, 1st, the *doctrine* of holiness; 2dly, the *means* of holiness; 3dly, the *fruits* of holiness; and lastly, the *divine testimony* of holiness. To the first of these, viz., the *doctrine* of holiness, he devotes his 19th letter. And here he censures the Church of England because she tolerated the doctrine of Calvinism, and even allowed the main body of her clergy to profess it, as they certainly did, until the tide of theological opinion took an Arminian course, after the Synod of Dort. But he does not pretend to allege that her Articles *enjoined* it. Neither does he venture to *say* that our Church ever tolerated that excrescence of the system which is properly called *Antinomianism*, although he *insinuates* it most unjustly, by the specious mode in which he puts his quotations together.

But here he is wilfully blind to the fact, so well known

to every reader of ecclesiastical history, that the system of Calvin did not originate with him, but with the famous Augustin, whom the Church of Rome has placed upon her Calendar of Saints ; that Augustin elaborated this system in his controversy against Pelagius ; that the same system appears fully endorsed in the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, another of the Romish saints ; that it was the system of the monks of the Order of Augustin, and the Carmelites ; nay, that it was freely tolerated in the Roman Church, until the Jesuits attacked it in the writings of Jansen, and thereby brought down upon their heads the famous *Provincial Letters* of Pascal. If, therefore, the Church of England tolerated it, and still tolerates it—if she even allowed her divines to favor it, and denounce Arminianism in the reign of James I., which I acknowledge, Dr. Milner ought to have remembered, that Augustin first, and afterwards the Church of Rome, had taught her. That the primitive Church had allowed her Bishops to use their liberty with regard to this matter, is undeniable, since Augustin himself records the fact, that in the earlier part of his ministry, he held what, in modern days, we call Arminian views, but afterwards adopted the other. And I maintain that the Church of England was right in tolerating both the doctrines (although I am, myself, no advocate of Calvinism), not only because the subject is one of peculiar mystery, but because it was her duty, as it certainly was her design, to be faithful in all things to the example of the primitive Church, which was her model in the plan of her Reformation.

The next charge which your unscrupulous advocate brings against us is, that the Church of England “has *now compromised*” with the Socinian doctrine, “which she formerly condemned as a damnable heresy, and punished with

fire and faggot." (p. 138). This is a poor calumny, of which any just and generous-minded Romanist would have been ashamed. The Church of England has never *compromised* with any heresy, least of all with that which is so constantly opposed in the established order of her Litany, and in her leading Articles, and in all her Creeds. I have already said that this ridiculous tirade which your favorite author so constantly reiterates, amounts to nothing more than a laxity of discipline, which suffered some of her divines to publish doctrines of a very unsound character, without calling them to account. But when we remember the almost universal licentiousness which Rome permitted to such a terrible extent, that her own laity were crying out for reformation during seven centuries together, we cannot sufficiently admire the hardihood of Dr. Milner in making so much of laxity of discipline. The other charge, of having punished this heresy with fire and faggot, is true, unhappily, in a few instances. But your subtle advocate takes good care not to remind his readers that the Church of England was taught this cruel lesson by *your own Church*, which first invented the diabolical law of burning heretics; and that the same Church of England was the leader in the change which finally established the doctrine of religious toleration, while Rome clings to her Inquisition and her dungeons to this day.

After this overflow of virtuous indignation, Dr. Milner proceeds to claim for his Church *SANCTITY* of doctrine, averring that she has never changed it. He next affirms the fidelity of Rome to the first four Councils, and gives a general statement of the faith, to which no reformed Churchman would object. But he forgets again to tell his readers that the whole of this is held as fully by the Church of

England. The controversy, as he well knew, was not about these scriptural and primitive doctrines, but about the *additions of false and dangerous superstitions* to the true apostolic system which was derived from the Word of God. And as these were cast away, while the pure faith of the primitive Church was all retained, we claim for the Church of England a vast superiority over the Church of Rome, on the ground so strongly stated by our Lord Himself, when He reproved the traditions of the Pharisees, and said: *In vain do ye worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*

The *means* of Sanctity come next to be considered, and to these our author devotes his 20th letter. And the principal and most efficacious of these, as he informs us, are the sacraments. He approves the definition of a sacrament in our Catechism; but in the note at the foot of page 143, he censures the last clause as being far too strong, although he ought to have known that the error which he fancies to be *implied*, is plainly excluded in the subsequent instructions of the same Catechism, as well as in the Articles. He objects, however, that our Church reduces the number of the sacraments to two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and claims for his own Church the whole collection of seven sacraments. And then he proceeds to remark on each one separately.

And here the controversy lies, first, in the question, whether the term sacrament is properly applied to *Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony*. Let me appeal, then, to the definition of a sacrament, which Dr. Milner is obliged to approve, as given in our Catechism, viz., that it is *an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, ORDAINED*

BY CHRIST HIMSELF, *as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.* It is only the last clause which he affects to censure, namely, that a sacrament is *a pledge to assure us of inward and spiritual grace,* as if the Church of England had not guarded against his cavil by the statement of what is *required* of those who come to receive the sacraments, which immediately follows in the same Catechism. With what face, therefore, could he say, that this clause “*seems to imply, that every person who is partaker of the outward part of a sacrament, necessarily receives the inward grace of it, whatever may be his disposition?*”

But this clause has no bearing on the question, What is a sacrament? The answer is given above, and is admitted to be satisfactory. According to the definition, then, the sacraments must be ordained *by Christ Himself.* And they must be *outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace, given to us.* Thus, our Lord instituted the sacrament of Baptism, in which the water is the outward and visible sign of the inward cleansing of the soul by the grace of the Holy Spirit. Thus, likewise, He instituted the Eucharist, the bread and the wine being the sacramental signs of His sacred Body broken, and His Blood poured out on the cross, by which great Atonement we receive the gift of spiritual life, and by the spiritual reception of which our souls are nourished.

But in Confirmation, there is no evidence whatever of either the one or the other. That is, there is no institution of it by Christ Himself, and no outward and visible sign or symbol of the grace conferred. For the Apostles laid their hands upon the head of the person who had been previously baptized, and prayed that he might receive the Holy Ghost.

And our Church retains the ordinance, and precisely in the same mode of administration. But here there was *no new appointment*, since we read that "Moses laid his hands upon the seventy elders of Israel, and God took of the spirit that was in Moses and gave it unto them." Moreover, the patriarchs laid their hands upon their sons, as an accompaniment of a prophetic blessing. And in like manner, the Saviour laid His hands upon the children which were brought to Him, and blessed them. Therefore, we venerate this rite as a holy ordinance, and use it after the example of the Apostles, but do not call it a sacrament, in the proper sense, as Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

Sensible of the difficulty, therefore, which lay before them, your writers pretend that Confirmation was ordained by Christ during the forty days which He passed with the Apostles after His resurrection from the dead, which, of course, they derive from their favorite treasury of *tradition*, but of which not one word can be found in Scripture, nor in the fathers of the primitive ages. And to supply the want of an outward and visible *sign* (as the laying on of hands is only an expressive gesture, and was in use so long before), they rested upon the use of chrism, that is, oil, consecrated by the Bishop, with which they signed the forehead of the baptized believer in the form of a cross. But neither of these could justify the calling of it a sacrament, because the first could not be admitted without an impeachment of the Scriptures, and the second had no other force, at best, than that of early practice, which the Church might add or take away according to her judgment of expediency.

As to *Penance*, the Scriptures commanded it, under its true title of *repentance*, from the first. It could not, therefore, be called a *sacrament*, because it was not instituted by

our Lord, nor was there any outward or visible sign attached to it of a sacramental nature. The profession of it was required by John the Baptist, as well as by the Apostles, and the reality of it could only be tested by the habit of the life in *forsaking sin*. The Church of Rome, indeed, attached to the act of repentance after baptism, the necessity of auricular confession to the priest, followed by an act of absolution. But both of these were the work of the thirteenth century, and have, therefore, no element of a sacrament about them. We do not find that the Apostles ever remitted sins in any other way than as in connection with a faithful reception of the true sacraments instituted by Christ. And of this we have a plain proof from the inspired St. Peter, when he said, "Repent and be baptized every one of you for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost." The Apostle James commands us to confess our sins, not to the priest, but "*to one another*," when they are sins of action which offend our brethren. And the multitude of secret sins, which are known only to God, we are nowhere, in Scripture, commanded to detail to any human ear. Hence we regard the *tribunal of penance*, erected by your modern Church of Rome, as a flagrant act of priestly despotism, not only destitute of all sacramental authority, but in direct opposition to the true rule of apostolic institution, and, in its practical working, an instrument of multi-form evil to the religion of the Gospel.

Extreme Unction, another of your Romish sacraments, we also hold to be a mere abuse, though not of such serious consequence as the preceding. It is justified, as your writers say, by the language of St. James, "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the Church, and let

them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him." But it requires a very peculiar power of vision to see in this any warrant for your doctrine. For it is evidently a part of the supernatural gifts which the Saviour promised to His disciples, when He said, "*They shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.*" Hence the Apostle directs that the sick brethren shall rely on the *prayer of faith* rather than on the physician—that the elders of the Church shall use no curative process, but only anoint the patient with oil in the name of the Lord. And then follows the statement, that not the anointing, but THE PRAYER OF FAITH, SHALL SAVE THE SICK, AND THE LORD SHALL RAISE HIM UP.

Now, where is the resemblance between this and your Romish Sacrament of Extreme Unction? It is true, indeed, that there is oil applied in both, but in all else there is a perfect opposition. For, 1st, your Church never intends it to be used with the idea of the sick man's *cure*, but on the contrary, the priest is sent for only when the patient is near the point of death, and the doctor has no hope of his recovery. For which reason they call it, very properly, EXTREME UNCTION, that is, the *last anointing*, to be used when he is *in extremis*. And 2dly, it does not supersede in your system the use of all the ordinary means, as in the precept of the Apostle, and therefore it is not granted to any man in the *beginning* of his sickness, but only when the art of the physician is exhausted. And 3dly, you neither promise nor expect, what St. James states so plainly, that *the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up*, but consider the sending for the priest

to be the herald of certain dissolution. This rite, in fact, was doubtless practised in the beginning, not as a sacrament, but as an exercise of the miraculous gifts by which the infant Church, in the time of the Apostles, gained such a rapid establishment in the face of opposition. And then, instead of giving it up when the age of miracles had passed away, the priesthood gradually changed it into quite a different thing, and made it the *sacrament of the dying*, for the sake of strengthening the importance of their office. This they had no right to do, and therefore the Church of England cast it off, rather than be a party to a *pious fraud*, which quoted the Apostle in a sense so utterly contrary to his manifest meaning.

The next imaginary sacrament upon your list is Holy Orders. But it is against the primary notion of a sacrament that it should only operate on one small class, instead of being applicable alike to all the faithful. Neither could it be said, in the words of the definition, that Orders were *an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to us, and ordained by Christ Himself*, 1st. Because it is only an outward and visible sign that our Lord appointed for His Church, teachers and governors; which, although it is of essential importance, is yet a very different thing from a sign of inward and spiritual grace to us, personally, as Baptism and the Eucharist. 2dly. Because the institution of an order of teachers and rulers in the Church of God was already of long standing, in the case of the ancient Priests and Levites. And thirdly, because, in Ordination, as in Confirmation, the Apostles used only the gesture of the imposition of hands with prayer; and there was no symbol or outward and visible element adopted, to signify the operation of the Spirit of Christ upon the soul of the

receiver. For these reasons, the Church of England was abundantly justified in calling Holy Orders what the term implies, viz., the ORDER of the ministerial office ; but not a sacrament, in the proper sense of the term.

And the last of your Roman sacraments, Matrimony, is plainly liable to the same, and yet greater objections. For it was so far from being appointed by Christ as a part of the Gospel plan, that it was instituted in paradise itself, before the fall of man had made the promise of a Saviour necessary. Nor is it a sign of grace or a means of grace to all believers, because all are not obliged to marry, and many of those who do, find matrimony to be a trial and a temptation, rather than a help to holiness. But it is particularly strange that your Church should make marriage a sacrament, since she has discovered that Bishops and priests must have no wives. For it is a well-known branch of your doctrine that the state of celibacy is more holy than the state of wedlock. And here is certainly a marvellous incongruity, that while you reckon marriage as a sacrament on the express ground that it is a *means of sanctity*, you should yet maintain that sanctity is better promoted by letting it alone !

To prove yet further the correctness of the Church of England in this matter, it should be observed that there were but two rites of a sacramental character in the ancient Church of Israel, Circumcision, which was succeeded by Baptism, and the Feast of the Passover, which was followed by the Feast of the Eucharist. Now it is, to say the least, highly improbable that the Gospel dispensation, which was confessedly of a far more spiritual character, and less encumbered with forms than the Mosaic law, should have been, notwithstanding, so much more

largely marked with sacraments, that *two* were changed to *seven*.

But a conclusive argument in this, as in most other questions, may be derived from the testimony of the primitive Church. And here let me quote an interesting passage from the writings of St. Augustin :—

“ Our Lord Jesus Christ, as He declares in the Gospel, subjects us to a yoke that is easy and a burden which is light ; hence He has gathered the society of his new *people* by SACRAMENTS *in number most small*, in observance most easy, in signification most excellent, as Baptism consecrated in the name of the Trinity, and the communication of His body and blood ; and, if anything else be commanded in the Holy Scriptures, those being excepted which burdened the service of the ancient people, in accordance with the hardness of their hearts and the period of prophecy, which also are written in the five books of Moses. Those things, however, which are not written, but are traditions, we also keep, since they are observed throughout the whole world, and it is to be understood that they are either from the Apostles themselves, or that they have been commended and ordered to be retained by General Councils, whose authority is most salutary in the Church, such as the custom that the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension to heaven of our Lord, and the Advent from heaven of the Holy Spirit, shall be celebrated with annual solemnity, and any other similar practice which is kept by the whole Church, wherever diffused.”*

Here, most Reverend Sir, we see two points of distinct instruction laid down by the greatest of the primitive doc-

* S. Augustin, Ep. Januario, Op., Tom, 2, p. 93-4.

tors, according to the judgment of Rome herself, in the fourth century. The first, in which he states that the sacraments are THE FEWEST IN NUMBER (*in numero paucissimis*), and specifies only Baptism and the Eucharist. The second, in which he limits *tradition* to things of *universal practice*, such as the yearly keeping of the great festivals of Easter, Whitsunday, and the Ascension, the Fast of Good Friday, and similar matters. It is not possible to make this language consistent either with the number of *seven sacraments*, or with your modern Roman theory that *tradition* was to be taken as a ground for the *doctrines of faith*.

Isidore, the Bishop of Seville, treats of the same subject in the following words, so late as the sixth century: "The *sacraments* are, Baptism, and Chrism, and the Body and Blood of Christ, which are called sacraments from this, because, under the outward clothing of material things, the divine virtue secretly works the health of those sacraments, whence, from these secret or sacred virtues, they are called sacraments."*

Thus we see that Augustin, in the fourth century, specifies the *two* which the Church of England retains, while, two hundred years later, in the sixth century, Isidore informs us that *Confirmation* was added to the number. But as yet the other four are not placed in the same category, thus showing the progress of the sacramental system, until it finally reached the point of its modern culmination.

Dr. Milner takes some pains to persuade his readers that we have virtually changed our principles with respect to Baptism, quoting, as usual, from certain divines, but knowing full well that the service of our Prayer Book and the doctrine of our Articles are the only standard of our faith

* Isid. *Hisp.*, p. 52.

and practice, from which the great body of the ministry have never varied. He likewise speaks of the inferior privileges of our Church, in the reception of the Eucharist, because we have discarded the false and dangerous dogma of Transubstantiation. Our justification for this, however, will come under its proper head, in due time ; and I shall therefore only remark here, that the Church of England teaches the *spiritual reception of Christ* in that sacrament, in the clearest terms, and has only rejected the superstitious abuse which we are prepared to prove the primitive Church had never received, and which was not adopted by Rome herself before the tenth century, nor finally established until the twelfth.

The concluding portion of your favorite author's 20th letter is occupied by an attack upon the Liturgy of the Church of England. He saith that we *have not the candor to inform the public that it is all, in a manner, borrowed from the Catholic Missal and Ritual*. And he charges the Reformers with having *eviscerated it of its noblest parts*, so that James I. pronounced it an *ill-said mass*. To this I would reply, that it was not the design of the reformed Church of England to reject anything *merely* because the Church of Rome retained it. On the contrary, she kept everything which was consistent with the truth of Scripture and the primitive Church, and has always been ready to avow the fact, as the very basis of the Reformation. That the Church of Rome still retained all the original elements of the Gospel system, we have never denied. Her error was in *adding to these* a fearful mass of falsehood, superstition, and priestly tyranny over the bodies and the souls of men. The object, then, being not to found a new Church, but to purify the old one, it is simply absurd to charge the Reformers

with *borrowing*; since he who borrows obtains something which he had not before. But the Church of England, being descended from the Apostolic stock from the beginning, and being also united with the Church of Rome from the seventh century, held the whole of the previous ritual and practice, as *common property*. And therefore she had no need to *borrow anything*, but accomplished her work by reforming, according to the Bible and the primitive standard, what was already her own.

As to the "*eviscerating the Liturgy of its noblest parts*," she only cast off what she esteemed to be corrupt inventions, which had no true nobility about them. And with respect to the remark of King James, Dr. Milner ought in honesty to have told his readers that it was uttered when his majesty was a Scotch Presbyterian, before he came to the dignity of the English throne. Doubtless, too, your favorite author forgot to mention that the reformers translated the Liturgy into the language of the people, in order that they might have some opportunity to *understand* the worship which it was their duty to offer. It is only your Church of Rome that insists upon the *superior advantage* of excluding the congregation from all intelligent participation in her services, by the unscriptural, unsocial, and absurd employment of the Latin language; which, to the great mass of her people, all over the world, is to all intents and purposes *an unknown tongue*.

L E T T E R X X .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE next four letters of Dr. Milner are devoted to what he terms THE FRUITS OF SANCTITY, and in proof that these are to be found most abundantly in the Church of Rome, he sets forth an elaborate attack upon the Reformers, particularly Cranmer, and a still more elaborate enumeration of the saints, and especially the miracles continually wrought in your communion.

To follow him throughout all the details of this claim, would of itself demand a volume, and then the question would remain precisely where it was before. Instead of this, I shall take a shorter, and, as it appears to my mind, a far more satisfactory course, to any reflecting understanding.

First, then, let it be remembered that the real miracles recorded in Scripture were all performed AS A TESTIMONY TO THE TRUTH OF GOD, *by the men whom He had appointed as leaders in the work of establishing it.* Thus Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, &c., were the official instruments of the Deity to make known His divine system, in opposition to the awful idolatry which had overspread Egypt and Canaan, and even extended itself throughout the whole world. And supernatural gifts were also employed to reclaim Israel, which was the chosen witness for the truth of God, before the nations of the earth ; but still on the same principle of defending the truth against error.

The divine agency of miracles again appeared, to a greater extent than ever, in the Person of the divine Redeemer, and through His gift, in the Apostles and their followers, but still in the same connection, viz., as a testimony to the truth of heaven, and still by the official instruments, who were appointed to proclaim that truth to all mankind. In this only correct view of divine miraculous agency, there can be no doubt that it was necessary to the establishment of the Church and nation of Israel, and equally necessary to the establishment of the Church and people of Christ.

Here, then, we have these important fundamental principles : 1st, that divine miracles were only wrought TO PROVE THE TRUTH OF GOD IN ITS CONFLICTS AGAINST ERROR; and 2d, that those miracles were performed BY THE OFFICIAL INSTRUMENTS employed in the establishment of truth.

Now, according to these principles, how does the claim of miracles bear upon the comparative merits of the Church of Rome and the Church of England? When and where have the Bishops, the priests, or the emissaries of Rome, dared to set up a public miracle as a test in the controversy between them? How has it happened that none of your official men, your monks, your preachers, your prelates, your Cardinals, your Popes, have ever been gifted with the power of an appeal to miracles, in order to convert so many millions to the truth of Romanism, like the prophets and Apostles in their conflicts against error?

The same insurmountable difficulty meets us in the primitive Church, which stamps with the strongest improbability the notion that the gift of miracles, properly considered, was intended to go beyond the age of the Apostles. For they planted the Church, and left their writings to govern it. And after this was done, it would seem that miracles

should cease, because there was no further need of them. Thus, we see that there was no miracle wrought to convince the Gnostics, Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Donatists, Pelagians, or any other of the old sects of heretics or schismatics. For although it is true that the fathers sometimes appealed to the existence of miracles in the Catholic Church as a proof that they were orthodox, yet those miracles never appear at the time when they might have established the truth, and decided the controversy. Hence we see, invariably, that the reliance of the primitive Christians was on the SCRIPTURES, and, in subordination to these, on the *interpretation* which had been given to those Scriptures from the beginning. In a word, they appealed "to the law and to the testimony," and not to a miraculous agency, which, whether it existed or not, was confessedly no longer claimed, as in the Apostles' days, by those who were the Bishops of the Church, and the prominent defenders of her doctrine.

A careful comparison of the two periods will make this contrast apparent. Thus, when Philip, the deacon, was sent by the Holy Spirit to convert the Samaritans, he does not tell them anything about miracles performed by somebody else, but he exercises the power before their eyes, so that even Simon the Magician wondered, "beholding the miracles and signs which were done," and believed the Gospel (Acts viii.). So St. Paul, when Elymas the Sorcerer strove to turn Paulus Sergius, the Roman Deputy, from the faith, denounces blindness upon him; the miracle is performed immediately; and the conversion of all present is the consequence.

But nothing like this appears in the case of the primitive fathers in their contests against error. Ignatius was a Bishop and a martyr, but did no miracle. Irenæus was a

Bishop and a martyr, but did no miracle. Cyprian was a Bishop and a martyr, but did no miracle. Ambrose was a Bishop of great reputation, but did no miracle. Augustin was a famous Bishop, and a most eminent teacher and defender of the faith, but did no miracle. Athanasius was a celebrated Bishop and preacher, but did no miracle. Some of these, doubtless, believed that *miracles were done*, and yet, although they were the chief men in the Church of their day, and actively engaged in controversy, they conducted it invariably by an appeal to Scripture, and presumed not, in any case, to claim, in their own persons, the proof derived from the gift of supernatural power.

It is certain, however, that the notion of miracles remaining in the Church was so far from being the prevailing sentiment even of the early ages, that some of the most eminent fathers entirely disclaimed it. For thus writes the learned Isidore, Bishop of Seville, in the sixth century :—

“ The reason why the Church *does not perform* the miracles which she performed under the Apostles, is, that then it was fitting that the world should believe through miracles ; but now it is fitting that the world, already believing, should shine in good works. For even then, the signs were manifested outwardly, in order that faith might be strengthened inwardly. Whoever, therefore, *now requires miracles, seeks only vain-glory, that he may be praised*. Before Antichrist appears, both miracles and virtues will cease in the Church, so that being made, as it were, more abject, he may persecute her more audaciously.” The correspondence between this almost prophetic declaration of the famous Isidore, with the actual state of the Church under the Papal Antichrist for centuries before the Reformation, as

given by your own historian, must strike every intelligent reader forcibly.*

To this, I shall only add a quotation from another writer, a little anterior to Isidore, whom your favorite advocate was bound to respect, viz., Pope Gregory the Great; and here we are taught how little the alleged power of miracles had to do, in his time, with the question of sanctity or truth.

After citing the words of Christ (Mat. vii. 22), "Many will say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I say unto them, I never knew you; Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity," Gregory proceeds as follows: "What shall we understand by these words, unless this: that except there be in men the humility of charity, ~~their~~ miracles ought not to be venerated? Hence now, the Holy Church despises heretics, *even if they do miracles, because she does not acknowledge them to be a proof of sanctity.* For the proof of sanctity is *not to work miracles*, but to love one another; to think of God what is true, and to think of our neighbor better than of ourselves. That true virtue consists in love, and not in the showing of a miracle, the Truth Himself demonstrates, where He saith, By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one towards another. For here He openly shows that it is not miracles, but only charity, which proves the true servants of God."†

But notwithstanding these authoritative testimonies, Dr. Milner insists strongly on the importance of miracles as a

* Isidor. Hisp. Sententiarum, Lib. 3, Op., p. 424.

† S. Greg. Mag. Moral., Lib. 20, in cap. xxx. Job, § 17, Tom. 1, p. 644.

note of the true Church. And he asks his readers to believe that St. Bernard worked a miracle to prove the truth of his doctrine against the Henrician heretics ; that he discovered the heretics of Toulouse by miracles, and that he justified himself again by miracles, when he preached the second Crusade (p. 161-2). In all this, however, your author not only opposes the evidence which I have quoted from the best lights of the sixth century, and the whole course of the early fathers, but he involves his statements in fatal contradiction to reason and history.

For, if it pleased God to work a miracle in order to justify St. Bernard in preaching the Crusade, will you condescend to inform us how it happened that miracles were not wrought to *make the Crusade successful* ? If a miracle was performed to overcome the Henricians, how did it happen that the Albigenses and Waldenses were put down, not by miracles, but by a most diabolical war of extermination, in which the Popes and the priesthood led the armies of their vassals with fire and sword, for years together ? How was it that the primitive Church, whose martyred Bishops the Church of Rome has canonized as saints, were obliged to oppose the heretics of their times *without miracles*, relying only on the *sword of the Spirit, which is the WORD OF GOD* ? And how is it that your modern Romanists, who call the Church of England *heretical*, have never presumed to attempt the course which they attribute to St. Bernard, by openly working miracles to convince them of their error ?

We are assured again by Dr. Milner, that Xavier worked stupendous miracles to convert the Hindoos ! And if so, how are we to account for the strange inconsistency, that amongst the mighty hosts who were led to recover the Holy Land, there was not a single worker of miracles, either to

convert the infidel enemy, or to secure victory to the army of the Christians? But the whole evidence for the miracles of Xavier is derived from the Jesuits. And all the world knows that the Jesuits count it no sin to deceive, where the credit of their Church or of themselves may be promoted by the falsehood. Nor have we any right to confine this atrocious doctrine to the Jesuits, since there is but too much proof to allow us to doubt that the same accommodating principles were general throughout the whole Romish priesthood for centuries together. Yet even in the case of Xavier, who was assuredly a man of extraordinary zeal and energy, it is certain that he did not accomplish as much in the East Indies, with all his supposed miracles, as the Protestant missionary, Schwartz, effected among the same people without them. Indeed, the results of his whole *miraculous* work bear no comparison with the conversion of Greenland by the Moravians, or even with the evangelizing of the Sandwich Islands in our own day.

It seems, therefore, to my mind, a sort of blasphemy to compare the miracles of Rome with those recorded in the Scriptures. There, the wonders of the Deity delivered Israel from Egypt, sustained them in the wilderness, and planted them in Canaan, notwithstanding the numbers and the valor of seven idolatrous nations, more numerous and warlike than themselves. The miracles of Christ proved His divinity in the face of the bitterest persecution, and the miracles of His Apostles enabled a despised company of poor unlettered men to convert the most important portion of the world, to cast down the proud idolatry of Greek and Roman heathenism, and to raise the Church upon its ruins. Here, all is consistent and sublime. The predictions, the instrumentality, and the results, are all worthy of the Al-

mighty. The causes and the effects correspond with perfect harmony. And when we turn from this glorious spectacle, and attempt to form an estimate of Dr. Milner's *attested* cases of Mary Wood and Winefrid White, it seems like a comparison of the meridian sun which illuminates the world, to the smoky light of a farthing candle.

But in truth, the whole of this claim is discountenanced in the very histories given by your own writers themselves. The three volumes of Alban Butler profess to be a selection from the huge treasure-house of the *Acta Sanctorum*, which contains so much ridiculous and puerile nonsense, that even Dr. Milner is ashamed of them, and is obliged to reject "the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, the *Speculum* of Vincentius Belluacensis, the *Saints' Lives* of the Patriarchian Metaphrastes, and scores of similar legends, stuffed as they are with relations of every description." But here your ingenious advocate asks, whether we are to deny the truth of all history, because there are numberless false histories? Are we to question the four Evangelists, because there have been several fabricated Gospels? And, therefore, I must request my reader to pause a few moments, and consider the substantial merits of this specious but most absurd analogy.

First, then, the test which distinguishes between true and false history, is only to be found in the *general consent* of mankind. The facts of history, for the most part, are *public facts*, and rarely, if ever, in themselves, contradict the ordinary rules of human probability. And when historians descend from these public facts into private individual circumstances, which do not, and cannot, possess the general attestation, their statements are not received unless upon this very ground of probability, and are always rejected

without scruple when they violate its laws. Of course, then, this analogy of Dr. Milner is no analogy at all. Not one of his list of miracles ever attained to the rank or dignity of *public historical facts*, and they are all *directly opposed to every rule of human probability*.

In the second place, his appeal to the Gospels is as weak as it is audaciously irreverent. We have already seen that those Sacred Books were acknowledged from the beginning as the records of the faith by Christians universally; that the success and progress of the Church in every quarter gave the seal to the truth of its history; that throughout the whole extent of the Roman Empire, the Gospel and the Church destroyed the influence of heathenism, notwithstanding all the attractions of its poetry and sculpture, all the magnificence of its priesthood and its temples, all the strength of its venerable associations with history, all the power of its laws, and all the terrors of its ten cruel and bloody persecutions. The religion of Christ, then, as delivered in those very Gospels, was a fact—A PUBLIC FACT—not only a fact of history, but the greatest of the facts of history, because it gave its own form to the religion and legislation of the whole civilized globe. And hence, when spurious Gospels and false histories were sent abroad, by the arts of the devil, to introduce confusion and uncertainty into the records of the Christian faith, Councils of Bishops were called to vindicate the true Sacred Books which had been received from the beginning, and the whole Church watched over the celestial Deposit with jealous and constant care.

Now, what analogy do we find between this and the mass of stuff which contains the alleged miracles of the Papacy? What order of men was ever founded upon them? What

change did they produce in the religion of mankind? What Councils assembled to defend their truth, or to distinguish between the real and the false among them? To which of them does even your Church stand committed with anything like a *formal public* attestation? True, indeed, it is, that the impiety of your Popes has presumed to institute the old heathen *apotheosis*, by enrolling some hundreds of saints amongst the angelic hosts, and authorizing your deluded people to address their prayers to them, as the ancient pagans did to their *Dii Minorum Gentium*; and equally true it is, that the working of miracles, with other proofs of sanctity, were attributed to these canonized saints, by individual attestations, collected fifty and even a hundred years after their death. But still it remains an unquestionable fact, that the miracles themselves produced *no movement, at the time*, which gave them the slightest historical value. And if the rules of legal evidence are applied to the proofs required for the process of canonization, in which Dr. Milner modestly asks his readers to place such implicit confidence, it is demonstrable that there was nothing in any case which a court of justice would regard as being better than the merest *hearsay*—nothing, in fact, which would justify a decision if *property* were involved to the value of a sixpence. And yet this writer, and all his brethren, require us to place such testimony upon the same ground with the Gospel of the Redeemer, and the saving faith of the world!

Nor is this the whole of the difficulty. For not only are your writers obliged to repudiate, as we have seen, an immense mass of their own alleged miracles, and confine their statements to a comparative few, but the world knows that the *manufacturing of pretended miracles* was shown to be a

standing trick in a large number of your most respectable monasteries, at the time of the Reformation. Images contrived to communicate the human voice, to roll their eyes and move their limbs by secret machinery, frauds and impositions on human credulity in a variety of forms, furnished the most abundant evidence of *systematic and extensive* deception, to excite the astonishment, and operate on the superstition, and draw forth the money, of the multitude. And are these the men to claim credit for their wonders? If the primitive Christians had been found employed in work like this, would it not have blasted the credit of the Church forever? And have not the false miracles of Popery, connected with the notorious licentiousness of the priesthood, been the chief handle for the scoffs of infidelity during many ages, even within your own pale? Let the successful ridicule of Voltaire and Rousseau, in Roman Catholic France, answer the question. Let the Revolution of 1792 reveal the actual state of religion in Paris, when Christianity was abolished by a public decree, and apostate Bishops and priests were seen to hail the enthroning of a common prostitute, under the title of the Goddess of Reason.

But even if we granted to Dr. Milner his whole list of saints, say three or four hundred names in the progress of fifteen centuries, it would go but a little way to prove that your Church is entitled to the boast of sanctity, against the acknowledged licentiousness, simony, venality, and corruption which your own historian, Fleury, has set before us, in the extracts which I have made from his 36 volumes—popes, cardinals, priests, universities, monks, laymen—all sunk, with a few rare exceptions, in the same tremendous and notorious gulf of abandoned profligacy. Yet, awful as

the picture is, who can believe that your historians have told a tithe of the actual abominations? And what but the absolute knowledge of this wide-spread depravity could ever have roused the nations of Europe—Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, England, Scotland, and a large proportion of France itself—to protest against the plague of iniquity, and cast off the bonds which they had been trained to venerate, throughout a course of more than thirty generations?

The truth is, that this claim of your Papal Church to superior sanctity is in the face of Scripture, as to principle, and in the face of your own histories, as to facts. It was one of the censures which our blessed Saviour cast upon the Pharisees, that they boasted of their sanctity, and said, "Stand by, for I am holier than thou." The true virtues of a Christian heart are always found connected with deep humility. And there is no surer sign of a corrupt religion, than the systematic effort to trumpet forth the merits of our own Church, on the assumed ground of our *superior sanctification*. The controversy is not about the claims of *individuals*, but the authority of the *SYSTEM*. And the practical working of a system must be sought for, not in the special results of a few peculiar cases, but on the broad scale of the general and prevailing character.

We have never denied that there was a succession of true Christians in the Church of Rome, even through the darkest ages of her corruption. For the great doctrines of the scriptural and primitive faith were never lost, and therefore, by the grace of God, it was always possible that individual believers might cling to these, and thus rise above the mass of false and perilous superstitions which surrounded them; tolerating, for the sake of peace, the established

errors which they could not overthrow, but giving their own hearts only to the spiritual teaching of the Saviour. From such cases, however, we should learn *the exceptions* rather than *the rule*. It is a gross perversion of all sound argument that the Church of Rome should take the credit to herself, while the vast majority of her very PRIESTHOOD were allowed to riot, for centuries together, in the unblushing guilt of open and notorious pollution.

Far be it from us to imitate the boasting of Dr. Milner, by the claim of superior sanctity. Even the holy Apostles of our Lord avoided all appearance of vain-glory, by the humble tone of their own acknowledgments, and the sharpness of their rebukes against the Christian believers of their own day. Thus St. John saith, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." St. James declares, "In many things we offend all." And St. Paul saith, "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended, neither that I am already perfect." Again he calls himself "less than the least of all saints." And again, he takes to himself the title of "the chief of sinners." We would esteem it an infinitely safer course to mourn our deficiencies, and to acknowledge that our attainments in true sanctity are immeasurably below our privileges. But at least we may be allowed to repel the shameful calumnies of Dr. Milner, against the venerated martyr, Cranmer, and the whole company of the Reformers, as well as against the moral results of the Reformation. And I extract one passage from his 21st letter, from which the atrocious malignity of his spirit may be but too plainly seen.

Alluding to another book of his which I have not met with, he saith : "I have shown that the Patriarch Luther was the sport of his unbridled passions, pride, resentment, and

lust ; that he was turbulent, abusive, and sacrilegious in the highest degree ; that he was the trumpeter of sedition, civil war, rebellion, and desolation, and finally that by his own account he was *the Scholar of Satan*, in the most important article of his pretended reformation. * * * With respect to Cranmer, who under Edward VI. and his fratricide uncle, the Duke of Somerset, was the chief artificer of the Anglican Church, I have shown that, from his youthful life in a College, till his death at the stake, he exhibited such a continued scene of *libertinism, perjury, hypocrisy, barbarity in burning his fellow-Protestants, profligacy, ingratitude and rebellion, as is, perhaps, not to be matched in history*. I have proved that all his fellow-laborers and fellow-sufferers were rebels like himself, who would have been put to death by Elizabeth, if they had not been executed by Mary. I adduced the testimony not only of Erasmus and other Catholics, but also of the gravest Protestant historians, and of the very Reformers themselves, in proof that *the morals of the people*, so far from being changed for the better by embracing the new religion, *were greatly changed for the worse*. The pretended Reformation in foreign countries, as in Germany, the Netherlands, at Geneva, in Switzerland, France, and Scotland, besides producing popular insurrections, sackages, demolitions, sacrileges, and persecution beyond description, excited also open rebellions and bloody civil wars. In England, where our writers boast of the orderly manner in which the change of religion was carried on, it nevertheless most unjustly and sacrilegiously seized upon and destroyed, in the reign of Henry VIII., 645 monasteries, 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, besides the bishopric of Durham ; and under Edward VI., or rather his profligate uncle, it dissolved 2,374 colleges, chapels, or hospitals, in order to

make princely fortunes of their property for that uncle and his unprincipled comrades, who, like banditti, quarrelling over their spoils, soon brought each other to the block. Such were the fruits of sanctity everywhere produced by this Reformation !”

Assuredly this extract proves that in the art of reckless and thorough-going vituperation, Dr. Milner was a master. It will need but little space to show the absurd iniquity of these sweeping charges, and to separate the truth from the error, by an appeal to the historical knowledge and the common sense of every intelligent reader. And to this I shall devote the following letter.

L E T T E R X X I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

IN entering upon a reply to the bitter calumnies of Dr. Milner, I shall first oppose to him the candid admissions of the Roman Catholic historian, already quoted on page 209-10, where, after summing up the vile accusations which Romish writers were accustomed to make against the great German Reformer, he concludes by saying, " These reproaches are taken from a book called *Colloquia Mensalia*, published by Henry Peter Rebenstock, minister of Eischerheim. *But we do not pretend to adopt them. All that can be said against Luther is, that he rose up against the Church ; that he has endeavored to destroy the faith ; that he became a declared heresiarch ; and that he has caused infinite and innumerable evils to religion, by the pernicious errors which he so obstinately maintained.*"

Now this is fair and honest. Of course we cannot ask a Romanist to think otherwise than evil of the religious reformation which destroyed the power of his ~~own~~ Church in Germany, and gave such a powerful influence to the same work in so many other kingdoms of Europe. But, as for all the rest of Dr. Milner's reckless charges, the " unbridled passions of pride, resentment, and lust," and the allegation that " by his own account he was the scholar of Satan," your own historian plainly ignores the shameful slander, and

thus brands your favorite author, as he well deserved, with the character of an unprincipled partisan, who cared little for the truth, so that he could only succeed in blackening the Reformers.

I shall next proceed to the same historian's statement with regard to Cranmer.*

"Cranmer was born at Nottingham, July 2, 1489, but we know not of what family. The Protestants make him noble, and say that his ancestors came from Normandy in the train of William the Conqueror; but to this the Catholic writers do not agree. All that seems certain is, that from his youth he made progress in literature; that he embraced the ecclesiastical state; that he was a Professor in the University of Cambridge, from which they expelled him for being married; that he came to London at the time when Henry VIII. was in love with Anne Bullen; that he entered the service of her father, the Earl of Wiltshire, as chaplain; that he was one of the first who wrote to maintain the nullity of the marriage with Catherine; that he suffered himself to be seduced by the books of Luther, and that he entered into close correspondence with the Lutherans of Germany, without daring to declare himself in favor of their doctrine. It was he who advised Henry to rest the invalidity of his marriage upon the prohibition in Leviticus, and to consult the Universities thereon. He was employed in England, in France and in Germany, to obtain from the Universities and Theologians opinions favorable to the king, and Henry sent him to Rome to solicit the dissolution of his marriage."

"As to his good and evil qualities," continues your historian, "authors are still less agreed than with respect to

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 27, p. 359. Livre 134, § xcii.

his nobility. To hear the Protestants speak, Cranmer was comparable to the first fathers of the Church: he was a man at once judicious and enlightened, lacking neither vigor nor courage. They say that he was in Germany when Henry named him Archbishop, and that when he knew for what they destined him, he used every effort to induce the king to change his resolution; that he even suffered six months to elapse before he accepted the dignity, in the hope that the king's affection for him would cool down, and that as other ecclesiastics were intriguing for the vacant place, some one among them would obtain it. To listen to the Catholics, on the contrary, there never was a man who had less religion than Cranmer, and he deserved the end which he suffered. In the voyage which he made to Germany, they say that he abused a relative of Osiander, whom he afterwards married. That so far from being firm and sincere, one may see from his actions that there never was a man more cowardly nor more of a dissembler, and that his true character was that of a base soul, which accommodates itself to everything. Cardinal Pole, in the letter which he wrote to him, reproached him for having entered the fold of Christ by the window, to gratify a shameful passion, and for having glided along through covert ways like a robber and a thief."

Here, again, there is fairness and honesty, because your historian gives both sides, and does not pretend to decide between them. Of this, we cannot complain. But how much less repulsive is even the dark and unfriendly statement which he places, on the Roman side, before his readers, than the atrocious libel of Dr. Milner, who roundly declares, that "from the youthful life of Cranmer in college, till his death at the stake, he exhibited such a continued

scene of libertinism, perjury, hypocrisy, barbarity (in burning his fellow-Protestants), profligacy, ingratitude and rebellion, AS IS, PERHAPS, NOT TO BE MATCHED IN HISTORY !” The best excuse I can frame for this wanton defamer is to be found in the doctrine of that Jesuit Society, of which I presume he was a member. For thus we find it laid down by some of their divines : “It is only a venial sin to calumniate and accuse of false crimes, in order to ruin the credit of those who speak ill of us. *It is certainly a probable opinion, says Caramouel, that there is no mortal sin in calumniating falsely, for the purpose of preserving our honor. For it is maintained by more than twenty grave doctors, Gaspar Hurtado, Dicastillus, Jesuits, &c. ; so that if this doctrine be not probable, there would hardly be any which could be so called in all theology.*”*

But what saith the voice of history ? Cranmer must be admitted on all sides to have been a successful student and a reputable man, at the time of his appointment to a Professor’s chair in the University of Cambridge, since he gained that high distinction by his own unaided merit. His subsequent advancement to be the Chaplain of the Earl of Wiltshire is another reasonable proof of his good character. The high confidence with which Henry VIII. treated him, and his persisting in the choice of Cranmer to succeed the eminent Warham, as Archbishop of Canterbury, notwithstanding there were so many others intriguing for the place, is another evidence of his eminent attainments. And the attestation of Rome is not wanting, because the Pope himself knew Cranmer well, as the adviser of Henry, as his main agent in obtaining the opinions of the foreign uni-

* Pascal, Lett. Prov. xv. Tom. 3, p. 183-4. See History of the Confessional, p. 231.

versities, and as the author of a treatise against the papal dispensation, which was the only basis of the King's marriage with Katherine of Arragon. And with this knowledge, it is impossible to suppose that the Pontiff was suffered to remain ignorant of all that the enemies of Cranmer could allege against him at the time. Yet, under such peculiar circumstances, the Pope granted the bull, by which alone, under the then existing laws, Cranmer could be consecrated. Thus far, then, it is impossible to make the admitted facts agree with Dr. Milner's strain of invective.

But now occurs a difficulty. Cranmer was opposed to the oath of obedience to the Pope which the established form required, and would rather have declined the high dignity pressed upon him. The king, however, was bent upon the measure, and his favorite, not only from motives of prudence, but from a strong feeling of gratitude towards the sovereign to whom he owed so much, yielded his opposition, and consented to comply. In order to reconcile his conscience to the form, "he made a protestation beforehand, in writing, before notaries and witnesses, that by force, and against his will, he was about to promise obedience to the Holy See, but that this was only to comply with the custom, and that his intention was not to make an oath which should prejudice the obedience due to his sovereign."* And after this protestation was duly recorded, he took the usual oath, and was consecrated accordingly.

Now, this act of Cranmer has been stigmatized outrageously by your writers as a flagrant perjury, and I shall certainly be very far from denying that its aspect is revolting to the general sense of moral consistency. And yet, there

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 27, p. 361-2.

is much that may be said to justify his course, at least so far as to show, conclusively, that no one can have a right to cry out upon it, as if it argued a total lack of high Christian principle.

First, then, I refer to my extracts from Fleury's Ecclesiastical History for multiplied proofs that Cranmer was under no necessity of making such a protest at all, because the prelates of Rome had given the same construction to the oath for ages together, without any doubt or hesitation. From the time of Gregory VII., all along the current of events, we have seen that the Popes were almost constantly involved in disputes with the emperors and monarchs of Europe, and whenever the prelates found it right, according to their judgment, or expedient according to their interest, they had taken the side of their sovereign without scruple. And why should they not? For, in all such cases, there was oath against oath, duty against duty;—the oath of allegiance on the one side, and the oath to the Pope upon the other. To keep them both, when the Pope and the king were at open variance, was impossible. One must be broken, and private judgment alone could determine which must give way.

Secondly, I refer to the cases in which the Cardinals took ground against the Popes, because, in their opinion, the Popes had gone astray, and the best interests of the Church required their deposition. In all such cases, there was the same oath to the Pope, and it was necessary to break that oath before they could even confer about the calling of a Council. Yet, who blames them? Your own historian evidently praises them for their opposition, in the cases, especially, of the Council of Pisa and the Council of Basle. And here again, therefore, we have the same

construction of the oath, viz., that it was not to be kept against what the individual held to be a higher obligation.

Thirdly, I refer to the construction of the same oath by all the other Bishops in the reign of Henry VIII., since there was not one amongst them, save Fisher, who did not go with the king against the Pope. And even Fisher complied, until it came to the point of taking the new oath in favor of the royal supremacy. The rest acted, to a man, on the very principle laid down in Cranmer's protestation.

Fourthly, I refer to the resistance made by all the English Romanists against the Papal bull of Sixtus V., in which he undertook to depose Queen Elizabeth, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and commanded them to join the army of the King of Spain. They judged for themselves, and rightly, that the Pope had done wrong. But who gave them authority to judge the Vicar of Christ—the infallible and paramount Lord over all human judges? Nevertheless, they did it, and refused obedience, and acted accordingly; preferring the obligations of allegiance and the claims of their country before the authority of the Pope, in despite of the chains of their religious bondage.

Lastly, I refer to the established maxims of human rights, on which all our patriots are accustomed to defend the American Revolution. For it is evident, that in the case of all revolutions, the oath of allegiance must first be broken. And this could never be lawful, unless we allow that all such oaths have a *tacit condition* implied, by virtue of which they cease to be binding under certain circumstances.

We see, then, after all the obloquy which has been poured upon poor Cranmer for this act, that he only *expressed beforehand, by a public and regularly attested protestation* (BEFORE NOTARIES AND WITNESSES), like a bold and brave man, the

same doctrine which had always governed, and must always govern mankind, in times and exigencies of conflicting obligations. He did it then, because the contest between the king and the Pope was already begun, and his mind was determined as to the course of duty. He did it, because he thought it high time that the real limitations which had been so long maintained by all men in the hour of difficulty, should be openly expressed. He did it for the better relief of his own conscience, and the better defence of his own consistency. And he also did it, most probably, as a wholesome example to his brethren, in order to teach them how to defend, *on principle*, what they had hitherto defended mainly on the ground of expediency.

Cranmer has been censured severely for another act of alleged "meanness." When Anne Bullen was condemned to lose her life, the king determined to bastardize her issue, and the Archbishop pronounced a sentence of divorce, on the plea that the queen had confessed to him a previous contract with Lord Percy before her marriage to Henry. Suppose the accusation to be true, I ask, how could he avoid it? By the laws which then existed, a pre-contract of marriage *was a just ground of divorce*. And if the king was already aware of the fact, which he probably must have been a long while before, and chose now to insist upon his right, how could Cranmer refuse his compliance with what was neither more nor less than an official duty?*

The next of his unquestionable acts for which he has been greatly blamed, was his condemnation of two heretics to death, Joan Boucher and George Van Parr; and the influence which he employed to induce the youthful Edward

* See the article "Cranmer," in the *Encyclopædia Americana*.

See Little's History of England, vol. 97
New Series - 10th Ed. 1855 - p. 336. Article

to sign the warrant of execution, has been particularly singled out for censure. But here, too, however contrary to our modern ideas of toleration the whole of this may be, it should be remembered that the Church of England had not yet learned the lesson. The laws of the land against heretics were still in force, a part of the terrible legacy bequeathed to them by your modern Church of Rome. Cranmer acted, doubtless, from the conviction of duty, and he exhorted the young king to do the same, when he saw him shrink from the painful task under the natural impulse of compassion. Nor can we say with justice that he did wrong, if we only reflect upon the obligations which were, in that age, connected with his official position. It is absurd to censure a man who was only finding his way slowly out of a dark labyrinth, because he did not see all things as clearly as ourselves, who are in the full light of day.

And the last and loudest reproach is proclaimed with triumph against his recantation. The fact is not disputed that he did sign an abjuration of his principles, and did seek by this act to avoid a cruel death at the age of sixty-seven. Let us look at the law which your own Church herself has sanctioned in relation to this matter, and at the temptation laid in his way, on purpose that he might fall. And then we shall be better enabled to judge how much reason Dr. Milner had to execrate the character of the unhappy victim.

It was the month of April, 1554, according to your Roman historian, when Cranmer, with his two noble colleagues, Ridley and Latimer, were excommunicated for heresy in the reign of Queen Mary. He lay in prison until February 14, 1556, when he was publicly degraded from the priesthood, with all the forms of studied contumely.

"But," saith your author, "they deferred condemning him to death, and *they wished to give him some further time, that he might resolve to abjure his errors. They insinuated to him that by this means he might be enabled to save his life. They treated him more gently than they had done.* They removed him from his prison to the house of the dean of Christ Church. Cardinal Pole wrote to him a long letter, exhorting him to repent, and combating his errors with great solidity. This letter, the gentle treatment which they employed towards him, and *yet more, the fear of death,* made an impression upon his mind, and TO REDEEM HIS LIFE, *he consented to sign such an abjuration* AS THEY PRESENTED TO HIM.

* * * At the end, he protested that he had signed this abjuration with entire liberty, and only to relieve his conscience. The reformed were thrown into consternation by this act, *but the queen was not touched.* That princess believed that the heresiarch who had poisoned all England ought to bear the punishment; that although such an abjuration might suffice in the case of simple heretics, yet it ought not to be accepted in favor of their chief; that at all events, *his conversion would be useful,* since, in procuring his own salvation, IT WOULD EDIFY THE PUBLIC. And so his sentence was decreed, and the order for his death was given on the 24th of February."*

Now, here I give you the precise statement of your own historian, from which it appears incontestably, that Cranmer, at the age of sixty-five, was thrown into prison in April, 1554, and kept there until February 14th, 1556, ALMOST TWO WHOLE YEARS. And what a prison! We may readily imagine, if we reflect, that those were the days when

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 31, p. 151-3.

the Spanish Inquisition was in its glory—that Philip of Spain was the husband of the queen, who was entirely devoted to him and to the Roman priesthood; that the use of torture was universal throughout Europe, and that even the ordinary jail of men only confined for debt, was then, and long afterwards, a place of horrid filth and destitution. What, then, was the prison of Cranmer, the very head of the accursed heretics, held in utter abomination by the subjects of the Pope, and kept by men who made it a merit to press him down to the lowest depths of suffering and misery!

That this was done in the hope of breaking his spirit, and inducing him to recant, in order that they might thus discredit the cause of the Reformation, is sufficiently plain from the statement of the historian. But at length, tired of the useless delay, they proceeded to degrade him publicly. And now, we may imagine the feeble old man, after twenty months spent in fetters, solitude, damp, and gloom, on a diet of mouldy bread and foul water, brought forth before his judges, and still having strength and holy resolution enough to defend his cause, deny the justice of the tribunal, and appeal from the Pope to a General and free Council. And then we behold him clothed with the sacerdotal garments, made, in mockery, of the coarsest linen, having each particular piece stripped off, with solemn curses, and finally remanded to his dungeon, under the public execrations of the poor bigoted multitude, to seek his only comfort in his God!*

But thus far his enemies had exercised their barbarity in vain, and therefore they resolve, as a last effort, to change

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 31, p. 151.

their plan of operation. For, strange to say, this man, who was so utterly *destitute of any religious principle*—this *coward and time-server*—this *low and base soul, who accommodated himself to everything*—had withstood them to the face, after two years of slow torture, enough to break down the energy of the strongest mind and the firmest frame. What means should be tried next? Perhaps something might be gained by a totally different treatment. It was certain that severity could not move him, but possibly kindness might prevail. Fear could not overcome, but hope might conquer. And so the subtle plotters removed their intended victim from his dungeon, to the house of the dean, and gave him air and light, and comfortable meals, and a soft bed, and looks of pity, and gentle words of sympathy. And, as always happens with a generous and cordial nature, the poor old man was touched, and doubtless felt it all the more deeply, from the sudden contrast. And then came the letter from the Cardinal, urging him to repent, and arguing with skill the points of controversy. But still with language of *affectionate concern*, and *insinuating* the happy results of his conversion. And those who were about him held the same strain, only with greater plainness, and assured him, doubtless, that he would have his life spared, and that honor and royal favor would even reward his recantation.

And was it all *a plot and a lie*, intended to deceive his kind and trusting nature? Most surely! by the evidence of your Roman historian himself. For he expressly saith that at the time of Cranmer's first condemnation for heresy, two years before, Cardinal Pole, *being destined by the queen to be his successor*, was ordained priest, having previously been only a deacon, and that four months afterwards *he took*

*possession of the Archbishopric, BUT SCRUPLED BEING CONSECRATED SO LONG AS CRANMER WAS ALIVE.** His death was therefore resolved upon, as necessary, not merely to satisfy the vengeance of popery, but also to complete the dignity of his successor. And it was only delayed in the hope of consuming his influence and character in the nation, before they consumed his flesh in the flames. Hence the protracted cruelty of his confinement. Hence the change of tactics when that course had failed. Hence the glozing letter of the Cardinal, the gentle treatment, and the delusive words of hope. And hence, after they had gained their purpose, *and the Reformers were thrown into consternation, and the public were edified,* THE QUEEN WAS NOT TOUCHED, BUT ON THE CONTRARY, IN TEN DAYS from the change of their plan, and therefore in two or three days from the act of recantation, the fallen prelate was chained to the stake, that he might feel in his body a foretaste of the devouring fire, to which they had so piously consigned his soul.

Still, all this does not justify Cranmer in signing his abjuration. It may be said with apparent justice, that the conduct of his enemies, however cruel, treacherous, and execrable, is no apology for him. Let us try this act, therefore, by another standard, and see how far it was worthy of reprehension.

I presume that no reflecting mind can conceive for a moment that this eminent reformer, at the age of sixty-five, could have changed his real sentiments. At the beginning of the persecution, when he might have escaped, he had deliberately chosen to stand his ground; and, at the end of two years, after so many of his old colleagues had actually

* Fleury, Cont., Tom. 31, p. 49.

suffered martyrdom, he displayed his unconquered resolution by openly resisting his judges, and denying their authority; and therefore it cannot be doubted that his mind was fully determined to suffer the utmost severity of their power, according to the diabolical code of fiery execution which then prevailed all over Europe. But he had found himself, thus far, subjected to another form of cruelty—the slow, lingering torment of imprisonment, which was harder to bear than the pangs of the stake. And he saw plainly their object in thus keeping him a wretched inmate of a dungeon, so long after others had been delivered to their fate. It was easy for him to anticipate that this system might be continued, until his wasting frame should enfeeble his intellect, and that in the end he might die in his prison-house, while his enemies should have it in their power to publish their own account of his pretended remorse and final confession of his alleged heresy, with none to contradict the tale. He knew the men with whom he had to deal. He knew that any artifice would be a virtue in their eyes, if they could render it tributary to the credit of the Church of Rome, and dishonorable to the Reformation. And now, when the comparative comfort of his new abode, and the increased vigor of his system, began to operate in strengthening the natural love of life, it is easy to conceive how he might begin to regard the accomplishment of his escape as a kind of duty to the truth; and thus, if he could only put to sleep the suspicions of his persecutors, and gain his liberty, and make his way to the Continent, amongst his old friends, the Lutherans of Germany, he might look forward to the opportunity of vindicating his principles; and even if it should please God to prolong his life, he might yet see the downfall of his present enemies, and return to dedicate

his last years to the defence and confirmation of the Gospel.

To accomplish this, there was but one way open to him, a pretended recantation. Doubtless, he was well aware that such an act would give a dreadful shock to his friends, and that the foes of truth would triumph for a season. But he would have it in his power to rectify the evil, as soon as he should gain a safe retreat. He could then declare to the world the secrets of his prison-house, and justify his course by the necessity of circumstances. Against the Romanists he knew that he could plead the example of Pope Pascal, who, in A. D. 1111, made a treaty with the Emperor Henry V. in order to free himself from imprisonment, which a Council held at Rome solemnly decided was not binding on his conscience, because he was in durance at the time.* He knew that the same principle was reasserted in his own day, when Francis I., in order to regain his liberty after the battle of Pavia, pledged himself to the Emperor Charles V., in an enormous ransom, which the Parliament of Paris, and all the casuists of France, held that he was not, in conscience or in honor, obliged to pay. He knew that the settled maxims of justice, in all civilized nations, held it allowable to lie, for the purpose of saving life or ending confinement, when the one was threatened, or the other was inflicted, unlawfully ; that even the most solemn bonds and oaths were reckoned null and void, if given to escape from robbers or assassins. And thus there seemed to be enough of authority to excuse, under his peculiar circumstances, an act of dissimulation.

But the case of Pope Pascal deserves a little more de-

* Fleury, Tom. 14, p. 127.

tail, being the most in point. For the quarrel between him and the emperor was about the right of investiture, which had kept up a state of almost continual war from the time of Gregory VII. And the Papal party had attached the guilt of heresy to the imperial claims, and regarded their own doctrine as absolutely essential to the proper independence of the Church. Nevertheless, when Henry carried off the Pope as his prisoner, along with several Cardinals, and threatened them with death, or at least with mutilation of their members, the Pope was entreated by those around him to yield his claim, and consented to make a treaty, granting to the sovereign the right of investiture, and promising not only that he would never pronounce an *anathema* against him, but that he would aid the king, in good faith, to preserve his crown and empire. The solemn promise thus made by the Pope was subscribed by sixteen Cardinals.

To this treaty was added the formality of a Papal Bull, regularly executed, and denouncing an *anathema* against all who should presume to oppose it. The emperor was then crowned in due form; and at the celebration of the Mass the Pope broke the Host in two, took one part himself, and gave the other to the sovereign, saying: "As this particle of the vivifying body is separated, even so may he be separated from the kingdom of Jesus Christ, who shall violate this treaty." The emperor made valuable presents to the Pontiff, the Bishops, the Cardinals, and the rest of the clergy, and returned to Germany. And thus a schism of thirty-five years seemed to be terminated.*

Yet all this was nullified soon afterwards. The Pope

* Fleury, Tom. 14, p. 129-131.

convened a Council at Rome, before which he related the violence which had induced him to make promises and issue a Bull against his conscience, professed his faith to be unchanged on the subject of investitures, and submitted the validity of his acts to the judgment of the Council. And the Council published the following decree: "We all condemn, by the ecclesiastical authority and the judgment of the Holy Ghost, the privilege extorted from Pope Pascal by the violence of King Henry, and declare it utterly null and void." The Pope, on his part, wished to resign his dignity, judging himself unworthy to retain it on account of his concession to the emperor. But the Council would not receive his resignation, and obliged him to keep his office, turning all their indignation against Henry V., who was declared the enemy of the Church like his father.*

The famous Ivo de Chartres wrote in the name of the French clergy belonging to the Archbishopric of Sens upon the same subject, in the following terms: "That which the Pope has done *was constrained by necessity, but his will did not approve it*. This appears from the fact that as soon as he was out of danger, he ordered and forbade what he had ordered and forbidden before, although *in the time of peril he assented to some detestable writings*. Thus Peter made reparation for his three denials, by three confessions. Thus Pope Marcellinus, seduced by the impious, offered incense before the idol, and a few days afterwards received the crown of martyrdom, without having been condemned by his brethren. God has permitted these falls in the greatest men, in order that others might know their weakness, that they may fear to fall in like manner, or may rise again quickly."†

* Fleury, Tom. 14, p. 143-6.

† Ib., 149.

From these extracts we may see the judgment of Rome upon the principle, that *imprisonment under a threat of death may excuse AN ACT OF HERESY*; for the Pope and the Council, with the great body of your Church, regarded the claim of the emperor as a rank heresy, worthy of excommunication; and Pascal himself was so well convinced of this, that he tendered his resignation to the Council, as unworthy to exercise the office of Pope, after the commission of such a sin. Yet the Council, "*by the ecclesiastical authority and the judgment of the Holy Ghost,*" considered the violence under which he had acted as a sufficient apology, and refused to allow his resignation. The case of Marcellinus, quoted by Ivo de Chartres, was indeed a fable, which your own modern writers have given up, along with the false decretals. But it was universally believed in that day, and answers quite as well as if it were true, for the purpose of illustrating the principle.

Thus Cranmer had a large amount of analogy and precedent to excuse his act of abjuration, as the only means of escape from the misery of his situation, and especially from the danger which the cause of truth must incur if he should die in confinement, without an opportunity to tell the world his real sentiments. I am far from saying that he was JUSTIFIED. He did not JUSTIFY HIMSELF. But on the contrary, when he found that his artifice had failed, and that his subtle and treacherous enemies had only been practising upon his weakness, he acknowledged his sin before the vast assembly, and declared his solemn resolution that *the hand which had signed his pretended abjuration should first perish in the flames*.

Strange and startling was the announcement of such a purpose. And wonderful was the confusion and wrath ex-

cited in the ranks of Rome, when they saw that the victim whom they had so cunningly fastened in the toils, had burst through the net, and now stood, as of old, boldly proclaiming the truth, and undertaking to perform an act of repentance for his brief offence, which was almost supernatural.

What more the noble old man would have added, is unknown, for as soon as his persecutors discovered that their base management was fruitless, they interrupted him with angry clamor, and commanded him to be led away to execution. Immense was the crowd that attended to see the awful spectacle. His high rank in the Church, his long and well-known pre-eminence in talent, his mild and generous character, all concurred to make this the chief holocaust offered to the supremacy of Rome. The people had heard of his recantation, and expected it to be now confirmed; but the thousand ears which had heard his words in the Church, dispersed them through the multitude, and tenfold was the anxiety to see how he would conduct himself in the hour of his fiery trial.

To speak after the manner of men, he made a foolish vow, which no mortal could accomplish. The possibility of doing it would hardly be allowed by the flames, which usually enveloped the entire body, and scorched the lungs, before the extremities were quite consumed. But even if a wonderful exception should occur in this respect, who could hold his right hand firmly in the hottest fire until it was reduced to ashes? Who could so conquer the untold agony of such a death, and command the horrid sufferings of his whole frame, writhing in the keenest torture, to execute the judgment of his own free will on a single guilty member? Alas, poor Cranmer! Thou hast made an idle boast, which

thine enemies will dwell upon in mockery, as another instance of reckless heretical presumption.

The terrible procession arrives at the appointed spot, where all the preparations were made for the demoniac exhibition. The soldiery are posted in their ranks to keep off the pressing multitude. The outer garments of the doomed man are removed, and the iron chain is fastened round his waist, and the faggots are piled thick and high, while his eyes are lifted meekly up to heaven, and his lips are moving in silent prayer. The fire is lighted at the word of command, and ten thousand eyes are strained with the intensest interest to mark the movements of the hapless sufferer. Behold a wonder! The flames curl up, as if to spare his body, and form a fiery focus at his side. And he thrusts his right hand into the midst, and holds it there, unmoved, until it drops in ashes, beating his breast with the left, and calling on Christ Jesus for mercy, and exclaiming, from time to time, *That unworthy hand!* And so at last, when the promised sacrifice was accomplished, the fire turns in upon the holy victim, and his soul is released to join the beloved companions of his labors, Hooper, and Ridley, and Latimer, in the paradise of God.

Such was the glorious end of this noble martyr, signalized the more by his repentance for an act into which the treachery of his enemies betrayed him, and which was altogether excusable on their own principles of moral accountability. You deny him, indeed, the title of martyr, not only because he was the greatest English foe to Popery, but on the more plausible ground that he tried to avoid death by his recantation. But he was a martyr in will and resolution at the beginning of the work of blood, when he might have escaped, as hundreds did, and refused the opportunity.

He was a martyr in resolution during the two long years of his cruel imprisonment, and boldly refused to yield before the tribunal which condemned him. From the time of his public degradation by the order of that court, up to the final act, but ten days elapsed, during which the erroneous though plausible idea of escape induced him to make his pretended abjuration. Shall he be deprived of all his previous character of constancy and courage because he faltered during those few days under the subtle arts of his betrayers? Or can we refuse to grant, that the last sublime act of repentance more than redeemed the transient error, and proved, as if by a miracle of lofty heroism, that the spirit of a martyr was in him? For nothing is recorded in the various histories of martyrdom more wonderful than this. And after we have pondered upon their glorious details, and felt that the power of divine grace was marvellously displayed in each several victory, we may still turn to Cranmer, holding his own right hand to be consumed to ashes in the flames, and be obliged to acknowledge that this was an example of superhuman power and energy beyond them all.

There can be no room to doubt that the intelligence of this cruel immolation, with its extraordinary attendant circumstances, produced a corresponding effect upon the public mind throughout the nation. For so it was ordered, by the overruling wisdom of Providence, that the temporary fall of Cranmer gave to his last triumphant rise a deeper interest than could have been secured in any other manner. And thus it was that, like Samson, who, although the Philistines had deprived him of his sight, and kept him as their prisoner, yet slew, at his death, more of the enemies of Israel than he had ever slain before: even so the martyr Cranmer, by the mighty power of God, destroyed at the

stake more of the influence of Romanism over the hearts of Englishmen than he had been enabled to abolish during the whole of his previous lifetime.

The peculiar interest which I feel in the character of this eminent Reformer has carried me into so much detail, that I must dispatch briefly the remaining topics of Dr. Milner's accusations. Happily, however, it will need but little space to show their palpable absurdity.

Thus, he undertakes to say that, instead of the Reformation improving the morals of the people, they were greatly changed for the worse. For this, he refers to certain complaints made by the Lutherans in Germany, but I do not see that he pretends to quote any similar declarations in England. I have only a few short remarks to make in reply.

First, then, it is manifest that the results of religious changes on the morals of a whole nation can only be ascertained by time. The immediate effects of all change must be more or less of confusion until the disturbed elements settle down, and the regular fruits appear in their proper order upon successive generations. To make a fair comparison, therefore, it is necessary to look at the acknowledged state of moral corruption for centuries *before* the Reformation, and at the condition of public morals *since*, coming down to our own day. Or, in order to bring the matter to a still fairer issue, let any intelligent mind compare the public morals of any country where Romanism rules supreme, with the public morals of England, and decide for himself whether the result is not immeasurably in favor of the Reformation.

Secondly, however, so far as the Church of Christ is concerned, there is an old and a true adage, LIKE PEOPLE, LIKE PRIEST. For the priesthood of Christ are the teachers

of morality, as founded upon religion. And the effect of the teaching may always be safely inferred, as a general rule, from the character of the teachers themselves. I speak not of exceptions, but of the general rule, since I have so repeatedly admitted that the mercy of God has always kept up, in the worst of times and corruptions, a few faithful men to transmit sincere religion from generation to generation, lest His Church should be altogether destroyed by the power of the Evil One.

But now, let this maxim be applied to the priesthood, before and since the Reformation. Let it be applied at the present day to the morals of the priesthood in Papal countries, and in England or the United States. Let the extracts from your own historian, Fleury, be read, and any ordinary mind of intelligence can answer the question, whether the same licentiousness, avarice, turbulence, and ambition, would now be tolerated among the clergy for a moment, which was formerly acknowledged to be almost universal. Is it not notorious, even now, that the priests of Rome who live amongst Protestant communities are far more correct in their deportment than their brethren in Spain, Portugal, Italy, or South America? Is it not notorious that the moral character of your clergy grows worse in proportion as they are at home, and better in proportion as they are surrounded by those whom they call HERETICS? Yet how could this be so, unless the standard of morals had been raised to a far higher mark, by the principles of the Reformation!

Thirdly, the surest way to estimate the moral standard of the Roman priesthood, would seem to be by direct reference to the head and centre of your religion, that great city, whose sovereign is a Bishop, and all of whose rulers are

consecrated men. Let me ask, then, what the people of Rome think of their own pastors and guides, even in our times? Let me recall to your memory the late outbreak in favor of political and religious liberty, when a republic was established for a brief space, until it was put down by the cannon of France. You know, Most Reverend Sir, that your Pope was forced to fly in disguise, and those people who are so *devoutly attached* to their spiritual guides, and so *admirably governed* by their piety and wisdom, reproached them as a set of hypocritical tyrants, and rose up against them in a spirit which almost threatened their extermination. When and where have the members of a reformed Church thus denounced their clergy? And what is the morality of a system worth which sets at such mortal variance the teachers and the taught, and is forced to rely on foreign bayonets for the order which ought to be the natural result of religious truth and practical piety in that peculiar spot, whose government is administered solely by the professed chief pastors of Christendom?

And fourthly, let the internal working of Romanism be judged by the disclosures made in the recent trial of *Achilli vs. Newman*, or by the evidence of the thousands of Irish who have left the Church of Rome for the Church of England during the last few years, or by the comparative morality of those who come under the immediate observation of the intelligent. We should be content even with this mode of settling the question, notwithstanding the fact that the moral influence of the Bible, through the principles of the Reformation, has spread more or less throughout the Christian world. For in whatever way, or by whatever standard, the matter is fairly examined, the result must be clear, that there is nothing less favorable to morality than the Roman

confessional, and nothing so sure to strengthen and enlarge morality as the open teaching and truly divine authority of the Word of God.

The next head of Dr. Milner's accusation is, that the Reformation produced an enormous amount of civil war, rebellions, and desolations, throughout Europe. And this I utterly deny. It was not the Reformation that produced those wars, but the grasping tyranny of Rome, which stood up against liberty of conscience, and determined, everywhere, to dragoon mankind into submission, after her old style for centuries, by fire and sword, since she could not govern them by truth or piety. The reformers on the Continent were forced to defend their rights against Roman despotism. As fast as those rights were secured, there was immediate peace. And we may safely defy our accuser to point to a single war amongst the nations since Romanism has been disarmed, which could be properly called a war for religion. The audacity of this charge is the more astonishing, when every reader of history knows, that since the time of Gregory VII., almost all the wars of Europe were either originated or fomented by Popery. The city of Rome itself has been taken and pillaged more frequently than any other, and that by princes who professed the same religion. Nor has the genius of effrontery ever published a more unfounded assumption than that which connects war with the spirit of the Reformation, or peace with the principles of Rome.

Lastly, I come to the final impeachment of your most unscrupulous advocate, where he numbers an alarming list of monasteries, hospitals, and colleges, suppressed or destroyed in England, among the fruits of the Reformation. What he intended his readers to understand by "90 colleges, and

2,374 colleges, chapels or hospitals," I am unable to say. He refers to no authority upon the number of the hospitals, the character of the colleges, or the special acts or dates to which he alluded. The charge is one of those sweeping accusations in which his volume abounds, and I have shown already, as I shall often be obliged to show again, that his *assertions* are often very wide of historical accuracy.

But if he intended, as I must presume, that his readers should brand the Reformation with the design to injure the interests of education, or humanity to the sick, the knowledge of all Christendom will revolt at the imputation. So far is this from being true, that the constant effort to provide for the education of the masses is a fixed character of the reformed everywhere, and is exhibited above all other countries in England, Prussia, and the United States. And in those countries, there is the same advance continually made in the benevolence which takes thought for the sick and the destitute. The Church of Rome, indeed, claims immense credit to herself for the various Orders of the Sisters of Mercy, Charity, &c., who make a business of philanthropy, and assume to themselves a title which seems to appropriate the doing of good as their special prerogative. But the fact is that your Church never suggested a single one of them, nor have they any necessary connection with her distinctive principles. They were, without exception, the result of individual zeal, and the same zeal is at liberty to establish institutions for similar objects in any reformed communion. That they sprang up in the Church of Rome is true, and that the Pope gave them his sanction is likewise true. And they may spring up in any other Church and receive its sanction, without touching a single point of controversy belonging to the Reformation. Whether

they are expedient or desirable, on the whole, is quite another question. But certain it is that they never had their *origin* with either Pope or Council. And equally certain it is that the principle for which they are to be praised, if praised at all—viz., the making a regular business of that benevolence which should be performed as a duty of love to Christ and to His people—that principle is equally open to all who choose to adopt it, without the slightest reference to Romish faith or practice.

Thus much with regard to education and benevolence. On the other remaining topic of the monasteries, it is an historical fact that their suppression was begun by Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey, *under the sanction of the Pope*, and that in France and Spain the same suppression has been carried on, to a great extent, on grounds of *simple political expediency*. It is another indisputable fact that no country can thrive where monasteries are numerous, because it is the invariable tendency of such institutions to be opposed to all progress, and to sink down, after the zeal of their first beginning, into an indolent, listless apathy, if not, as they have done in so many deplorable instances, into licentiousness and vice. And it is a third unquestionable fact that England, after she got rid of her monks and nuns, advanced more rapidly in all the elements of human greatness than any other kingdom of Europe ; while those countries which most swarm with monks and nuns have remained stationary, or have gone backward, on the scale of national distinction, even to our own day.

Much, I am aware, has been written, even amongst ourselves, on the superior wisdom of the Church of Rome, in securing to herself the various instances of individual zeal, devotion, and fanaticism which have arisen in past ages, by

exalting the leaders to the rank of saints, and establishing them as the heads of some monastic order. And the Church of England has been blamed for her unyielding stiffness in the case of Wesley, and many others, whose ardor might have been turned into a channel of great practical benefit by an accommodating use of the Romish policy.

I acknowledge frankly, that there is not a little in this aspect of the case which is specious and plausible. But yet, I am well persuaded that a deeper examination of the matter would lead to a very different conclusion. It is certain that there were no *orders* of men in the ancient Church of Israel. Individuals were allowed to become Nazarites for a time, and prophets of extraordinary powers were sent to warn the rulers and the nation. But none of these were made the founders of an *imperium in imperio*, or the head of a fixed and perpetual institution. And when a disposition to band together, under special names, was manifested in the Church of Corinth, St. Paul put it down at once, as the result of a spirit of schism, asking, with indignant emphasis, IS CHRIST DIVIDED? Add to this that there was nothing of the kind in the primitive Church until the fourth century, and that its real beginning was not in the policy of the ecclesiastical system, but in the necessity of private Christians, who went out into desert places, during the Decian persecution, in the latter part of the century preceding. Unfortunately, that which was commenced from necessity, became a matter of choice, and in a little while, erected itself as superior to the divine and commanded system of the Saviour and His inspired Apostles. Monachism took the reins of influence, and, in due time, lifted its head of pride, by the Pharisaic ostentation of sanctity and asceticism, above all the scriptural rules of the Gospel.

And from that time, down to the period of the Reformation, the history of the Church is full of proof that its results were evil. Its tendencies were all in favor of superstition, will-worship, and sanctimonious exhibitions of austerity, borrowed, not from Scripture, but from the Dervishes and Fakeers of the East. False miracles to make the vulgar stare, false maxims to stimulate competition in torturing the flesh, false penances to expiate transgression, the false veneration of images, relics, and saints, the false virtue of celibacy, the false doctrine of purgatory, the false necessity of auricular confession, the false duty of persecution against heretics, and finally the cruel and bloody Inquisition, may all be fairly ascribed to monkery. And in a regular connection with these, came the habits of licentiousness, as a natural reaction from an overstrained severity in self-mortification. In a word, the genius of Monachism lay in the effort to be religious *beyond and independent of the Scriptures*. And hence, I cannot but regard it as a subtle device of that spiritual adversary, who knows so well how to make himself appear as an angel of light, to lure mankind more surely into ruin.

For myself, therefore, I speak with the fullest conviction when I say, that I thank God for having thus far kept the Church of England and her offspring from the specious but most perilous institution of Monachism. I rejoice that the late movement in that direction, however well intended and lawful in itself, is regarded with so little favor. And I trust that we shall never be deluded into the fatal error of borrowing from the policy of Romanism, in any form, an institution which takes another basis besides that of the Church, and professes a higher rule of life than that of the Bible.



L E T T E R X X I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE 25th letter of Dr. Milner, together with the two following, is devoted to the third mark of the true Church, viz., its *Catholicity*. And in support of his claim that this can only be found in the Church of Rome, to the exclusion of all others, he uses the arguments which I shall next consider.

He first appeals to the current name allowed to Romanists by general usage. As, where a man is asked, *Are you a CATHOLIC?* and he answers, *No, I am a PROTESTANT!* although the individual professes to believe in the HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH. And this your ingenious author calls *a glaring instance of inconsistency and self-condemnation*.

In truth, however, it is nothing of the kind, being only an instance of the same word being used with different meanings, which happens to be one of the most common facts in the world. The Church of Rome called itself, very justly, Catholic, in common with all the other Churches of a sound faith, in the early beginning of Christianity, when that term, which signifies *universal*, was introduced to distinguish the orthodox from the heretics since these were usually named after their leaders, as the Valentinians, the Marcionites, the Arians, &c. Hence, by long possession, it became, as it were, their current title, and therefore, at the time of the Reformation, the term *Protestants* grew into use, by way of a convenient distinc-

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tion, meaning those who *protested* against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, while they claimed to be really more *Catholic* than that polluted Church, because they held no doctrines of faith except those which were in perfect conformity to the creed of primitive Christianity, at the period when the term *Catholic* was first adopted. By modern custom, therefore, the word *Catholic* has become a sort of title synonymous with *Roman* in the public mind, just as the word *Protestant* is used to signify one of the *reformed*. But this mode of employing the terms in common parlance has no relation to the theological question, whether the true system of the Holy Catholic Church is best represented by Rome or England. That must be determined by a fair comparison with the primitive Church of the Apostles' planting.

To show how readily words come to assume a popular meaning, much more restricted than their proper and original signification, I shall content myself with two examples out of a multitude.

Thus, the word *Doctor*, as every scholar knows, signified originally, and still, in strictness, signifies, A TEACHER. And therefore it has for ages been conferred on theologians, as in the case of the Doctor of Divinity; on musicians, as Doctor of Music; on lawyers, as Doctor of Laws; as well as on physicians, who are Doctors of Medicine. But, in common *popular* usage, it is employed to signify the last, almost exclusively. Suppose, then, according to Dr. Milner's mode of regarding the subject, that a clergyman who has the title of Doctor of Divinity, calls on a sick parishioner, and the servant at the door asks him, *Are you a doctor?* and he answers, *No, I am a clergyman*, would any one be so silly as to call this a *glaring instance of inconsistency and self-condemnation?* As if the minister thereby gave up

his right to be a Doctor of Divinity, because he was willing to receive and answer the question according to the manifest meaning of the inquiry, which he knew was made in the *popular* sense, and no other ?

Again, the word *soldier* strictly signifies a person who is enlisted, according to law, to fight, under the orders of his commanding officer, against the public enemy. And therefore, from the earliest ages, it has been used in the Baptismal service, with perfect truth and propriety, to express the enlistment of the Christian by the law of faith, *to fight manfully under the banner of Christ against the world, the flesh, and the devil*. But in *popular* parlance, the word has only its secular meaning, which, by common usage, is limited to the soldier of the State or Commonwealth. Suppose, then, that a baptized Christian is addressed with the question, *Are you a soldier ?* and he replies, *No, I am a merchant*, could it be imagined that he intended, by this, to give up his character as *a soldier of Christ* ? Would any man be so absurd as to call such an answer, *a glaring instance of inconsistency and self-condemnation* ?

There is, therefore, in this first argument of Dr. Milner, nothing better than a very small quibble derived from popular usage, of which I should have supposed a theologian would have been ashamed. But I have learned that he belongs to that school of theologians who are ashamed of nothing which is likely, at whatever cost, to aid in obtaining a victory.

To the statement of the origin of the term *Catholic*, in his 26th letter, and his quotations from the fathers, I have no objection. He saith truly that the word did not occur in the primitive form of the Apostles' Creed ; that the title Catholic was applied to the Church to distinguish it from

heretics and schismatics ; and that the term itself was derived from the Greek καθολικός, which signifies *universal*. And then he quotes St. Augustin and Vincent of Lerins in two passages which I pray my readers to note particularly, because they are material to a true apprehension of the whole question.

“ The Catholic Church,” saith St. Augustin, “ is so called, because it is *spread throughout the world*. If your Church,” he adds, addressing certain heretics, “ *is Catholic*, show me that it *spreads its branches throughout the world, for such is the meaning of the word Catholic.*”

Here, then, is a test which was conclusive in the days of Augustin, but which ceased to be so ever since the ambition of Rome separated the Western from the Eastern Churches in the ninth century. From that time the Catholic communion of the Church was broken up, nor is it likely that this branch of practical primitive Catholicity will ever be restored, until the second advent of the great Redeemer. On this very ground, therefore, which Dr. Milner himself assumes, we disprove the claim of the modern Church of Rome to the title of Catholic, in the sense of St. Augustin, *because she does not extend her branches throughout the world*. The Church of Greece, the Coptic, the Armenian, and the Russian Churches, disclaim her communion, as well as the reformed Church of England. And so do the various Protestant Churches of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the United States, notwithstanding they all agree in holding the belief in the Holy Catholic Church, according to the primitive Creed. To this test of Catholicity, therefore, your advocate appeals in vain. It has ceased to exist for more than a thousand years, and any reliance which he can pretend to place on that ground, is a manifest absurdity.

The only sense in which the character of Catholic can now be claimed is, consequently, in the unity of doctrine, worship, and discipline, with that primitive Church which first adopted the title. And this principle is stated by Dr. Milner himself in the following quotation from Vincent of Lerins, which I commend to the special attention of the reader:—

“The Catholic or universal doctrine,” writes St. Vincent of Lerins, “is that which remains the *same through all ages, and will continue so to the end of the world*. He is a TRUE CATHOLIC who firmly adheres to the faith which he knows the *Catholic Church has universally taught from the days of old*.”

Here your favorite author quotes enough to justify our claim to the term Catholic, because we reject the corruptions of Papal Rome on the very ground that they are no part of the faith which “the Catholic Church universally taught from the days of old.” And we hold ourselves able to prove, that in all those points where we differ from your modern Church, we are with the *ancient true Catholics*, while you are against them. The testimony of Vincent, however, has been cited much more largely on page 284, and the reader will do well to refer to the extracts there, in order to refresh his memory.

The next branch of Dr. Milner’s argument is the claim to *superior numbers*, as if that could possibly establish the title to Catholicity in those controverted points where we charge your Church with heretical additions to the primitive Catholic Creed. For what is the term *Catholic* worth, in theology, unless it be understood as synonymous with THE TRUTH? And when was the *truth* of religious doctrine determined by an appeal to NUMBERS? How would such an

argument have stood when Noah, with the seven members of his family, were saved in the ark, while the deluge swept away the multitude of the ungodly? Or when Abraham was called to be the father of the faithful? Or when Moses was sent to deliver Israel from Egypt? Or when Elijah thought himself the only prophet of God, while the prophets of Baal were four hundred and fifty men? How should the appeal to numbers aid in the settlement of the faith, when the Saviour Himself declares, that *strait is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it?*" And again: "*Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom?*" How would the argument operate when the Redeemer was condemned by the general voice crying out that He should be crucified, while His true disciples were but a handful of persons, only amounting to one hundred and twenty? Nay, even in the Church itself, after it had become diffused through every land, and the term Catholic could be in all respects applied to it, how would the argument of numbers have stood the test in the days of Arianism, when the phrase was adopted of ATHANASIUS AGAINST THE WORLD?

I have already quoted a conclusive passage on this last point from Vincent of Lerins, which I shall here repeat.* "Thus," saith this eminent teacher, to whom Dr. Milner himself appeals, "when the poison of the Arians contaminated, not a portion only, but almost the whole world, so that the minds of nearly all the Latin Bishops were overspread with a certain darkness as to the course which should be followed in such a confusion of things, even then, whoever was a true lover and worshipper of Christ, prefer-

* See page 286.

ring the ancient faith to the new perfidy, was not spotted with the plague of the contagion."

Hence, the rule laid down by Vincent is altogether irreconcilable with this boastful appeal to a majority. "He is a true Catholic," saith the author, "who firmly adheres to the faith which he knows the Catholic Church has universally taught from the days of old." Or, as he elsewhere states it,* "In the Catholic Church itself, we must be careful to hold that which was believed EVERYWHERE, ALWAYS, AND BY ALL. For this it is which is TRULY AND PROPERLY CATHOLIC." Not what *a majority* may have held during the comparatively modern history of Romanism, but what *all Christians held from the beginning*.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the long and imposing list of places which Dr. Milner sets forth to magnify the claim of your Church to the term Catholic, his whole assumption is totally at variance with the only true principle. But even were it otherwise, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to establish the fact which he assumes, namely, that your Church does actually contain the majority of Christendom. The statistics upon this point are by no means precise. Taking the ordinary computation, however, as it is given, we should have the following distribution:—

The Church of Rome, 128 millions.

The Protestant Churches, 61 millions.

The Greek, including the Russian Church, 70 millions.

If this be correct, there would be 259 millions in the Christianized portion of the world, of which Rome would claim 128 millions, and the rest would amount to 131 millions, giving against Popery a majority of three millions. And this majority would be much increased if we had the sta-

* See page 284.

tistics of the Armenians, the Copts, and many others. When we remember, however, the uncertainty of the data, how few, amongst the mass of Romanists, know anything about the questions in issue, and how totally impracticable it must be to estimate the amount which ought to be subtracted for positive infidelity, indifference, formality, and superstition, it must be obvious that the appeal to numbers, as a test of truth or real Catholicity, is altogether worthless and vain.

But especially, on this point, I would beg my readers to remember, that there is no promise in Scripture which encourages us to expect *absolute universality* for the Church of God, until the second advent of the Divine Redeemer to judge the world. Up to that period, though the Gospel must be "preached as a witness to all nations," yet Satan will continue to rule in the hearts of the vast majority of mankind. The Lord has indeed established His Church, His kingdom upon earth, and has promised that it shall continue to the end, and that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." But He has not promised that it shall prevail universally against the gates of hell until the time appointed for His great triumph, when Satan shall be bound, and Christ shall reign on the throne of David, and all the nations shall behold His glory. Hence we see at this day that the evil is mingled with the good, even in the Church itself, while the whole of Christendom does not embrace more than a fourth part of the human family, and all the rest are still involved in the thick darkness of heathenism, or in the unbelief of the Mahometan and the Jew. And this brings us to consider the other meanings of the term Catholic, in its position in the Creed, as it is expounded by the ancient fathers, to whom Dr. Milner himself appeals.

Thus, Cyril, the Archbishop of Jerusalem, treating on the very point, saith, that "the Church is called *Catholic* or *universal*, because it is diffused through the whole world to the farthest limits of the earth. Also, because it teaches universally and without defect all the doctrines which ought to come under the notice of men, whether of things visible or invisible, celestial or terrestrial. Likewise, because it subjects every rank of mankind to a true piety (Gr., *ἐνσέβειαν*), both princes and subjects, learned and simple. And finally, because it cures and heals every kind of sin which is perpetrated by the body and the soul, and possesses every kind of virtue, by whatever name it may be called, in words and in deeds, and all sorts of spiritual gifts."*

A similar view of the matter is presented by Isidore, Bishop of Seville, where he saith, "The Church is called Catholic, because it is instituted through the whole world; or Catholic, because there is in it the universal doctrine for the instruction of mankind, concerning things terrestrial and celestial; or because it draws all men to itself in the subjection of piety, princes and subjects, orators and unlearned; or because it cures all the sins of men which are committed by the body and the soul."†

Such is the teaching of antiquity, as to the meaning of the word *Catholic*, and you will at once perceive that out of the four reasons here assigned, one only bears reference to the *universality of catholic communion*, which was a fact during the first seven centuries of the Christian era, but ceased from the time when the schismatical ambition of the papacy had driven away the Oriental Churches, although in

* S. Cyril. Hierol.; Cat. 18, De Ecc. Cath., p. 296.

† Isidor. Hispal., p. 392, C.

the opinion of the English Reformers it continued still in a modified sense, by reason of the relation which every branch of the Church bears to Christ, in whom all true Christians are One, even although they may not associate together. And certainly, in so far as the faith of the Apostles remains professed in the Creeds of all the Churches, notwithstanding their dissensions in other matters, and that pure and scriptural faith is received into the heart, and manifested in the life, there is a real unity and a real Catholicity, which the subtlety of Satan has indeed disturbed and troubled, and yet not been permitted to destroy. For it is not because Christians are *brethren in the visible Church* that they become *the children of God*, but it is rather because they are the children of God that they are accounted as brethren. Thus, in the relations of earth, the fraternity does not produce the parentage, but the parentage produces the fraternity. And hence the children of the same father are brethren of necessity, however bitter their mutual dissensions may be ; and remain one family still in respect of that which made them brethren at first, even when the practical unity of love is changed into strife and opposition.

We find, however, in the definitions which I have quoted from the fathers, no appeal to *numbers*, as the test of Catholicity, nor the least intimation that truth is to be determined by a *table of statistics*, according to Dr. Milner's argument. But on the contrary, the faith derived from the Holy Scriptures, as it was held from the beginning, *always, everywhere, and by all*, was the true test : equally true when the Church was overrun by Arianism, as when it was first established by the preaching of the inspired Apostles ; and equally true at this day, even if the errors of Roman heresy were far more extensive than they are ; yea, even if the advocates

of the primitive Gospel were again reduced to an *Athanasius against the world*.

But now I come to the more important argument of Dr. Milner, in which he claims Catholicity with respect to *time* as well as place. And here he puts forth (p. 182) an ingenious but yet a very manifest sophism. "If ever," saith he, "there was a period since her foundation, in which the Church has failed, by teaching or promoting error or vice, then the promises of the Almighty in favor of the seed of David and the kingdom of the Messiah, in the Book of Psalms, and in those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, have failed; then the more explicit promises of Christ concerning this Church and her pastors have failed; then the Creed itself, which is the object of the present discussion, has been false." A more perfect specimen of paralogism than this can hardly be exhibited, and I think it will need but a very small measure of solid reasoning to show its absurdity.

For, in the first place, Dr. Milner confounds the *failure* of the Church with its *corruption*. What sort of argument is this? Does the fountain of water *fail*, when it becomes *impure* through some foreign intermixture? Does language *fail*, when it becomes *corrupted* by strange idioms? Does the atmosphere *fail*, when it becomes foul by noxious miasmata? Does society *fail*, when it becomes infected with crime and immorality? Does a nation *fail*, when its rulers become tyrannical, and its public teachers mingle falsehood with truth? The answer is manifest, and hence it must be quite obvious that even though the Church becomes corrupted by the introduction of errors and superstitions, fraud and despotism, yet she does not *fail*, so long as the principles of the Gospel hold a place in her professed system. The

Church of Rome has kept those principles still, notwithstanding her adoption of so many perilous and monstrous innovations. And for that very reason it was that the English Reformers did not propose to establish a new Church, but only to cut off the novel corruptions, and thus restore the old Church to her primitive purity.

Secondly, the very prophecies to which Dr. Milner refers are only to be rightly explained on the same ground of consistency. For those prophecies all pledge the omnipotence of the Lord for the perpetuity of ISRAEL, the chosen people. Therefore *Israel has not failed*, and cannot fail, because the power and truth of God have sustained and will sustain her, until the promised inheritance of glory shall be consummated in the last days. But who can deny that Israel has been grievously corrupted—that idolatry was introduced and patronized by her rulers and priests for ages—that they made void the law of God by their traditions—that they were finally, with the exception of a faithful remnant, seduced into the rejection and crucifying of their own divine Messiah, and were broken off from the root of Abraham, that the Gentiles might be grafted in their place? And yet we know by the express words of St. Paul, that they are to be “grafted again into their own olive-tree;” that the Lord will “turn away ungodliness from Jacob,” and that “all Israel shall be saved.” And meanwhile they are kept from *failing*, by the mighty power of the Most High. Still, though sunk in the darkness of unbelief, they cling to Moses and the prophets. Still they look forward to the Advent of Christ. Still they claim the same glorious promises. Still, though they have no faith in the Saviour who *has come*, yet they perpetuate their old faith in a Saviour who is *coming*. And therefore, the very passages of Scrip-

ture to which your Roman sophist so boldly refers, destroy his whole argument, because they prove, in the strongest conceivable form, how the ancient Church of God's chosen people has been corrupted by a variety of the most awful errors, and is still kept in being—*still preserved from failing*—until the promised time, when they shall be gathered from the East and the West, the North and the South, into the kingdom of their divine Redeemer.

This wondrous mystery of the Lord's unfailing mercy is most forcibly illustrated by those passages of the prophets, where the Deity speaks of His having espoused Judah and Israel to Himself, and then having put them away for their adulteries, but with a solemn assurance that He would restore them to their privileges again.* And thus we see the true aspect of the question in relation to the Church of Rome. She was the Bride of Christ, like all the other Churches of the Apostles' planting, when she received the pure faith of the Gospel. She became adulterous, like ancient Israel, by the introduction of corrupt doctrines, and the toleration of iniquity, for ages together, as we have seen in the extracts of your own historian, Fleury. And yet, as Israel never renounced her original covenant, and was therefore still preserved, though in the midst of judgments and calamities, so the Church of Rome has never renounced the original creed of her first faith, and therefore still continued, and now continues, in the covenant of the Gospel, though judgments and calamities have marked her progress hitherto, and heavier judgments and calamities are yet to come.

For she, too, is called a *harlot*, in the Book of Revelations, as Israel is called by the ancient prophets ; and there is a

* Ezek. xvi., xxiii., xxxvi.

striking similarity in the denunciations of God against His faithless Bride under both the dispensations ; the chief difference consisting in this : that a *final restoration* is promised to Israel, while Popery, the Christian Babylon, shall be destroyed forever, at the Second Advent of the Almighty King.

This scriptural term, *an adulteress*, explains clearly the double aspect of your modern Church of Rome, which has been a subject of so much difficulty to many minds. For, as an adulteress is a *true*, that is, a *real* wife, (since, if she were not a wife, she could not be an adulteress) and is at the same time a *false* wife, by reason of her sin : so your Papal Church is a *true Church*, by reason of her original marriage covenant which she retains in the primitive Creeds, while she is a *false Church* by reason of her manifold corruptions. As the adulteress is the *friend* of her husband, on account of her unity of interest with him, and even by some lingering feelings of affection ; and is yet to be considered as his worst *enemy*, through her criminal admission of strangers to his privileges : so your Papal Church is the *friend of Christ*, and yet an *Anti-Christ*, or enemy, through her idolatrous adoption of other mediators, and the thousand wounds she has inflicted on His people. As the adulteress, so long as she is not formally divorced, has a legal right to act with the authority of a lawful wife, and that authority is not to be disputed, in those things which the known will of her husband sanctions ; so your Papal Church has a legal right to act in all those matters which the Saviour has ordained, and thus possesses full power to perpetuate the Gospel ministry, the sacraments, the worship and the discipline, established in the beginning. And as every wife, whether faithful or faithless, is limited by the authority of

her husband, so that she has no right whatever to be obeyed in contradiction to his will ; so your Papal Church has no authority beyond the word of Christ, but whenever she presumes to teach and govern in opposition to His precepts, should be resisted by all His faithful children.

The same course of reasoning furnishes a full reply to the argument which Dr. Milner endeavors to rest on the text in the 16th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. "On this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The words MY CHURCH refer plainly to the Church of Christ, and include the Churches of Greece, Russia, Armenia, Abyssinia, and all the rest, as well as the Church of Rome, so far as they are truly *Churches of Christ*, that is, so far as they preserve the original Creed and system of the Apostles' planting. Beyond this, however, they have no share in the promise, because, beyond this, they are *not Churches of Christ*, but Churches of men, deluded, too often, into gross error by the subtlety of Satan. Nevertheless, the *gates of hell* have not *prevailed* against any of them, because they have all retained the primitive truths of the Gospel system, notwithstanding the corruptions which, more or less, exist among them, and of which your modern Church of Rome has by far the largest share. And, therefore, the promise has been fulfilled. Satan has assaulted them, his arts have succeeded to a certain extent, but so long as the scriptural creed is not utterly abandoned, he cannot *prevail*. The truth still exerts somewhat of its proper influence. Some souls, from age to age, are still led to rely, in the simplicity of a heartfelt faith, on the Almighty Saviour. And thus these Churches are like an ancient tree, which, though the trunk be all cankered and foul with long decay, still sends up from the healthy root

some living sap, producing here and there a few scattered fruits, to remind one of the plenteous harvest which adorned its pristine vigor.

Hence, when Dr. Milner asserts the antiquity of his Church, and wonders by what strange means so many millions could have been prevailed on to give up the pure religion of Christ, and to embrace a pretended new and false system, which its adversaries call *Popery*, he wilfully presents what he must have known to be a false issue to his readers. For no one denies that the Church of Rome was established by the Apostles. Nor does any one allege that she has *given up* the original creed of the Gospel. On the contrary, the whole controversy turns on the *corruptions which she has added to the faith*. And it is absurd to argue, that because we cannot prove the precise time and mode when those corruptions were introduced, therefore they were not introduced at all: because it is certain that such changes must have been effected by slow and almost imperceptible gradations, from the manifest impossibility of introducing them in any other way; and therefore we admit that *twelve* centuries at least elapsed before they were brought to a climax. But are we at a loss to determine that the cankered and decayed tree is changed, because no man can tell when or how the disease began its ravages? If a fair and fruitful field becomes overrun with noxious weeds, can we not ascertain the fact, without asking to be informed when and how the first seeds of those intruders took root there? Or if a human countenance be presented to us, distorted, ulcerated, and foul with deformity, and it is confessed on all sides that it was once radiant with health and beauty, must we doubt that it is changed because we are ignorant of the day and hour when the system became

corrupt, or how the malady went on with ever-growing virulence to its melancholy consummation ?

In like manner, we know what the Church of Christ was in the beginning, from the testimony of its founders, the blessed Apostles ; and next after them, from the writings of the fathers. We know what it subsequently became, from the testimony of your Roman historians themselves. The change is thus demonstrated by the clearest proof, and it is a mockery of common sense to evade it by insisting that it is still the same Church that it was, to all intents and purposes. We grant the identity in the point of historical succession, and in the continuance of the ancient Creeds ; but we deny it in the matter of the subsequent corruptions of faith and morals. The decayed tree is the same with the healthy sapling, but yet has undergone a ruinous change. The field which is overrun with noxious weeds is the same which was once so fruitful, but yet it has suffered a sad deterioration. The deformed and bloated countenance is the same face which was once so lovely, but yet it has become loathsome and offensive. And the modern Church is the same which was planted by apostolic hands, as the Church of Israel was by the divine authority under Moses and Aaron ; and yet, like that Church of Israel, it became filled with idolatry, superstition, false traditions, and licentious immorality, all produced, in both cases, by their sad propensity to corrupt the only sure system of the written Word of God, through the subtle suggestions of their spiritual adversary.

We may readily perceive, therefore, the true state of the question, if this distinction is borne in mind. The *Holy Catholic Church* may and must be admitted as universal in point of time, provided we distinguish between THE CHURCH

properly so called, and the numerous corruptions which were subsequently grafted upon it, and which it was the object of the English Reformers to cut away. But what is it that confers the true being of the Church? Precisely the faith and the ordinances instituted by Christ, her divine Lord and Master, either immediately by His own command, or mediately by His inspired Apostles, as we find them laid down in the written record of the New Testament. It is by virtue of these, and these alone, that THE CHURCH IS UNITED TO HER SAVIOUR. Not the worship of the Virgin and the Saints—not the belief of purgatory and indulgences—not the degrading confidence in the wonder-working power of relics—not the dogma of transubstantiation, by which one-half of the holy Eucharist is taken away from the laity—not the priestly tribunal of auricular confession—not the figment of works of supererogation—not prayers in an unknown tongue—not monks, and nuns, and priestly celibacy—not masses for the dead—not inquisitions, and anathemas, and dungeons and the stake, assigned, in the bitterness of bloody persecution, against all that priests call heresy—not placing a poor infirm mortal on the altar of God, and bowing down before him, and kissing his feet, with the proud titles of sole Vicar of Christ, and Monarch of Christendom, and all the gorgeous magnificence of more than Oriental splendor—not the false miracles attributed to the images and pictures of the saints, nor the imaginary feats of supernatural powers claimed for a few fancied favorites of heaven. None of these things, nor all of them united, constitute THE CHURCH. On the contrary, they have been her plague and her calamity. We might as well suppose that the *manhood* of a leper consists in his *leprosy*, as believe that the being of the Church consists in those diseases and corruptions

which have so long infected her. We freely admit, therefore, that your modern Church of Rome is still a portion of the Catholic Church, because she has not renounced the original doctrines of the faith which gave her being ; and the same is true of all the Churches of Christendom. The controversy is not about those doctrines which we hold alike, but about her idolatry, superstition, and despotism, which she insists on maintaining as *essential to her existence*, while we insist that they are a *loathsome disease, which should be totally cleansed away*. The leper speaks truly in one sense, when he asserts that he has always been the same man, but he speaks falsely if he alleges that for this reason he must have been always in the same condition. And so the Church of Rome may truly claim that in one sense she has always been the same Church, but she speaks most falsely when she declares that, for this reason, she must always have maintained her present faith and discipline.

I have dwelt the longer on this point because the whole strength of your advocate's argument lies in the sophistical ingenuity with which it is mystified, and many writers have thus been led quite astray. Some have conceived themselves obliged to resort to an *invisible Church*, existing secretly through long ages, unknown to the world. While others have fancied that a pure Church existed from apostolic times, and that the Waldenses were entitled to claim the special privilege of belonging to it. While a third party have maintained that the Church had *wholly failed* for many centuries, and had become altogether the synagogue of Satan, notwithstanding the express promise of our Lord to Peter that the gates of hell should not prevail against it. The truth of the matter, however, is perfectly plain, if it be regarded in the light of the scrip-

tural analogy presented by the case of the ancient Church of Israel, and according to the principles of faith which constitute the being of the Church, as distinguished from all adventitious and extraneous additions. And thus understood, there is no longer any difficulty in the question.

The closing passage of Dr. Milner's 26th letter is only to be noticed for the bold assumption with which he states, that "the most demonstrative proofs of the antiquity and originality of our religion are gathered from comparing it with that contained in the works of the ancient fathers." I have already shown how false is this boast, on the fundamental doctrine of the RULE OF FAITH, and on some other points in controversy, and I shall exhibit a similar contrariety, in the questions which yet remain to be examined. For happily, notwithstanding the writings of the fathers have been most shamefully interpolated by the frauds and forgeries of your monks and priests, as a multitude of your own writers freely acknowledge, yet enough still remains of the true records of Christian antiquity, to vindicate the Reformation of the English Church, and to establish the charge of doctrinal innovation against the advocates of Romanism.

I conclude, therefore, by this general result of the whole argument. We believe in the Holy Catholic Church, as being the aggregate of all the Churches of Christendom, all of which belong to it *precisely so far* as they maintain the original faith, morals, worship and discipline established by the authority of the inspired Apostles. We hold that it was by virtue of these that they became *true Churches of Christ* in the beginning, and that this is the only standard by which they can continue true Churches to the end. We hold that no Church has a right to *add to that standard* in any essential point of faith or discipline, though all Church-

es have a right to establish rules of form and order, in subordination to the fixed principles of Apostolic precept and example. We apply this test to your Church of Rome, and acknowledge her to be a branch of the Catholic Church, in all those parts of her Creed, of her ministerial succession, and her worship and discipline, which remain in conformity with the primitive Church Catholic. But in her doctrine of pontifical power, in her worship of the Virgin, the saints, their images and relics, in her system of purgatory, indulgences and masses for the dead, in her priestly celibacy, her service in an unknown tongue, and her enforced auricular confession, in her transubstantiation and denial of the cup to the laity, in her inquisitions, dungeons, and persecutions unto death, in her monastic vows, false miracles, pious frauds and canonization, and in her toleration of Jesuitical immorality, we hold her to be not only uncatholic, but schismatical, heretical, and anti-Christian. We charge her with being the great cause of the severance of the Catholic Church in the ninth century, and of the worldliness, impiety, and infidelity which characterize the religion of all Christendom to this day. And while we confess our own share in the prevailing deficiency of personal holiness, we hold that our Reformed Church presents the nearest approximation, on the whole, to the primitive Catholic system, retaining all the doctrines of Apostolic faith, in union with Apostolic order, appealing to the divine Scriptures as our constant rule, interpreting them in accordance with the primitive Councils and Creeds, abjuring the novel dogmas, the deluding superstitions, and the priestly despotism of modern introduction, and thus, according to the rule of Vincent, holding what was held ALWAYS, EVERYWHERE, AND BY ALL, FOR THIS ALONE IS TRULY CATHOLIC.

L E T T E R . X X I I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I COME, at length, to the fourth and last mark of the true Church, namely, her *Apostolicity*, as we profess in the Nicene Creed : “ I believe in One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.” Dr. Milner enters largely into the proof that the Apostles appointed those who should succeed them, in the higher functions of government, ordination and discipline, which belonged to their own office ; and that the Bishops so constituted were to form the true Apostolical succession to the end of the world. In this there is no controversy, for we hold the same. But he asserts that “ our Lord appointed Simon to be the *centre of union and head pastor* over the other Apostles, charging him to feed His whole flock, sheep as well as lambs, giving him the keys of His kingdom of heaven, and changing his name into that of PETER, or ROCK, adding, *on this rock I will build my Church*. Thus dignified, St. Peter first established his See at Antioch, and afterwards removed it to Rome, the capital of Europe and the world. Here, having, with St. Paul, sealed the Gospel with his blood, he transmitted his prerogative to St. Linus ;” and thus every Bishop of Rome claims to be the essential head and chief pastor of all the Churches in the world, so that unless they be in unity with him, they cannot be the Churches of Christ, nor possess any warrant of salvation.

This assumption, on which rests the whole superstructure of Papal despotism, we hold to be directly at war with true Catholic principle, false in all its parts, and subversive, as your own history has proved, of the liberty, the purity, and the proper influence of the Gospel. I shall proceed, therefore, to prove, by plain evidence, that it is contrary to the Scriptures, contrary to the fathers, contrary to the Councils, absurd in itself, and historically fatal to Christian unity.

The passage of Scripture on which your Roman theologians rely, is in the Gospel of St. Matthew, xvi. 18, where our Lord saith to the Apostles, "Whom say ye that I am?" And Simon Peter answered and said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven."

Here, then, the first question presented is, Whether the rock on which the Church should be builded was CHRIST Himself, as the Son of the living God, whom Peter had just confessed; or whether this rock was Peter, the Apostle? And we maintain that the *rock* was CHRIST, while you hold that the *rock* was *Peter*.

The second question is, Whether the promise of the keys of the kingdom of heaven was intended to give Peter any pre-eminence over the other Apostles? And the language

used by our Lord (Jo. xxi. 16), where He charges Peter to “feed His sheep and His lambs,” is to be taken in connection with this, as you rely on both for your scriptural evidence.

Now with respect to the first point, viz., to whom the word *rock* is to be applied, we charge your divines with a manifest error. For you hold that the Saviour gave to Peter the very name Rock, which, if it were true, would furnish a strong support to your theory. But the word translated *Peter*, in the original Greek of St. Matthew, is πέτρος, which signifies *a stone*, whereas the rock is πέτρα; and hence the two words are not the same, as your writers assume, but are different in gender, in termination, and in meaning.

To prove this assertion plainly, I shall first adduce a number of passages from the Old Testament, in which the word Rock is figuratively applied to THE DEITY. But here, I am sorry to say that I cannot have recourse to your *Latin Vulgate*, nor to your *Douay Bible*, because they are not faithful to the original Hebrew. I shall quote, therefore, from our own far more reliable version, and shall add, in every text, the *Hebrew word*, and shall append, besides, the translation of your own eminent Pagnini, and Arias Montanus; the first of whom, as you know, was a Dominican friar of great celebrity, who spent twenty-five years, under the patronage of Pope Leo X., in translating the Scriptures; and the second was a Benedictine monk, a member of your Council of Trent, acknowledged as one of the most learned divines of the sixteenth century. The correctness of our English Bible is thus attested unconsciously by the highest authority amongst yourselves.

The passages are the following, viz.:—

		Heb. Pagnini & Montanus.	
Deut. xxx. 4.	He is THE Rock, His work is perfect, a God of truth,	צֶהַר	PETRA.
" " 15.	He lightly esteemed THE Rock of his salvation, .	צֶהַר	PETRAM.
" xxxii. 18.	Of THE Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful, .	צֶהַר	PETRA.
" " 31.	Their Rock is not as our Rock, our enemies themselves being judges, .	צֶהַר	PETRA.
" " 37.	Where is THE Rock in whom they trusted? .	צֶהַר	PETRA.
1 Sam. 2, 2	(called in the Vulgate and Douay Bible 1 Kings). Neither is there any Rock like our God, .	צֶהַר	PETRA.
2 Sam. xxii. 32.	Who is a Rock, save our God?	צֶהַר	PETRA.
" xxiii. 3.	The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake, .	צֶהַר	PETRA.
Psalms xxviii. 1.	Unto Thee will I cry, O Lord, my Rock,	צֶהַר	PETRA.
" xxxi. 3.	For Thou art my Rock and my fortress,	צֶהַר	PETRA.
" lxii. 2.	God only is my Rock,	צֶהַר	PETRA.
" lxxiii. 26.	God is the Rock of my heart (<i>Marginal Version</i>),	צֶהַר	RUPES.
" lxxviii. 35.	They remembered that God was their Rock,	צֶהַר	PETRA.
" xc. 1.	Make a joyful noise to the Rock of our salvation, .	צֶהַר	FORTITUDINI.
Isaiah, xxvi. 4.	In the Lord Jehovah is the Rock of Ages (<i>Marginal Version</i>), עֶזְרָתָם	צֶהַר	PETRA SECULORUM.
" xxx. 29.	When one goeth to the Rock of Israel (<i>Marg. V.</i>),	צֶהַר	PETRA.

To these I shall add the text from 2 Sam. xxii. 2 (which is your 2 Kings), "The Lord is my Rock," this being the

only one where your own version agrees with ours, and with the original Hebrew, on the point in question.

When we turn from the Old to the New Testament Scriptures, we find two other passages applicable to the subject, both from the Apostle Paul : 1 Cor. x. 4, " For they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock (πέτρα) was Christ." And again : 1 Cor. iii. 11, " Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus." In all of these texts, the word Rock is applied to the DIVINE NATURE, nor is it ever appropriated, in a spiritual sense, to any mortal.

On the other hand, the word *stone* is employed frequently to signify the *faithful believers in Christ*. Thus, 1 Pet. ii. 5, " Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house." 1 Cor. iii. 12, " If any man build on this foundation precious stones." Rev. xxi. 19, " The foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with precious stones." Ib. v. 14, " And the walls of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb."

The word πέτρος, however, occurs but rarely in the Scriptures of the Septuagint version. Nevertheless, its meaning is perfectly clear and plain, as in the following passages :—

2 Mac., i. 16.—Βάλλοντες πέτρους συνεκρανύωσαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα, " Casting stones, they slew the leader."

2 " iv. 41.—συναρπάσαντες οἱ μὲν πέτρους, " Catching up stones."

Job, xlv. 20.—πέτρους σφενδόνης, or, as the more common version expresses it, πέτροβόλον χορρον, a machine for throwing stones.

The learned Trommius, the author of the Concordance of the Septuagint, accordingly, gives πέτρα invariably the sense of *rupes*, or Rock, and πέτρος the single meaning of *lapis*, or STONE. And hence our translators were fully justified

in their version of πέτρος in the decisive text of Jo. i. 42, where the Saviour saith to Simon, "Thou shalt be called Cephas, *which is, by interpretation, A STONE.*" Nor can the authors of your Latin Vulgate and your Douay Bible be easily excused for the art with which they evaded the whole meaning of this passage, by employing the name *Petrus*, or Peter, instead of giving the true sense of the Greek word πέτρος. For it is manifest that the term *had an interpretation*, and that the inspired Apostle intended to give it. But *Petrus* in Latin, or *Peter* in English, gives no interpretation at all. And thus, by this ingenious but perfectly indefensible management, your Bibles have effectually mystified the very text which, if fairly translated, would have settled the whole question.

Let the reader now compare this signification with the further commentary of the same inspired Apostle in the 19th chapter of the Apocalypse, already quoted, where he saw, in vision, that the walls of the heavenly city, the New Jerusalem, were garnished with precious stones, that they had twelve foundations, and that in them were the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb, and he will see at once the admirable agreement of the whole. For the word *foundation* is used in a double sense: one applicable to the rock on which the whole edifice is built, and this is the foundation to which St. Paul refers when he saith, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus." But the other sense is applicable to the stones which are laid upon the rock, on which the superstructure is to be erected. In that secondary foundation, *rocks* can not be employed, but it must consist of *stones*, fitly prepared, and accurately joined together. And therefore St. John settles the whole dispute when he declares that these foun-

dations were garnished with *precious stones*, that they were TWELVE in number, and that in them were the names of the *twelve Apostles*. Your Romish notion of St. Peter's being the *one foundation*, and the other Apostles being *built on him*, is here utterly exploded. He was πέτρος, *a stone*, not πέτρα, *the Rock*. He was a precious stone, and one of the twelve foundation stones, but the other eleven were precious foundation stones as well as he.

Taking this unerring commentary of St. John for our guide, therefore, we may thus paraphrase, with perfect certainty, the words of the Redeemer: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, for thou hast acknowledged in me the divine and Almighty ROCK OF ISRAEL. Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee that thou art A STONE, a living, precious stone, which shall be set, along with thy fellows, in the twelve foundations of my celestial city. For on the Rock which thou hast confessed I will so build my Church, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, for thou shalt be the first to open the Church by the power of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. And on all the other foundation stones in my heavenly city I will bestow the same high privileges. For on them, together with thee, after my great sacrifice is accomplished, and I have risen in triumph from the dead, I will breathe the breath of my divine power, and then will I fulfil my promise, by saying to all my chosen Apostles, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

That this is the true scope of the Saviour's words, connected altogether, will be made manifest by the other testimony of Scripture, and by the plain declarations of the ancient fathers. For we read in the Gospel narratives that the Apostles disputed among themselves who should be the greatest, and our Lord, instead of telling them that Peter was already designated to be their prince and pastor, puts aside the whole question in these remarkable words: "You know that the princes of the Gentiles lord it over them, and they that are the greater exercise power upon them. It shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be the greater among you let him be your minister, and he that would be first among you shall be your servant."*

The same inference follows irresistibly from the act of the blessed Redeemer, when He had risen from the dead, and gave the spiritual commission to His Apostles.† For we read that He came into the room where they were assembled together, and said to them, "Peace be to you. As my Father hath sent me, I also send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven them; and whose sins ye shall retain they are retained." Here the Saviour makes no distinction whatever. St. Peter had the *first promise* of the keys, because he *first acknowledged* our Lord's divine character. But when the time had come to *fulfil that promise* by the actual gift of spiritual powers, all the Apostles are included together, and not the slightest hint is furnished of Peter's supposed supremacy.

In the book of the Acts of the Apostles we find not a trace of this fancied authority. On the contrary, Peter,

* Mat. xx. 25. See also Mat. xxiii. 8; Lu. ix. 46, xxi. 24.

† Jo. xx. 22.

with John, was *sent* to the Samaritans (ch. viii. 14), and in the Council of the Apostles which met at Jerusalem (ch. xv.), about the question which Paul and Barnabas submitted to them concerning the obligation of the Gentile converts to keep the ceremonial law, Peter does not appear to have exercised any superior prerogative. He gave his opinion, which was received favorably, but he did not summon the Council; and James presided, and proposed the formal decree, which was sent forth in the name of the "Apostles and Ancients, brethren," according to your Roman version; so that here we have a strong example directly in the face of Peter's imagined superiority. Nor is it to be questioned that if this inspired history be taken for our guide, the most prominent name among the Apostles, especially where the Gentiles are concerned, is not that of Peter, but of Paul.

Let us hear, however, the words of St. Paul himself in relation to this matter, as they are given in his Epistle to the Galatians (ch. i., v. 15), according to your own version, the Douay Bible:—

"When it pleased Him who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by His grace to reveal His Son in me, that I might preach Him among the Gentiles, immediately *I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I to Jerusalem to the Apostles who were before me*, but I went into Arabia, and again I returned to Damascus. Then, three years after, I came to Jerusalem to see Peter, and stayed with him fifteen days, but other of the Apostles I saw none, except James, the brother of the Lord. Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up according to revelation, and communicated the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles; but apart to them who

seemed to be something, lest perhaps I should run, or had run, in vain. But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised, but because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privately to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage. To whom *we yielded not by subjection, no, not for an hour*, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you."

"But of them who seemed to be something," continues the Apostle, "(what they were some time, it is nothing to me; God accepteth not the person of man), for to me, they that seemed to be something, added nothing. But on the contrary, when they had seen that TO ME WAS COMMITTED THE GOSPEL OF THE UNCIRCUMCISION, AS TO PETER WAS THAT OF THE CIRCUMCISION, (for He who wrought in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, wrought in me also among the Gentiles :) And when they had known the grace that was given to me, JAMES AND CEPHAS AND JOHN, WHO SEEMED TO BE PILLARS, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, THAT WE SHOULD GO TO THE GENTILES, AND THEY TO THE CIRCUMCISION. But when Cephas was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was blamable. For before that some came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing those of the circumcision. And to his dissimulation the rest of the Jews consented, so that Barnabas also was led by them into that dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly unto the truth of the Gospel, I said to Cephas before them all: If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not of the Jews, how dost thou compel the Gentiles to follow the way of the Jews?"

No ingenuity can reconcile this statement of St. Paul with your Roman hypothesis of Peter's supremacy. For not only does he speak of Peter without the slightest note of his supposed authority over the other Apostles, but he names him along with James and John, placing *James* first, and says of the whole three that they SEEMED TO BE PILLARS. Next, he expressly states, that *when they had seen that to him was committed the Gospel of the uncircumcision*, they all concluded that *they were to go to the circumcision*—that is, the Jews—while *he and Barnabas should go to the Gentiles*. And in effect we find, in the Book of the Acts, the extent of St. Paul's labors among the Gentiles, and particularly that the Lord sent him to Rome, where he founded the Church, preaching for two years together in that imperial city, while not a word is said of Peter's being there at any time. Lastly, we see that St. Paul, at Antioch, was obliged to rebuke St. Peter, who is spoken of as if he was under the influence of St. James; and it is plain that, instead of permitting Peter to act with any authority over him, he rather asserted his own authority against Peter's dissimulation. It is impossible for any mind which is not utterly blinded by determined prejudice, to believe that St. Paul could have acted and written thus, if his divine Master, who inspired him, had ever designed to confer on St. Peter the sovereign chieftainship over the whole Church, so boldly insisted upon by your Papal hypothesis.

It is further worthy of remark, in this brief examination of the scriptural proof, that only one of the four Evangelists mentions the address of our Lord to Peter, on which the claims of the Papacy are supposed to rest, whereas, if the meaning of the passage were what your writers suppose, we should naturally expect that it would be a prominent

topic amongst them all. And in the two epistles of St. Peter himself, where we might fairly look for his supremacy, if he believed that he had ever been invested with it, there is not only a perfect want of the slightest claim of the kind, but on the contrary, there is far less of apostolic power intimated than there is in the epistles of St. Paul and St. John. And yet, your Popes presume to make their anti-scriptural dogma essential to the very being of the Church, and even necessary to salvation!

To my own mind, however, the statement of St. Paul is conclusive, to prove that he, and not Peter, was the chosen Apostle of the Gentiles. For first, he goes upon his divine mission without conferring with any of the other Apostles, and spends three years in his work of conversion. Then he visits Jerusalem to see Peter, but this interview does not seem to have been satisfactory, because we must refer to it the passage in the Acts (ix. 26), where it is said, "When Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples, but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple. But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way," &c. For St. Paul expressly refers his fellowship with Barnabas to his *second visit*, fourteen years after the first, and there he states, that "*when the Apostles had seen that to me was committed the Gospel of the uncircumcision, as to Peter was that of the circumcision, and when they had known the grace that was given to me, James and Cephas and John, who seemed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go to the Gentiles, and they to the circumcision.*" Thus, it is evident that the Apostles admitted his claims, on the ground that Christ Himself had

already *committed* to *him* the Gospel of the Gentiles, and their assent was predicated on this divine call, which gave him to be the chosen Apostle of the uncircumcised, and limited Peter to be the Apostle of the Jews. But Rome is a Gentile Church, as we are. And therefore this passage alone seems decisive of the whole question about Peter's imaginary supremacy.

L E T T E R X X I V .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I HAVE promised to prove that the figment of St. Peter's supremacy as the first Bishop of Rome, with the Papal authority derived from it, not only stands opposed to the evidence of Scripture, but also to the testimony of the fathers, and to this I must now ask your attention. The negative and circumstantial proof furnished from this source would occupy a volume, and I have already written a book upon it, as you know, because you honored me with a reply.* At present, however, I shall confine myself to a few positive and direct witnesses, which will be amply sufficient for the purpose.

First, then, we find Irenæus, the Bishop of Lyons, about A. D. 170, expressly stating that the Church of Rome was *founded and established by the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, who delivered to Linus the Episcopal right to govern it.*† Here is a positive contradiction to the assertion of Dr. Milner, that St. Peter was himself *the Bishop of Rome*. And, indeed, when we remember that the Saviour commanded the Apostles to go and teach *all nations*, so that they were of necessity obliged to travel from country to country in the performance of their mighty task of going

* The Church of Rome, &c.

† Irenæus, *Contra Hæres.* Lib. 3, cap. iii., § 1.

"into all the world," we see how utterly absurd must be the hypothesis that any one amongst that little band could sit down as Bishop of Antioch for seven years, and then plant himself at Rome for twenty-five years more, as your writers fancy to have been the fact in the case of the Apostle Peter.

Next I shall quote the testimony of Origen, about A. D. 250, as follows:—"If you suppose that the Church is built by God upon one single rock (Peter), what do you say of John, the Son of Thunder, and every one of the other Apostles? Or shall we say that the gates of hell were not to prevail especially against Peter? Were they, then, to prevail against the other Apostles and perfect believers? Or was it to Peter alone that the Lord gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven? And if this is common to the others, *I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven*, how should not those things which precede it, and which are evidently connected with it, be common likewise? For here it seems to be said to Peter, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, &c.*; but in the Gospel of John, the Saviour, giving the Holy Spirit to the disciples by breathing on them, saith, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted to them, and whose you shall retain they are retained.*"*

"But since there are some," saith Origen, a little farther on, "who interpret this passage" (viz., Mat. xvi. 18) "of the Episcopacy as being Peter, and teach that by the keys of the kingdom of heaven, received from the Saviour, those things which are bound by them, that is, condemned, are bound in heaven, and those which are loosed on earth are

* Origen. Comment. in Mat., Tom. 1, p. 274.

loosed in heaven, it may be admitted that they speak truly, if they have the quality on account of which it was said to Peter, Thou art Peter, and if they are such that upon them the Church can be built by Christ, and this privilege can be justly granted to them. But if any one be not what Peter was, nor be possessed of those qualities which have been mentioned, and yet thinks that he, like Peter, can bind upon the earth, so that those things which he binds shall be also bound in heaven, and that he can loose upon the earth, so that whatever he looses shall be loosed also in heaven, *that man is proud, not knowing the sense of the Scriptures, and being lifted up with pride, he falls into the crime of the devil.*"*

The famous Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, was cotemporary with Origen, and appears to have adopted, to some extent, the notion which was now beginning to be maintained in favor of Roman supremacy. But this doctrine was yet in its infancy, and very far from being acknowledged by any of the fathers of the third century in the form which it afterwards assumed. Thus Cyprian, for example, speaks upon the claim of *primacy*: "Peter, whom the Lord chose first, and upon whom he built his Church, when Paul disputed with him on the subject of circumcision, claimed nothing insolently to himself, nor arrogantly assumed anything. Nor did he say that he held the primacy, and that he ought to be obeyed by those who were new, and subsequent to himself."† Throughout his epistles addressed to the then Bishop of Rome, Cyprian calls him his "colleague," his "fellow-Bishop," or his "brother," in no instance giving him any title of superior respect or reverence. He acknowledges the greater importance of the Roman Church,

* Origen. Comment. in Mat., Tom. 1, p. 279-280.

† Cypriani Epist. ad Quin., p. 140.

but rests it on the ground of *secular* influence, saying, "Plainly, *on account of its magnitude*, Rome ought to precede Carthage."* And when a warm controversy arose between himself and Stephen, the then Bishop of Rome, about the validity of heretical baptisms, Cyprian maintained his equality of rights, laying down this general law, "that *every Bishop* exercises the free choice of *his own will* in the administration of the Church, having to *render an account of his acts to the Lord*."†

I proceed next to Eusebius, the Bishop of Cæsarea, who flourished in the latter part of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, and who is usually styled the father of ecclesiastical history, having produced a celebrated work on that subject, from the beginning of the Gospel to his own day, well known to theologians. It is in this book that we should unquestionably find your system of the Papacy, if any such had been established, but throughout the whole volume there is not only a perfect absence of everything which could intimate it, but on the contrary, there is an abundance of evidence circumstantially irreconcilable with the Papal claim.

Thus, in the 14th chapter of his 2d book, Eusebius speaks of Peter, the great and powerful Apostle, being conducted to Rome to oppose Simon the Magician, and of Mark being requested to put in writing what the Apostle had preached there. But nothing is said about his being Bishop of Rome, or claiming any authority over the other Apostles. In the 3d book, chapter 1, the historian speaks of the Apostles in the following terms:—"The holy Apostles and disciples of the Saviour, being scattered over the whole

* Cypriani Ep. ad Cornelium, p. 70.

† Ib. ad Stephanum, p. 142.

world, Thomas, according to tradition, received Parthia as his allotted region; Andrew received Scythia, and John, Asia; where, after continuing for some time, he died at Ephesus. But Peter is supposed to have preached through Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, *to the Jews who were scattered abroad*, who also, coming to Rome, was crucified with his head downward, having requested, of himself, to suffer in this way. But *of Paul, who can sufficiently speak*, spreading the Gospel from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and finally suffering martyrdom under Nero?"

This primitive historian, in his next chapter, relates the beginning of the Roman Episcopate in these words: "After the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus *was the first that received the Episcopate at Rome.*" Here his testimony confirms that of Irenæus, and both of them are altogether irreconcilable with the Papal assumption.

But let me now pass on to the testimony of the famous Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan, who flourished in the following century. "FAITH," saith this eminent father, "IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH, for it was not said of the *flesh* of Peter, but of his *faith*, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it."*

Again: "Believe," saith Ambrose, "as Peter believed, that you also may be blessed, that you may deserve to hear, *Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven.* FOR WHOEVER OVERCOMES THE FLESH IS A FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH."†

And again, saith Ambrose, "THE ROCK IS CHRIST, *for they drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, and that*

* S. Ambros. Op. Ed. Bened., Tom. 2, p. 711, De Incarn. Sacram., cap. iv., § 34.

† Ib. Tom. 1, p. 1406.

rock was Christ. And He has not denied to His disciple even the favor of this word, that he may be also a Peter, because from the Rock he derives the solidity of perseverance and the firmness of faith.* Upon that rock thy house is built, that it may be struck by no spiritual wickedness. *The rock is thy faith. Faith is the foundation of the Church.*†

“What is said to Peter,” saith he elsewhere, “is said to all the Apostles.”‡ “Nor is this operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, found only in Peter, but the same unity of the divine work is revealed in all the Apostles, as the authority of the heavenly constitution.”§

“Nor was Paul inferior to Peter, although the one was a foundation of the Church, and the other a wise architect, knowing how to establish the steps of those who believed: nor was Paul, I say, unworthy of the Apostolic College, since he also may be compared with the first, *and is second to none.* For he who does not acknowledge himself inferior, makes himself equal.”||

Once more, to show the independence of the fourth century with respect to the Church of Rome, notwithstanding Ambrose, being the Bishop of Milan, was so near a neighbor to it, we find him employing this language: “I desire in all things to follow the Church of Rome; but nevertheless, we men have sense also, and therefore whatever is *more correctly practised elsewhere, we are more correct in practising.*”¶

* S. Ambros. Op., Ed. Bened., Tom. 1, § 97, p. 1407.

† Ib. § 98.

‡ Ib. Tom. 1, p. 858.

§ Ib. Tom. 2, p. 662.

|| Ib. p. 664, § 158.

¶ Ib. p. 362-3.

These extracts might be greatly extended, but they are more than sufficient to show that this celebrated father of the fourth century held no such doctrine concerning St. Peter and the Papacy, as your advocates would persuade us to attribute to the primitive Church.

The next witness to whom I shall appeal is the famous Jerome, who is a special favorite with your theologians, because he addressed a letter to Damasus, the Roman Bishop of that day, in which he speaks in strong terms of the chair of Peter, saying, that "on that rock he knows that the Church is built, and that whoever eats the lamb out of that house is profane." But there are other passages in his works which must be taken into consideration before we can ascertain his real sentiments, and to these I shall ask my reader's attention. For in that letter it is manifest that he was speaking with reference to the doctrines of *the faith*, whereas the point in question is one of *government*. And here we shall find Jerome laying down principles quite irreconcilable with your modern Papal system.

Thus, in his epistle to Evagrius, this eminent father saith: "The Church of Rome is not to be thought one thing, and that of the whole world another. Gaul, and Britain, and Africa, and Persia, and the East, and Judea, and all the barbarian nations, adore also one Christ, and observe the same rule of truth. If authority is sought for, the world is greater than one city. *Wherever there is a Bishop, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanis, he is of the same excellency, of the same Episcopate.* The power of wealth and the lowliness of poverty does not make a Bishop either less or greater; but they are all the successors of the Apostles."*

* Hieron. Op., Tom. 2, p. 221. Hieronymus Evagrius.

Again : " You 'assert," saith Jerome, " that the Church is founded upon Peter, *although the same thing is elsewhere done upon all the Apostles, and all received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, so that the strength of the Church is consolidated upon them all alike* ; nevertheless, on this account, one is elected among the twelve, in order that a head being constituted, the occasion of schism might be taken away."*

In his Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew, xvi., he saith, " *On this rock the Lord founded His Church ; from this rock, Peter obtained his name.* The foundation which the Apostle, as an architect, laid, is one, our Lord Jesus Christ. *Upon this foundation the Church of Christ is built.*"†

And again : " Peter, who received his name from the firmness of his faith, in his epistle, saith, The presbyters who are among you, I, who am your fellow-presbyter, beseech, feed the flock of the Lord among you, not as if by constraint, but willingly. Here we show," continues Jerome, " that with the ancients, presbyters and Bishops were the same : but by degrees, in order that the plants of dissension might be rooted up, the care of government was committed to one. Therefore, as the presbyters know themselves to be subject to him who may be set over them, *by the custom of the Church*, so should Bishops know that they are superior to the presbyters more by custom than by the truth of the Lord's disposition, and that they ought to govern the Church in common."‡

From these extracts it is perfectly manifest that Jerome was no believer in your modern Papal theory. For that assumes an express grant of supremacy to Peter by Christ

* Hieron. Op. om., Tom. 2, p. 26, adversus Jovinianum.

† Ib. Op. om., Com. in Mat., cap. vii., v. 61.

‡ Ib. Com. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. i.

Himself, and to the Popes of Rome, as the Apostle's successors, giving to the Church of Rome the title of mother and mistress of all other Churches. Whereas Jerome treats the headship of Peter as a measure of *expediency*, to guard the better against schism; considers the Bishop of Rome to be of no greater authority than any other Bishop; declares that the rock on which the Church is built is Christ Himself; and regards the superiority of Bishops over presbyters as a rule established rather by the custom of the Church than of the divine arrangement. In this last point, it is certain that Jerome was singular in his opinion, nor do I profess to adopt it. But whether on that point he was right or wrong, it is incontrovertible that he stood entirely opposed to the modern claims of Romanism. Yet Jerome stands on the list of your canonized saints, and the Canon law of Rome calls him *most blessed*.

From Jerome I proceed to the still brighter name of St. Augustin, and his testimony on the question before us will be found particularly clear and decisive.

"I wrote a book," saith this prince of the fathers, "against the epistle of Donatus, while I was a presbyter, in which I said, in a certain place, concerning the Apostle Peter, that the Church was built on him as on a rock. * * * But I know that very frequently afterwards I expounded our Lord's saying, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*, so that it might be understood to mean: *Upon him whom thou, Peter, hast confessed*, saying, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God*; and so Peter, being named from this rock, would represent the person of *the Church, which is built upon this rock*, and received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. For it was not said to him, *Thou art a rock*, but *Thou art Peter*. THE ROCK WAS

CHRIST, whom Simon having confessed, as the whole Church confesses Him, was called Peter.”*

The same true exposition is given by Augustine in many other places. Thus, in his discourse upon the twenty-first chapter of St. John’s Gospel, he speaks as follows :—

“ Moreover, the Lord saith: *Upon this rock I will build my Church*, because Peter had said, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God*. Upon THIS ROCK, therefore, which thou hast confessed, *I will build my Church*. For THE ROCK WAS CHRIST; upon which foundation Peter himself was also built. For another foundation can no man lay besides that which is laid, Christ Jesus. The Church, therefore, which is built on Christ, received the keys of the kingdom of heaven in Peter, that is, the power of binding and loosing sins.”†

Again, Augustine expresses the same idea very forcibly in these words: “ *And I say unto thee, Thou art Peter*; because I am a rock (petra), thou art Peter (Petrus), for the rock is not from Peter, but Peter from the rock, as Christ is not from Christian, but Christian from Christ. *And upon this rock I will build my Church*: not upon Peter, which thou art, but upon THE ROCK which thou hast confessed. But *I will build my Church*; I will build THEE, who in this answer bearest the figure of the Church.”‡

And equally conclusive against your Papal theory is the comment of the same eminent father on the text in the Gospel of St. John, *Feed my sheep*, which your modern Church of Rome would persuade us to accept as a sufficient proof,

* S. Augustini Op. om., Ed. Benedict., Tom. 1, p. 23. Retract., 1, 1, cap. xxi., § 1.

† Ib. Tom. 3, Pars 2, p. 599.

‡ Ib. Tom. 5, p. 764, E.

that the whole Church, Apostles and all, were committed to the pastoral care of St. Peter. "*Feed my sheep*," saith Augustine: "I commit my sheep to thee. What sheep? Those which I have bought with my blood. I have died for them. Dost thou love me? Die, then, for them. And truly as that hireling who was the servant of man should give a price for the sheep that were lost, Peter gave his blood for the sheep that were saved. But come, brethren, I wish to say something for the present time. That which was committed to Peter, that which he was commanded to do, NOT PETER ONLY, BUT LIKEWISE ALL THE APOSTLES, HEARD, HELD, AND KEPT, and chiefly that companion of his martyrdom and of his natal-day, the Apostle Paul. They heard these things, and transmitted them to us, that we might hear them. WE FEED, THEREFORE, and are fed with you. May God give us strength in such wise to love you, that we also may be enabled to die for you, either in fact, or in affection."*

The famous Chrysostom held the same doctrine with Augustine, and likewise Isidore of Pelusium, with others, but I shall not enlarge any further upon the evidence of the fathers, since more than enough has been adduced to prove their direct and positive incompatibility with the modern claims of your Papal usurpation.

That those claims are entirely contrary to the early Councils of the Church, it will be my next duty to establish. But it may be as well, before I proceed to this proof, to remind you of the actual basis of your Roman supremacy. For we have seen your own historian, Fleury, stating that the Emperor Valentinian, A. D. 366, ordered that *the Bishop*

* S. Augustini Op. om., Tom. 5, p. 836, E. Sermo in Natali Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

*of Rome, with his colleagues, should examine the causes of the other Bishops,** and this was the real commencement of the power which afterwards grew up to such vast dimensions. This very act, however, shows that the Church at large could not at that time have acknowledged such a prerogative ; since, if the Pope already possessed the right by a DIVINE DECREE, as the successor of St. Peter, the imperial mandate would have been quite unnecessary. I need hardly observe, that the appellate power is the chief branch of that sweeping jurisdiction, which absorbs the whole authority of the Church into the sovereignty of its Papal head, and makes him, virtually, the Bishop of Bishops, and the king of kings. And yet it is certain that the old Canons not only yield it no support, but are altogether opposed to it.

Thus, in the ancient collection called the Apostolic Canons, and also in the Apostolical Constitutions, there is not a syllable recognizing your Papal doctrine of the primacy, but every Metropolitan Bishop is spoken of as the equal of the rest. The general aspect of appellate jurisdiction, even as late as the fourth century, is shown by the Canons of the Council of Antioch, A. D. 341, as follows :—

CANON XIV.

“If a Bishop be found guilty of crime, and it so happen that the Bishops of his province differ, some holding him to be innocent, and others guilty, the doubt shall be settled by the Metropolitan of the neighboring province, who shall call other judges to determine the controversy, and whatever shall seem just shall be approved by these and the Comprovincial Bishops.”

* Page 32.

CANON XV.

“If any Bishop, accused of crime, shall be condemned by all the Bishops of his province, so that all unite in the same sentence against him, he shall not be judged by any others in any manner, but the condemnation of the Bishops so agreeing together shall remain firm.”*

The Council of Sardica assembled six years later, and there, for the first time, the old rule was attempted to be changed, by giving a deposed Bishop a right to appeal to the Bishop of Rome, who should direct a new trial, if he thought proper. But the very language of this Council shows that it was a novelty, introduced as a measure of expediency. And it was not even then proposed to make the Pope a judge of the final decision, according to your modern system ; since the decree only put it into his power to commit the case again to another set of Bishops taken from a neighboring province.† The law of Valentinian, therefore, was the strongest basis for the Papal ambition to rest on ; and hence, so far was the supreme judicial authority of the Pope from having any claim to be considered as a divine prerogative, in the general sentiment of the Church, that it took its real rise from the secular power of the emperor.

Notwithstanding the act of the Council of Sardica, however, and the imperial grant of Valentinian, this novel assumption was by no means acceptable to the Church, for we find the first General Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, passing a Canon, for the manifest purpose of curbing the ambition of Rome, by confining the influential Bishops of every diocese to their own jurisdiction. Thus it runs :—

* Hardouini Concil. General., Tom. 1, p. 600.

† Ib. 641.

CANON II.

“Diocesan Bishops shall by no means approach those churches which are beyond the limits affixed to their dioceses, nor confound them by their presumption ; but according to the Canons, the Bishop of Alexandria shall rule only those which are in Egypt, and the Eastern Bishops shall only govern the East, those privileges being preserved which the Canons of Nicea granted to the Church of Antioch. The Bishops of Asia also shall alone dispense those things which belong to Asia, the Bishops of Pontus only those which are in Pontus, and the Bishops of Thrace shall govern those which are in Thrace.”

“But Bishops who are *not called* shall not intrude to perform ordinations, nor to dispose of any ecclesiastical causes, the rules being observed for each diocese which are above written. For it is manifest that throughout all the provinces the Provincial Synod should administer and govern all things, according to the regulations of the Council of Nicea. The Bishop of Constantinople ought to have the PRIMACY OF HONOR with or after (Gr., *μετὰ*) the Bishop of Rome, because that is the *New Rome*.”*

The synodical epistle of this Council styled Jerusalem, expressly, THE MOTHER OF ALL THE CHURCHES.† And thus we see how the highest authority, namely, that of a General Council, opposed the new assumption of appellate power, sustained the independence of the provinces, and even sought to keep down the arrogance of Rome by raising the dignity of Constantinople.

I shall next notice the Council of Milevi, A. D. 402, where the twenty-second Canon presents a similar check, under a more stringent form.

* Hard. Concil. General., Tom. 1, p. 809..

† Ib. 826.

CANON XXII.

“If the presbyters, deacons, or other inferior clergy, shall complain of the judgments of their Bishops, let the neighboring Bishops hear them, and whatever may be litigated among them, let it be concluded by these, with the consent of their own Bishops. But if they desire to appeal from this, *let them not appeal, unless to the Councils of Africa, or to the primates of their respective provinces.* And if any shall appeal to the *transmarine Councils*, let him not be received into communion by any one in Africa.”* Here we have an express prohibition, evidently aimed at Rome, for the Council was an African Council, and its president was Aurelius, the Bishop of Carthage, and Italy was its nearest *transmarine* diocese, where the energy of Papal ambition was already beginning to be troublesome and dangerous.

In the year 419, we meet with the records of the sixth Council of Carthage, held under Aurelius by 229 Bishops, amongst whom was the Bishop Faustinus, the legate of the Church of Rome. The proposition being made that the Council should adopt the Creed and the Canons of the General Council of Nicea, and the Roman Legate having stated to the assembly that he was instructed to request of the Council this act of confirmation, the notary proceeded to read the document which the Bishop of Rome had committed to the hands of his legate *as the record of the Nicene Council*; but instead of this, it proved to be the *Canon of the Council of Sardica, recommending an appeal in all cases to the Bishop of Rome.* The fraud was detected, however, by Alypius, the Bishop of Tagasta, who said that he had examined the Greek originals of the Council of Nicea, and

* Hard. Concil. Gen., Tom. 1, p. 1221.

that no such Canon was found there. Therefore he prayed that Aurelius might send to Constantinople for an authentic copy of the acts of that Council, and that they should wait until it arrived. This course was adopted, and so the trick failed. But it is melancholy to see that, even at this early period, so bold a scheme of *pious* fraud could be attempted in the service of Papal ambition.*

We come now to the General Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, where we find a declaration, unanimously adopted, condemning, by anticipation, all the additions which were afterwards brought into the Creed of Rome, and definitively adopted in the Council of Trent, and the Creed of Pope Pius IV., your modern standard. For after the Council of Chalcedon had solemnly confirmed the symbols of Nicea, Ephesus, and Constantinople, they passed the following statute :—

“This holy and universal Council has decreed that no one may profess, write, compose, or hold or teach to others, *any other Creed*. And those who shall presume to compose any other Creed, or profess, or teach, or deliver any other symbol, if they be Bishops or clergy, they shall be *strangers from the Episcopate and the ministry*; and if they be monks or laymen, they shall be *anathematized*.”†

And in the twenty-eighth Canon of the same Council, we read these words, which are perfectly conclusive against the whole claim of your Papal supremacy :—

“We determine and decree concerning the privileges of the most holy Church of Constantinople, the New Rome. For the fathers gave honor to the See of ancient Rome, *because that was the imperial city*. And one hundred and fifty

* Hard. Concil. Gen., Tom. 1, p. 1242.

† Ib. Tom. 2, p. 455.

Bishops, beloved of God, moved by the same consideration, have granted *equal honor to the holy See of New Rome*; rightly judging that the city which is honored by the empire and the Senate, should enjoy equal privileges with the ancient queen, Rome, in ecclesiastical matters also, and should be extolled and magnified no otherwise than she is, as the second after her, and that the Metropolitans of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, as well as the Bishops of those dioceses which are among the barbarians, shall be ordained by the said See of the most holy Church of Constantinople.”*

Against this Canon, however, the legates of the Bishop of Rome protested strongly, reading from their instructions the express command of their master (who had good reason to anticipate the course of the Council), that they should not suffer his dignity to be violated or diminished in any wise. Again, therefore, there was an attempt to impose a false reading of the Council of Nicea. For the Papal Legate, Paschasinus, recited what he called the sixth Canon of the 318 fathers, saying that *the Church of Rome has always had the primacy*. And again, the attempted fraud was detected; and the true meaning given, which had no such words. The decree was accordingly confirmed in favor of the Church of Constantinople, and we may readily imagine the expressions of indignation and contempt with which the impudent forgery was branded by the fathers.† But so little do your rulers care for historical truth when it stands in the way of their exclusive pretensions, that the same falsehood is retained in your Canon law, in the name of the Council of Nicea, to this day.

Let the reader now look at the contrariety between the

* Hard. Concil. Gen., Tom. 2, p. 612-13.

† Ib. 638.

system of your Papal supremacy and the acts of these two celebrated General Councils, the first of which was held in A. D. 381, and the other in the middle of the fifth century. Your writers maintain that the Pope is the *supreme ruler* of the whole Church, by the appointment of Christ, as the successor of St. Peter : whereas the Council of Chalcedon declares that a primacy of *honor* was given to him by the fathers, only because the city of Rome was the ancient metropolis of the empire. Rome insists that this supremacy is confined to the Pope : but both the Councils decree that there is precisely the same reason for dividing it with the Bishop of Constantinople. Rome claims that her superiority is divine : the Councils declare that it is secular and human. Rome calls herself the Mother of all the Churches : the Council of Constantinople gives this title, with perfect truth, to Jerusalem. Rome claims for the Pope a universal appellate power : the Councils forbid appeals beyond the Bishops of the adjoining province. Nay, we see by the course of the Roman legates on two several occasions, that the Bishop of that see did not even pretend, at that time, to rest his assumed prerogative upon the grant of our Lord to Peter, but only on the decrees of the first General Council at Nicea, in A. D. 325, and therefore two fraudulent attempts were made to impose false copies of that Council upon the Councils of Carthage and of Constantinople, both of which were detected and repelled. And yet your divines pretend to appeal to the Councils as well as to the fathers, and continue to print the forgery of Nicea, in their own copies of the ancient Canons, to the present hour ! Doubtless, however, this fact may suggest the charitable hope that the mass of your clergy sin through ignorance because they take the statements of their books for truth

and have no access to the original documents of history. They are blind leaders of the blind, and therefore they may claim some palliation for their error. But many of your leaders know better. And hence, I presume, the Jesuitical rule, that *the end sanctifies the means*, is adopted through the force of what they call necessity, and fraud and misrepresentation seem to be *pious*, if they can be employed to secure the yoke of the Papal system.

A few words must suffice to show the truth of my remaining charges, that the Papal claim is absurd in itself, and historically fatal to Christian unity.

That one man should be placed over the whole world, to be the judge, the ruler, and the sovereign dispenser of the divine will to all mankind, as the vicar of Him who is God as well as man, the true Head of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ, is a proposition which, properly considered, is extravagant and incredible, because there is not, in the circle of mere human power, a possibility of fulfilling such a multifarious and extended agency. Hence, even with the assistance of seventy Cardinals, and limited to the concerns of a single continent, the administration of the Papacy has been a constant course of delays, of injustice, of bribery, of cruelty, of all manner of corruptions, as the pen of your own Fleury has depicted it, anterior to the Reformation; and since then, its actual power has dwindled down to such a trifle, that the comparison of its mighty claims with its effective performance has become simply ridiculous. In point of fact, your Church has been regulated, for a long season, by the local Bishops and priests, as fully, to all intents and purposes, as if they had no superior. In point of fact, these men are influenced by various and often contrary motives of expediency. In point of fact, the Pope

and his Cardinals have never been able to govern, in ordinary peace and constancy, for any considerable time, their own city of Rome, nor to regulate by any available system their fifteen principalities of Italy. And with all the advantages of cultivation and intelligence, high art, abundant wealth, and controlling sacerdotal dominion, it is an unquestionable truth that the territory of the Popes has been one of the worst managed among all the States in Europe. How preposterous, therefore, in itself, is the idea, that the wisdom of God ever appointed such a power to govern the world!

With regard to the last charge, that the Papacy, historically speaking, has been fatal to Christian unity, it is demonstrated beyond the reach of honest contradiction. It was the Papacy which drove the Oriental Churches into schism in the ninth century. Its path was marked ever after by rebellions, insurrections, wars, persecutions, heresies, and hatred. Commissioned, according to its own theory, to be the bond of peace and good-will to men, it was usually occupied with the sword of slaughter, raised in the defence of its temporal interests or its spiritual despotism. And when the period of an extensive reformation came at last, it was forced upon mankind, according to the acknowledgment of your own chief friends, by priestly avarice, priestly pride, priestly sloth, and priestly licentiousness. All this has been shown sufficiently by the extracts from your own historian; and if the reader has forgotten them, he must be thoroughly convinced by perusing the melancholy details again.

And thus, I have assigned the evidence against this cardinal doctrine of Romanism. The Scriptures, the fathers, the Councils, the character of the claim itself, and the voice

of history, concur in branding it with the title of Antichrist. Nor is there a single quality connected with the Papal usurpation, in its practical shape, which can recommend it to the mind of any candid and enlightened man. Its *theory* is specious, regarded as a centre of unity, in contrast with the open strifes and dissensions of Christendom ; and hence it is not wonderful that it has deluded a few credulous and discontented proselytes from time to time. But when we look into the facts of its history, through long ages of proof, we find that, from the period when its claims of domination were consummated, there has been no peace—no real union. On the contrary, war in all its forms, moral, intellectual, and physical, has attended its fearful course ; and the worst contentions of the sects, when contrasted with the career of Popery, are seen to be no more than the angry disputes of children, compared with the thunder of the battle-field, and garments rolled in blood.

The claim of Rome, therefore, to *apostolicity*, grounded on the PAPACY, is of all claims the most preposterous and audacious. Your Church possesses this attribute in the successions of her Bishops and her clergy, and in that portion of her Creed which she derived from Scripture. And that succession we also possess, purified from all corrupt inventions, and restored to the standard of the primitive Church. Hence we aver that we have this attribute of apostolicity in a far higher degree than Rome, notwithstanding the poor cavils which Dr. Milner raises against our title. But these I shall reserve for my next letter.



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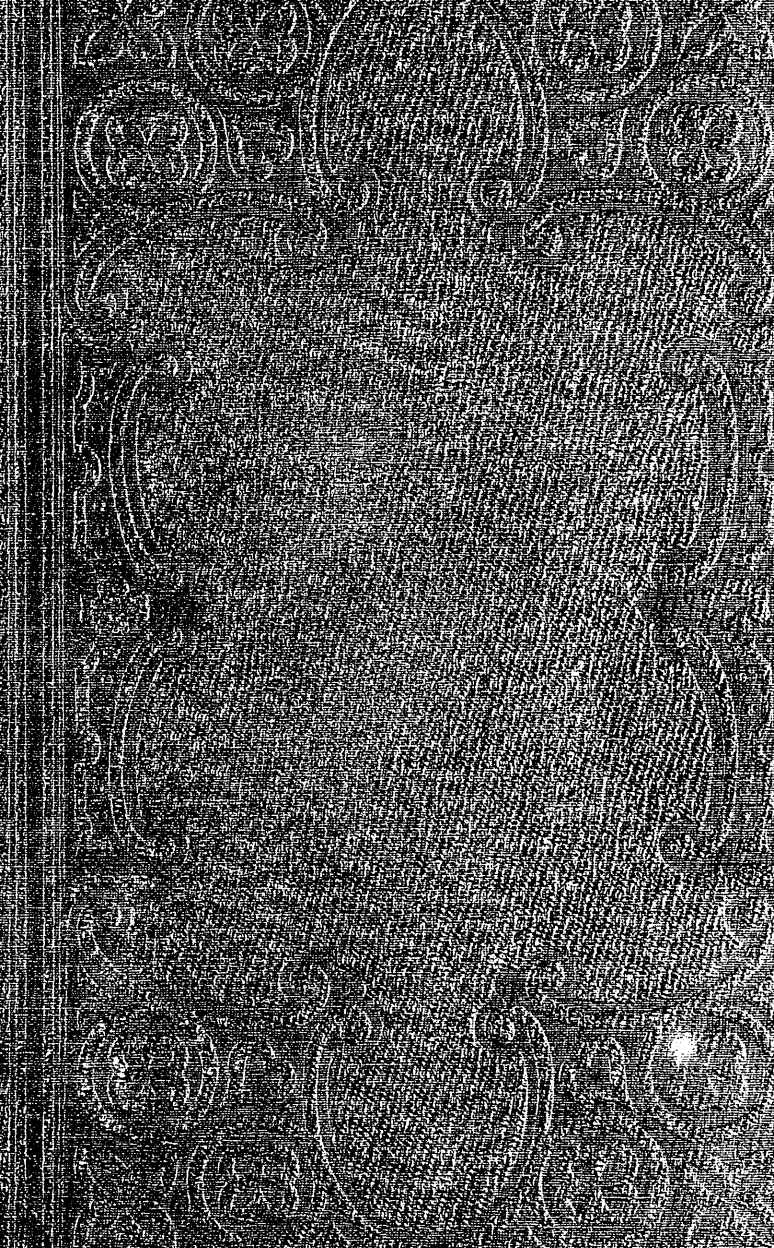


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“THE END OF CONTROVERSY,”
CONTROVERTED.

A
REFUTATION
OF

Milner's "End of Controversy,"

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

ADDRESSED TO

THE MOST REVEREND FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore.

BY JOHN H. HOPKINS, D. D., LL. D.,
Bishop of Vermont.

VOL. II.

NEW-YORK:
PUDNEY & RUSSELL, No. 79 JOHN-STREET.
STANFORD & SWORDS, 637 BROADWAY.

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PUDNEY & RUSSELL, Printers, 79 John-Street, N. Y.

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—Turning the reading of the Bible into poison—Preaching open to the same objection—The priests have caused more scandals than the Bible—Restricting the use of the Word of God another claim to the name of Antichrist—The real reason of this restriction omitted by Milner—It is the most perilous of all things to the falsities and corruptions of Rome—Burning the Bible—Opposite course of the Church of England. Pp. 358—370.

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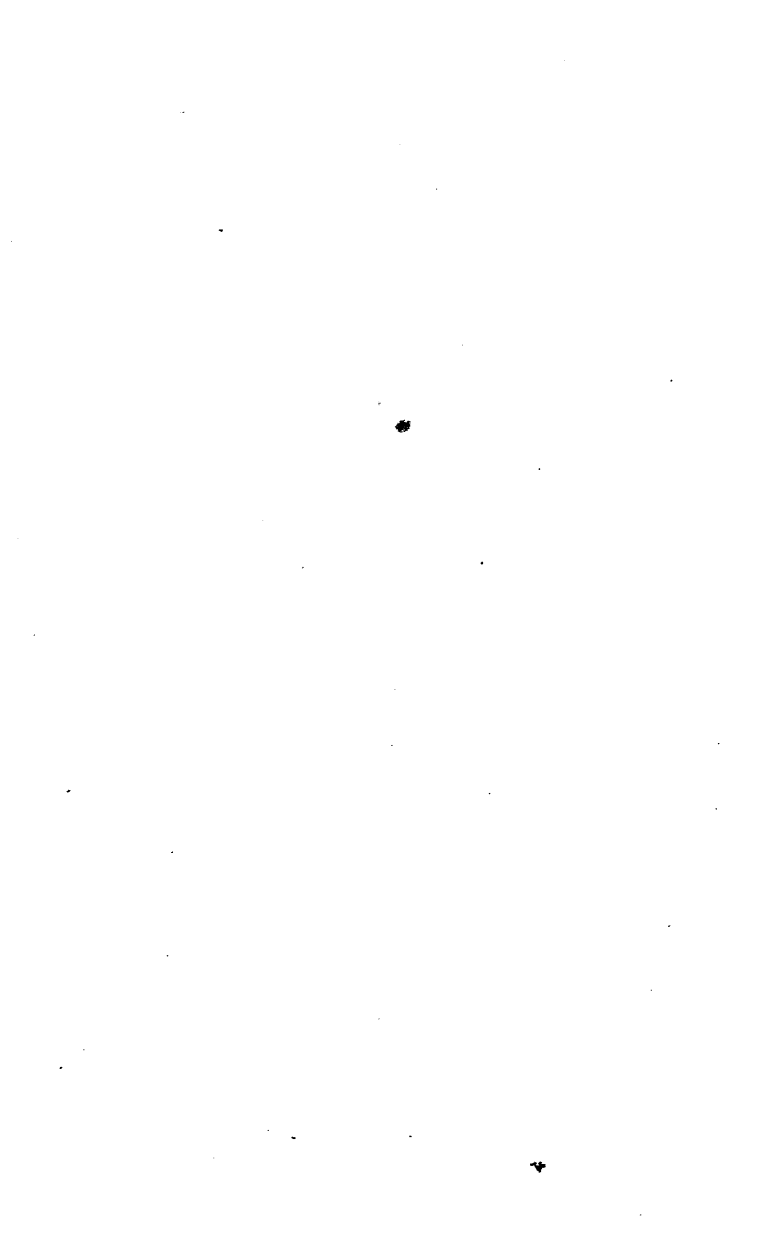
Milner's assertion that the Church of Rome expressly disclaims the power to punish heretics with penalties, imprisonment, tortures, and death—He refers to Gregory I. and previous writers, in whose time his

assertion was true—In the ninth century some heretics burned alive—This became the established law throughout Europe—During this time the Pope, Bishops, and Priesthood had the greatest influence in making the laws—Milner's attempt to get rid of the Fourth Council of Lateran—He says there were temporal persons present, who passed decrees of a temporal nature—Reply to this contemptible quibble—The acts of the Council authorized by the *votes* of the prelates alone—The laity have no formal power in Romish Councils—Milner says the main work of the Council was to extirpate the Manichæan heresy; that the decree was never enforced, except against the Albigenses; and that it was never published or talked of in the British islands—Hardly a word of truth in this—The true objects of the Council—The third Canon against every heresy—Mosheim's testimony unwisely referred to by Milner—No account of the Albigenses, except from Roman writers—True summary as to the Council of Lateran—Action under the canon of this Council in England—The bones of Wickliffe and his followers—The Confessional enjoined by this same Council enforced in England—Smithfield in the reign of Queen Mary—Milner "unanswerably demonstrates" what is notoriously untrue—Queen Mary was made a Persecutor by her Church—James II. did not lose his crown in the cause of toleration, but in an attempt to restore the Papal bondage—Milner says that the Pope cordially receives Protestants—No Protestant worship allowed, nor any Protestant burial with religious rites permitted, in Rome—Milner's assertion that persecution was more generally practised and more warmly defended by Protestants than by the Church of Rome—Persecution a fixed principle with Rome—Made obligatory by Popes and Councils—England long in discovering and practising on full religious toleration—Severe laws necessary, at first, in self-protection—Dangers of England from Papal power and intrigue—The Papal deposition of the Queen, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance—All this concerned the secular government—The Church could not interfere—No act of the *Church* of England ever authorized persecution—Enormous difference between the two Churches—Comparison of the two—Romish persecution only needs the power to revive. Pp. 379—391.

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accepted—Scripture, as interpreted solely by private judgment, proved *not* to be the rule of faith of the Church of England; but Scripture, as interpreted by the primitive Church—The Church more of a living teacher with us than with Rome—Analogy of the corruption of the ancient Church of Israel—Similar corruption foretold by the inspired Apostles—Historical sketch of the actual progress of corruption from Romish authorities—The Rule of Faith—Scripture as interpreted by the Church—The Canon of Scripture and the English version—The Four Notes of the Church—All found more clearly in England than in Rome—Worship of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, relics, and images—Purgatory, indulgences, celibacy, auricular confession—Anti-Christian papal sovereignty and persecution—Holy Scripture and real Catholicism fully vindicated—Dr. Milner's reputation committed to Archbishop Kenrick, his special admirer—His public call to us to read Milner's *End of Controversy*—Proof that we *have* read it—Impossible to avoid strong language—Kindly personal feelings—Rome not formally separated from the original Catholic Church—But schismatical and heretical in condemning and anathematizing us—Rome has departed from the Apostolic system, both by taking away from, and by adding to, the truth—These errors made articles of faith—Errors in faith obstinately and pertinaciously maintained are heresies—All refusing to accept them anathematized—No return to pure Apostolicity to be expected from Rome—Prophecy declares otherwise—Crumbling away of Papal power towards its end—The Romish Laity becoming too enlightened for their priests—Thousands of Romanists would rejoice to see the Church of Rome reformed after the model of the Church of England. Pp. 392—398.



The End of Controversy, Controverted.

LETTER XXV.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I HAVE now gone over the four marks of the Church, derived from the Nicene Creed, where we profess to believe in it as One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic. And I trust that I have not only asserted, but proved, the superiority of our claims, on every point, by evidence which any candid mind will deem clear and incontrovertible. It remains that I dispose of the arguments by which Dr. Milner, in his 29th letter, attempts to impugn the validity of our succession ; and this, as I believe, will be easily done, to the entire satisfaction of the unprejudiced reader.

My first duty, however, must be to point out some gross misrepresentations which your favorite author scatters, in his usual style, on the track of his sophistry. Thus, on page 201, he asserts that the Church of England *unchurches* all other Protestant communions, which are without the apostolical succession of Bishops. Whereas, on the contrary, not only does Hooker, whom he quotes on the previous page, but all the Reformers, together with Jewel, Andrewes, Usher, Bramhall, and, in a word, the whole of her standard divines, agree in maintaining that Episcopacy is

not necessary to the *being*, but only to the *well-being*, of the Church; and hence they grant the name of *Churches* to all denominations of Christians who hold the *fundamental doctrines of the Gospel*, notwithstanding the imperfection and irregularity of their ministry. This imperfection and irregularity arose, in the first place, from the calamity of the times, since Luther, Calvin, and Zuinglius had no Bishops, and were therefore compelled either to reform their respective Churches without them, or not reform at all. While Denmark and Sweden were favored with the means of continuing the apostolic element of Episcopacy, and England, especially, enjoyed the privilege of counting her Bishops amongst the leaders in the Reformation. And hence, the Church of England excused the entrance of men into the ministry in a novel form, from the supposed *necessity of circumstances*, and acknowledged them as ministers of Christ, *de facto*, if not strictly *de jure*; likening their case to the condition of the ten tribes in the time of the Prophets Elijah and Elisha, when the faithful worshippers of God were still regarded as His people, although they were cut off from the regular system of the priesthood and the tabernacle which were in Jerusalem. This allegation of Dr. Milner, therefore, is founded on anything but truth. And it is not easy to believe that he was ignorant of his error, because the contrary is apparent in the Thirty-nine Articles of our Church, and in the whole strain of her acts and history.

The next gross misrepresentation of your unscrupulous advocate is on the same page, where he alleges that the Church of England, in A. D. 1575, "unanimously resolved that baptism *cannot be performed* by any but a lawful minister." The change to which he refers, however, was only the omission of a direction, given in the Prayer-Book origi-

nally, that any of the laity might baptize, in case of necessity ; and stating in the Rubric for the future, that a lawful minister should be called to administer that sacrament, *but without pronouncing any opinion against the validity of lay-baptism*. On the contrary, the Church of England has always held the doctrine of the ancient fathers and Councils on that point, that a baptism, performed with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, *is valid*, although, with regard to the administration, it may be *irregular*. Indeed, it is but a few years since this whole question was brought up in England, in the celebrated case of *Mastin vs. Escott*. A clergyman of the Established Church refused to bury a child who had been baptized by a Methodist minister, on the ground alleged by Milner, that, according to the doctrine of the Prayer-Book, it was not baptized at all. But the Ecclesiastical Court condemned the clergyman to be suspended, and vindicated the true teaching of the Church, in precise accordance with the old and settled law, which your own Church holds as we do.

Passing by the quotations of Dr. Milner from Luther, Wesley, &c., on the question of Episcopacy, with which we have nothing to do, I come now to your author's pretended doubts as to the consecration of Archbishop Parker in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The opinion of Cranmer to which he refers is quite irrelevant to the point at issue, because it is certain that it had no place in the system of the Church, nor in any of her standard writings. It was expressed in a private answer to a private question, and involved, at most, an abstract notion as to what *might be done* in case of necessity, and not what *ought to be done* in the regular course of ecclesiastical order. But the facts which your advocate alleges are important, and amount to an im-

peachment of Archbishop Parker's consecration, on the ground that it was an irreverent act, performed at a tavern in Cheapside, called The Nagg's Head, by men who were not Bishops themselves, and by a defective form of consecration! This mean and ridiculous story was first hatched, with a multitude of other lies, by the unprincipled Sanders, and repeated, on his authority, by more respectable men, who made a merit of using any means, however foul, to discredit that Church which was the most formidable enemy of Popery.

Dr. Milner, however, does not venture to endorse the miserable falsehood altogether. He drops the story of the tavern, and contents himself with doubting the Episcopal character of Barlow, one of the four Bishops who officiated, and the sufficiency of the form laid down in the Ordinal of Edward VI. In answer to all such cavils, the following statement will be a sufficient refutation :—

First, then, it is absurd to imagine that Queen Elizabeth, a sovereign who particularly observed magnificence and state in all public transactions, would tolerate such a wanton contempt of religious order in the consecration of the highest officer in her kingdom, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Primate of all England. And no less absurd is it to imagine, that the men whom she thought worthy to act on such a solemn occasion could so far descend below the level of common decency, and that, too, at a time when the observant eyes of Rome, and I may add of all Europe, were fixed upon every step which they should take in the work of Reformation. The very extravagance of the story refutes itself. It is a gross and vulgar lie, framed by a gross and vulgar mind, and intended to work upon the vulgar and ignorant mass of the population.

Secondly, two of the consecrating Bishops, Barlow and

Coverdale, were Bishops in the reign of Henry VIII., and were consecrated by the form of the Church of Rome, so that Dr. Milner can find no fault with their authority. This fact is expressly stated by Bishop Burnet in his confutation of Sanders. (Vol. 4, App., p. 471.)

Thirdly, the Ordinal of Edward VI. was sufficient, because the essence of ordination consists in the laying on of hands for the office, and the other rites appended to it by the Church are variable, and in effect have been often changed, the Apostles having left no precept nor example binding their successors beyond the requisites which I have mentioned. The other two Bishops, therefore, had been consecrated with perfect validity. And with respect to Parker himself, it is plain that he was presented, in the words of the record itself, *to be consecrated Archbishop*, and there is no dispute that he received the imposition of hands. But besides all this, the questions and answers of the Ordinal which determined the office definitively, and the prayers and suffrages, the exhortations, the administration of the holy Eucharist—all are set down, showing the utter emptiness and folly of the objection.

Fourthly, we have the *original record of the transaction*, in Latin, drawn up with the utmost precision, showing that he was consecrated on the Lord's Day, Dec. 17, 1559, in his chapel at the Archiepiscopal Palace of Lambeth, which was richly adorned for the occasion, and setting forth the whole imposing ceremonial, from first to last, with all the care of a practised notary.*

Fifthly, your own Roman historian, who was the continuator of Fleury, though he notices in the margin the book of Le Quien, written against the English ordinations, never-

* Bp. Burnet, Collection of Records, App. to History of Reformation, vol. 4, p. 432.

theless *accepts the record as worthy of all confidence*, and repeats all its details precisely, without the slightest attempt at depreciation.

Sixthly, Father Courayer, a learned and candid priest of your own Church, who resided some time in England, took the pains to investigate the matter, and published a volume which vindicated the truth against the absurd and malignant cavils of some amongst his brethren.

And seventhly, your Roman Catholic historian, Lingard, not only stated the matter rightly in his elaborate work, but afterwards published a separate account of the evidence, to defend his own diligent research, and disabuse his fellow-Romanists of the old imposition.

It is humiliating to see Dr. Milner, in the face of such evidence, struggling to make out his objection by saying that "the record of Barlow's consecration has been hunted for in vain during two hundred years;" that "the learned Catholics," fifty years after the consecration of Archbishop Parker, "universally exclaimed that the Register of that transaction was a forgery, unheard of till that date; and that, admitting it to be true, it was of no avail, as the pretended consecrator Barlow, though he had sat in several Sees, had not himself been consecrated for any of them." But the audacity of such falsehoods can impose on no one who is not already predetermined to yield his reason to the calumnies of any Romanist, without the slightest regard to evidence or probability. Who ever heard before of people that had been *hunting for a record during two hundred years*? And how should they expect to find the record of Barlow's consecration in the time of Henry VIII., after the reign of the bigoted Queen Mary had put it in the power of the Roman Bishops to destroy every trace of those private records which, in their eyes, were only the monuments of heresy?

And when, since the world began, did it happen that a man should be able to occupy several Episcopal Sees, *without ever being consecrated for any of them?* Or by what rule of proof shall the regularly enrolled record of Parker's consecration be called a *forgery*, without the slightest attempt to show *who* could have committed such a crime, *why* it should have been committed, or *how* the imposture could have availed to give him his public and acknowledged rank in the face of the whole nation? Truly, it is hard to say whether an assault upon the facts of history like this, is most to be admired for its amazing contempt of common sense, or its audacious effrontery. The only apology which I can imagine for the author is suggested by the fact that he belonged to a class of men who are accustomed to accept, in its broadest signification, the maxim, "I BELIEVE, BECAUSE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE."

The next argument of Dr. Milner is directed against our ministry, on the ground that, even if they possess a valid ordination, yet they cannot have the apostolical succession of *mission* or authority: first, because our Homily asserts that "for eight hundred years, the laity and clergy, all sects and degrees, were drowned in abominable idolatry;" and if such was the condition of the Church, she could not retain her divine mission and jurisdiction during all this time, so as to commission her ministry to preach. And secondly, because the Church could not possibly give jurisdiction and authority to the English Reformers to preach against herself.

This argument is ingenious, but totally unsound, since it confounds the real authority of your Church, in those things which were good and true, with her pretended authority to perpetuate corruption and idolatry. The answer, therefore, is very easy, when the distinction which I have already

explained in the previous volume is properly understood. For the being, the duties, and the powers of the Church, are neither more nor less than the Gospel of Christ has committed to her. I have said that the Church of Rome still retains the true faith of the Scriptures, and by virtue of this, has authority to commission the ministry for the purpose of propagating the same faith to the end of the world. Thus far she is a true Church, and thus far she could give mission and authority. But she never received from her divine Lord and Master the right to preach falsehood, superstition, and idolatry, and therefore she never had His authority to commission others to preach them. Her power to act for Christ extends no farther than the word of Christ, and when she opposes His word, directly or indirectly, she does it not by right, but by fraud and unfaithfulness. Thus, the adulteress has power to order her children according to the known will of her husband, but she has no power to command them to approve her crime against her marriage vow, much less to insist that, because she is their mother, they are bound to aid and defend her in her acts of infidelity. And therefore when they discover that she is an adulteress, it is their duty to remonstrate with her, and endeavor to persuade her to return to the path of rectitude. And when they find her hardened and irreclaimable, asserting her innocence in the face of the clearest proof, assaulting her sons with violence, and driving them away with curses from her table, do they any the less inherit the property which the common ancestor of the whole family entailed to his offspring forever? Can she with any justice deny their claims, only because they are faithful to the rights and honor of their father? Can she say to them, "You charge me with being unfaithful; yea, some of you have said that I was drowned in sin against my husband before you were

born. If this be so, you cannot be my children at all. For I would not have brought you into the world, and sustained you up to manhood, in order that you should now accuse me of impurity?" Such an argument, it is manifest, would be an absurdity. The crime of adultery could not prevent her being a mother, nor deprive her lawful offspring of their rights. It could only operate on them by making it their duty to stand by their father's authority, and justify their separation from their mother by the necessity which her sin and her cruel despotism had forced upon them.

Even so it was between the Church of Rome and the English Reformers. She was the covenant bride of Christ by virtue of the original faith of the Gospel, which she had never cast away. As such, she had a right to baptize her sons, and give them valid Orders and valid mission. But when they discovered that she was a spiritual adulteress, by a recurrence to the Scriptures and the pure days of primitive Christianity, they renounced, as in duty bound, their participation in the sin which they had ignorantly defended, and endeavored to bring back their Mother to her first pure faith. Instead of acknowledging her crimes, she boldly maintained them by appealing to false traditions, threatened her reformed sons with her vengeance if they dared to proclaim the truth, drove them from her communion by her anathemas, and brought as many as she could lay hands on to the torture and the flames. It was beyond her power, however, to take from them the authority which they rightfully possessed as the commissioned priests and Bishops of the Church of Christ, because it was conferred lawfully, in accordance with her proper powers, and could not be nullified by the association with corruptions and idolatries, the falsehood of which was not known at the time. And therefore they continued

to exercise it none the less, but rather the more, since the command of Christ, their Father and their Master, obliged them to bear testimony against the notorious sins of their mother, the Papal Church, as the only way by which the whole family of Christ could be reclaimed to the truth and simplicity of the Gospel, and guarded against her corrupt and perilous influence.

LETTER XXVI.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE 30th letter of Bishop Milner is devoted to a brief refutation of what he calls the exploded fable of Pope Joan, and much more largely to the evidence in favor of your Church, which he supposed may be fairly derived from the great extent and vast success of her missionary enterprises. These must, therefore, be my next topics of consideration.

With regard to the first, viz., the history of Pope Joan, it has become fashionable to call it a fable ever since the Protestant Blondel, and the critic and philosopher, Bayle, published their refutation. The story is, that in the earlier part of the ninth century, an English girl, of twelve years old, being seized with a strong passion for a young monk, put on male attire, left her father's house, and obtained admission into the same monastery, where she became distinguished for her progress in learning, and all the outward marks of sanctity ; that after some years she left the monastery with her paramour, travelled extensively, greatly increased her store of knowledge and her skill in disputation, and finally took up her residence at Athens, where her lover died ; that from Athens she went to Rome, and attracted universal applause by her talents and acquirements, which were the more esteemed on account of her remarkable zeal and piety ; that here, having perfectly preserved her disguise (which was the more easy because

Gibbon vol. VI. p. 145

the ecclesiastics of Rome wore no beard whatever), she was elected Pope by the name of John VIII., after the death of Leo IV., and held the See for two years and five months ; that she was then discovered by the pains of labor overtaking her, as she was walking in a public procession, between the Coliseum of Nero and the shrine of St. Clement, and there her child and herself died, or, as some authors assert, the child alone, while the mother was consigned to a dungeon ; that Benedict III. succeeded her, A. D. 855 ; that her name was erased from the list of Popes and from the contemporary chronicles, as the whole fact was so humiliating to the dignity of the Papal office ; that in order to guard against the possibility of such deception in future, the rule was adopted and kept up for seven hundred years, that every newly elected Pope should be placed in a perforated chair, called *stercoraria*, and that his sex should be modestly and quietly ascertained from the back of that chair by the hands of the youngest Cardinal Deacon ; that a statue was erected on the spot in detestation of the imposture ; and that no Pope nor public procession ever passed over the place where the catastrophe occurred until A. D. 1367, when, as Fleury has already informed us, Pope Urban broke through the custom, and destroyed it.

The evidence for and against this curious narrative is worth examining, for I am by no means convinced that it should be called a fable, if we are to be guided in history by any of the usual rules of proof. Against it we are told, first, that such a deception is impossible. That this, however, is an error, is easily proved by other cases of a similar kind, the truth of which is not disputed. Thus, Eugenia, daughter of the Governor of Alexandria, in the reign of Gallienus, disguised herself so as to gain admission to a monastery of monks, and was even made their Abbot ; and

she would have been undetected to the hour of her death, if she had not revealed the truth, to save her character from the charge of licentiousness with a woman of ill-fame, and free her brethren from the scandal. So, too, Theodora of Alexandria, having erred in her youth, resolved to conceal the sex she had disgraced, and hide herself in a monastery. She was admitted accordingly, and closed her days without suspicion of disguise, till the truth was ascertained after her dissolution. In modern times we have had a far more extraordinary case, namely, that of the Chevalier d'Eon, equerry to Louis XV., who, after passing the first forty-nine years of his life with great éclat as an advocate, an author, a military officer, and a diplomatist, the last fourteen of which were spent in London, adopted the strange notion of playing the woman, put on female attire, and wore it till his death, in A. D. 1810, with the universal belief of the community that he was what he pretended. Yet the physicians who dissected his body bore testimony that he was a man, after all. A large number of similar examples might be furnished, of the first sort especially, and hence it is plain that there is nothing in this objection.

Next we are told that the story cannot be true, because the book of Anastasius, the librarian, who wrote the Pontificate of Benedict III., and was living in Rome at the time, says nothing of it, but states, on the contrary, that Leo IV. was presently (*mox*) succeeded by Benedict. With him agrees the testimony of Hincmar, Bishop of Rheims, Pope Nicholas, the successor of Benedict III., Ado, Archbishop of Vienne, the Bertinian Annalist, and likewise the Greek writers, Photius and Metrophanes, all of whom were contemporaneous, and precisely alike in the statement of the Papal succession.*

* Bower's History of the Popes, vol. 4, p. 241.

This is the real point of argument in the case, and there is no other. But it is answered by the allegation on the contrary side, that it was agreed by the influential heads of the Church to suppress all notice of the strange and disgraceful fact, because it could do no possible good to hand it down to posterity, and would rather tend to the ridicule of religion. That the impostor could not be entitled to a place on the list of the Popes, because her sex disqualified her. That this principle being admitted, there was no violence done to the truth of history in omitting her altogether. That the two eminent prelates of the East, Photius of Constantinople, and Metrophanes of Smyrna, could have no interest in refusing to follow the lead of Rome on such a subject, but rather avoided, as a matter of policy, inserting a useless scandal, which would be taken as an offence, and only serve to aggravate the growing discord between their respective Churches. That, in fine, the testimony, properly considered, is no testimony at all, because it does not meet the case. It only asserts that Benedict III. succeeded Leo IV., which was true, on the proper hypothesis that Joan was no real Pope, but an arrant impostor. And therefore there is no actual conflict, after all, between the witnesses.

It is proper to state, however, that Bower, who is a perfect unbeliever in the history of this false Pope, regards the evidence of Hincmar as conclusive. For he quotes that Archbishop as saying, in a letter to Pope Nicholas, that he had *sent envoys to Rome, who, hearing on the road that Leo was dead, pursued, nevertheless, their journey, and arriving at Rome, obtained of Benedict the privilege which they were sent to demand.* From this, Bower argues that the woman Joan could not have stepped in between Leo and Benedict for two years and five months, unless the envoys of Hincmar

are supposed to have been all that time on their journey. But this is a very hasty conclusion, because it takes for granted the most unusual thing in the history of the Papacy, viz., that those envoys gained the assent of the Pope *immediately on their arrival*, whereas there was no complaint so common against the Popes, from the ninth century and upwards, as the long delays which elapsed before suitors obtained a decision. It cannot be forgotten that, at a later period, Henry VIII. spent six years in trying to obtain the Papal judgment, and was compelled to act without it at last. Hence it is evident that this letter of Vincmar proves nothing of the kind which Bower takes for granted, and therefore does not in the least interfere with the answer given to this second objection.

If the date were unanimously settled at which Leo died, and also that at which Benedict was elected, it would be the most satisfactory mode of ascertaining whether there was any interval of time sufficient for the false Pope to have come between them. But here there is a great discrepancy, for Ranulphus allows only four years to the pontificate of Leo, while Platina and others make it eight years and three months. Who shall decide between them?

But now, on the other hand, let me examine the positive evidence in favor of the story.

First, it is related by *Marianus Scotus*, in the eleventh century, two centuries after the fact, by *Sigebertus* in the twelfth century, and by *Martinus Polonus* in the thirteenth. It is objected that these writers are too late, because they could not have known what happened so long before they were born. But this objection comes strangely from a Romanist, who places such faith in the truth of oral tradition. It is easy to conceive that as the lapse of time, during which the heads of the Church had taken some pains to

suppress the written record of the event, had passed away, while yet the *local memory* of the matter in Rome was likely to go down from generation to generation, the first chronicler of it, *Marianus Scotus*, felt free to mention the facts without any danger of offence, and therefore did so in perfect honesty. But supposing it to have been a lie, then first invented, we are encountered at once by many greater difficulties. For what could have been his motive? He had no possible interest to serve by such a fabrication. There were no Protestants to gratify; and if there had been, he was himself a faithful and highly esteemed monk of Fulda, attached, heart and soul, to Rome. Such a story could bring no honor to the Popes, no credit to the priesthood, no gain to his monastery, no advantage to himself. On the contrary, if it were a lie, his statement must have raised a storm about his ears which would soon have compelled him to retract it. But instead of this, it appears that his account was received with universal acquiescence in its truth. The chroniclers who succeeded him repeat the same, with further particulars; especially, that *a statue was erected on the spot, that the processions went round about to avoid passing over it, and that the perforated chair was adopted to prevent the occurrence of a similar deception in future*. How would they have dared to assert such facts if they were not perfectly secure from contradiction? Surely it must be manifest to the slightest reflection, that the publication of such things in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the power of the Papacy was at the highest point, would have been treated indignantly as a gross scandal upon the Holy See; and hence the entire absence of all censure against these authors, and the general acquiescence in the truth of what they declared, amounts to a demonstration in their favor.

Secondly, we have the testimony of *Theodoric of Nerin*, who was secretary to two Popes, that the statue of this female impostor was still extant in Rome at the time he wrote, namely, in 1413. And Bower admits, in a note, that this statue represented a woman and a child, that it stood on the spot where she was said to have been delivered, and that the story was *universally* believed at that day.

Thirdly, we have the strong corroborating evidence of another statue of this female, which stood among the statues of the Popes in the great Cathedral of Siena, placed between those of Pope Leo IV. and Pope Benedict III., with this inscription—*Joan VIII., an English woman*. In the time of Baronius, this statue was still to be seen in that cathedral; but Cardinal Tarugi, Archbishop of Siena, applying to the Grand Duke, at his request the features were altered, and the statue of Pope Joan was metamorphosed into the statue of Pope Zachary. But this was not effectual, as every one knew that it once represented the female Pope, and therefore it was removed and broken up before the year 1677. And here I must quote the testimony of the learned Romanist, Antonius Pagi, as given in a note of Bower—"That as he passed through Siena, in the year 1677, and was very desirous of being informed, upon the spot, of every particular relating to the famous statue of the she-Pope in that cathedral, he applied for information to the religious of his own order, the Minorites; but they, to his great surprise, pretended never to have heard of such a statue. Hereupon, Pagi, finding that they, he knew not why, avoided entering upon the subject, repaired to the cathedral, and addressing the prebendaries as they came out of the choir after Vespers, told them that he wanted to see the statue of Pope Joan, and begged they would show

it to him, as it might afford him some new light to confute the fable and confound the heretics. But they all walked off, without so much as deigning to return him an answer. When they were all gone, a man advanced in years, accosting him, told him that he had long belonged to that cathedral, and that, as it was not to gratify his curiosity, but, as he understood, for the good of the Church, he wanted to be informed concerning the statue of Pope Joan, he would give him the information for so good a purpose, provided he engaged never to discover the person who had given it. With this condition Pagi readily complied, and thereupon the good old man answered all his questions to his full satisfaction, showed him the place where the statue had stood, told him when it was changed into that of Zachary, and when it was removed, viz., in the pontificate of Alexander VII., a native of Siena," &c.

Fourthly, we have the direct attestation of the same story from St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence,* besides the general acquiescence of those who were the most zealously attached to the Papal system, so that the first who appears to have questioned its truth was Eneas Silvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., in the fifteenth century, and he only went so far as to say that *the story was not certain*. Afterwards, as the reformers began to make it a subject of reproach, many undertook to confute it, but none with better success, saith Bower, than the two zealous Protestants, Sarau and Blondel, whose arguments, in his opinion, are quite unanswerable. Certain it is, indeed, that it has been the fashion, since their day, to treat it as an exploded fable, so that Dr. Milner triumphs, as well he might, in the force of this Prot-

* See the article "Joannes VIII.," in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of the Magdeburg Centuriators, Cent. ix, p. 500.

estant advocacy. Whether their opinion is based on any just grounds, however, is altogether a different question.

Lastly, we have the statement of your historian, Fleury, that Pope Urban, returning to Rome A. D. 1367, and riding in state through the city, it was remarked that *he did not turn away from the spot where it was said that Pope Joan had been delivered, as was the custom of some of his predecessors.* "And this shows," saith the historian, "that they had begun to be disabused about this fable."* The facts, however, as stated by himself, are a complete proof that the Popes, before this time, *were accustomed to turn away from that place*, and that it was the current understanding in Rome that *it was the spot where the event had occurred.* The statue of Joan and her child, as we have seen, was still extant in 1413, and, of course, it was standing in 1367, when Urban rode through the city. But his going by the place is not stated to have been by any special design. It may have been by inadvertence. It may have been from ignorance of the locality, as he was then a stranger in Rome. Be this as it may, however, the remarks created by his unusual course are perfectly inexplicable, unless we admit the truth of the story. For who could have impressed such a fact upon the public mind in Rome, and induced the previous Popes to avoid the spot, in compliance with the universal belief, if it were a mere fable?

Thus, then, the reader has the whole argument fairly placed, on both sides, before him. On the one side, we have the silence of certain contemporary writers, which I think may, without any difficulty, be satisfactorily explained. The dates are not in the way, because the length of the pontificate of Leo IV. is stated variously, and the chronicle

* See page 95.

of Ranulphus allows sufficient time. On the other side, we have the positive assertion of many writers of good credit, who would not have dared to publish a disgraceful lie, without any possible motive, and whose statements, instead of being denounced at once, were received with universal acquiescence. We have, besides, the erection of a statue, the custom of avoiding that part of the city by the Popes and the public processions, the erection of another famous statue in the Cathedral of Siena, and the extraordinary custom of the *perforated chair*, which remained in the ceremonial of the Popes until the sixteenth century, and for the introduction of which nothing but this story can account historically. On the whole, therefore, I have no hesitation in declaring that the evidence is decisive in favor of its truth, Messrs. Bayle, Blondel, and Bower to the contrary notwithstanding. And I am very confident that any candid mind, accustomed to the weighing of evidence, will concur in the result, and consider the proof amply sufficient to establish any fact in history.

But although I have taken some pains to examine this story, and have no doubt whatever of its truth, I do not mean to be understood as attaching the slightest importance to it as a point of theological controversy. It was no fault in the clergy of Rome to have been deceived by an impostor, who possessed extraordinary learning and talent, and appeared to lead a life of piety and devotion. Far more reproachful to your Church is the unquestioned fact that she chose so many men to the Papal dignity, and endured them so long, who were monstrous examples of licentiousness and abomination. Indeed, so little value do I attach to the case of Pope Joan, that I should not have mentioned it at all, if Dr. Milner had not thought fit to introduce it with such triumphant flippancy. Nevertheless, I must pray my

readers to weigh the easy self-complacency with which he dismisses it, against his pretended doubts about the consecration of Archbishop Parker. Let them look at the evidence which he adduces in that, and compare it with the evidence which I have quoted, *from his own Church*, in the other. And then they will be able to estimate the measure of candor and justice which he thought necessary for the management of theological discussion.

L E T T E R X X V I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR

THE 30th letter of Dr. Milner (p. 210) presents a strong and very unfair attack upon the missionary work in the Church of England, together with a most glowing and exaggerated account of the Missions of the Church of Rome ; and this calls upon me next for a brief consideration.

It should first be well noted, however, that the apparent success or failure of the work of modern Missions has no proper place in a work of theological controversy. Success and victory, in the end, are certainly promised to the cause of the Gospel ; but the results of two or three hundred years are not to be taken as the measure of fulfilment, nor as, in any proper sense, a test of truth. Thus, we know that the religion of the false prophet, Mahomet, advanced with marvellous speed and prosperity during the first three centuries of its existence, until it not only overran and extinguished a multitude of Churches in Africa and Asia, but made inroads upon Europe itself, and established its rule over Moldavia, Servia, and Wallachia. Was that a proof of its divine authority ? The Crusades were set forth, at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, to reclaim the Holy Land from the grasp of the infidels, and the Popes and priesthood of those days confidently assured their people that it was THE WILL OF GOD, believing, I doubt not very sincerely, that the plan was conceived by actual in

spiration. This effort, too, was kept up for centuries ; and although, for a little while, the arms of Christendom did establish what they called the Kingdom of Jerusalem, yet the end was a total failure, and the Crescent prevailed against all the efforts of the Cross. Was that a proof that Mahometanism was the true religion ? At the period of the Reformation, nation after nation was recovered from Papal despotism, and the yoke of Rome was cast off victoriously, until the religion of the Bible became the religion of millions who had once bowed in submission before the monarch of the triple crown. Would Dr. Milner acknowledge that wonderful success to be an argument in favor of our principles ? Nay, in our own day and country, the new sect of the Mormons is increasing with astonishing rapidity, and their missionaries succeed in making proselytes amongst the nominal members of all the Churches in Christendom. But what Romanist would allow that this was any evidence in favor of their system ?

The whole of this elaborate portion of Dr. Milner's work is, therefore, built upon a perfect fallacy. Even if his statements were all true, which they are very far from being, still the conclusion would be an absurdity, opposed to the Scriptures, to the voice of history, and to the present state of the world. It is, indeed, only another shape of his argument for Catholicity, derived from *numbers*, the weakness of which, I trust, has been already sufficiently exposed. Nevertheless, since he has devoted so large a space to this favorite phantom of Romanism, I must add a few further remarks upon his alleged facts, to show the little confidence to which they are entitled.

I pass by his charges upon the supposed discrepancies in religion amongst Protestant missionaries, upon their want of a divine mission, and upon their defects of qualification,

partly because these points have been sufficiently treated, partly because comparisons in personal attainments are invidious and unprofitable, but mainly because I am only concerned with the missionaries of the Church of England and our own ; and any defence of *them* against his accusations must be quite unnecessary. But he boasts that the Romish missionaries *have always been men of continency and self-denial, who have had no other defence than their breviary and crucifix, no other weapon than the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.* And here I cannot help admiring his effrontery. For your modern Church of Rome has made more use of *carnal weapons* than any other branch of Christendom, and never fails to rely on the *secular arm*, when it suits her policy. Had your favorite advocate forgotten the Bishops, Abbots, yea, Popes, who are recorded by your own historians to have led their troops to battle in person, and shed blood without scruple or censure ? Had he forgotten their reliance on fire and sword to convert or exterminate the heretical Albigenses, Waldenses, and Henricians ? Had he forgotten the tender mercies of the inquisitions in Spain and Goa, and the tortures and the flames provided, as the bulwarks of the faith, wherever your Papal Church obtained an establishment ? Or had he only counted largely upon the ignorance or credulity of his readers ?

I do not, however, mean to deny that the Jesuit missionaries of Rome have gone upon their work among the heathen without arms or armies to protect them. This is doubtless true enough ; but it is true, not from any rule of Christian *principle* on the part of Rome, as is manifest from her whole history, so much as from *policy and necessity*. The same course has been followed by the missionaries of the Church of England, and by Protestant missionaries in general. Nor is there any exception whatever, unless

where the law of self-preservation, which your own casuists do not pretend to invalidate, may have fully justified it.

The next fault found with our missionaries is, that there have been *no martyrs* among them. How this may be, is a matter which depends, under God, not so much on the missionaries themselves, as on the peculiar circumstances which may rouse the hatred of the people against them. But the *spirit of a martyr* must inspire the heart of every true missionary among the heathen. And that spirit has certainly been exhibited by very many, amongst the men sent out by the Church of England, who have willingly abandoned home, society, and friends, at the risk of health and life, to convert the savages of Africa, the Hindoos of the East, and the bushmen of Australia.

It is a false assumption, however, that the work of Missions to the heathen must necessarily be marked by actual martyrdom. The Apostles Peter and Paul were preserved throughout thirty-three years of the most extended and successful labors. And so far were they from *courting* martyrdom, that they escaped their persecutors when they could, in obedience to the precept of Christ, "*When they persecute you in one city, flee ye to another.*" Hence, it was not so much by their proper work as missionaries that their lives were at last sacrificed, as by the cruel policy of the Emperor Nero, to turn upon the Christians the odium of his own act, in the burning of Rome. The first martyr, St. Stephen, and the second, St. James, were not the victims of the heathen, but of the Jews. The rest of the Apostles, whether they were martyrs or not, which is uncertain, undoubtedly labored during an average of from thirty to forty years, before they were called to their reward. And the last of that sacred band, St. John, was continued until near the close of the first century, and then died in peace.

With these examples before our eyes, it is impossible to suppose that actual martyrdom is to be taken as the regular or the general end of the foreign missionary to the heathen. It was assuredly not the end of that favorite missionary of Dr. Milner, Augustin, who was sent to convert the Anglo-Saxons, towards the close of the sixth century, and ended his successful career in honor, as the Archbishop of Canterbury. Neither do we read of any martyrs among the forty monks who accompanied him, although, unhappily, his converts had a hand, before many years, in the cruel slaughter of twelve hundred British monks at Bangor. Indeed, if a fair survey be taken of the various missionary conquests among the heathen nations of Europe, martyrdom will be found to be not the general rule, but the very rare exception.

Hence, if the accounts which the Jesuits have given to the world about the wonderful and incredible number of their martyrs in Japan, Turkey, Abyssinia, Siam, Tonquin, Cochin-China, &c., be accepted as true, it would only prove that they had not contented themselves with the proper work of a Gospel mission, according to the Apostolic pattern, but had provoked suspicion and hatred by those odious acts of treachery, conspiracy, and ambition, which we all know procured their expulsion, twice and even thrice, by so many of the governments in Europe, and compelled the Pope, however reluctantly, to abolish their order for a season. We know that the East Indies had a plain proof of the tender mercies of Romanism in the abominable Inquisition at Goa. And if the Jesuit missionaries, grown bold by their first successes, manifested the same bloody spirit of persecution elsewhere; or if those heathen countries became acquainted with the principles of Romanism, so as to comprehend that the new religion made it a duty to tor-

ture and burn all dissenters for the love of God ; or if they only discovered those atrocious maxims of Jesuit morality which Pascal so admirably exposed in his Provincial Letters, and which are enough to destroy all confidence in government, law, or virtue : it is not at all surprising that the priests should have been sacrificed, not as *Christian missionaries*, but as the worst enemies of mankind. And in such case, if they are to be called martyrs at all, it may well be doubted whether they were so much the martyrs of God as martyrs of the devil.

But this is far from being the whole of the difficulties which attended these boasted missionary triumphs. They were attacked on every side by the other Orders in the Church of Rome herself, on the ground that they were conducted with the most shameful disregard of all really religious principle ; that the heathen converts were allowed to continue their idol worship, provided they adored, *mentally*, Christ and the Virgin Mary ; that the missionaries themselves were often examples of licentiousness, so that the converted Iroquois Indians, in a treaty of peace A. D. 1682, stipulated for the removal of those libertine brethren *who did everything that Jesus did not do* ; that it was evident they were not promoting virtue and religion, but their own interests ; that their extensive traffic injured the merchants ; that they were even prosecuted for their corrupt management in Paraguay, and expelled from it in disgrace ; that in the East Indies, Robert Nobili, their most celebrated leader after Xavier, gave himself out to be a Bramin, adopted the customs of that caste and thus endeavored to build up a surreptitious and false theory of the Gospel, in order to proselyte the masses through the influence of the Bramins, with the greater speed and certainty ; finally, that of all these marvellous missionary successes,

hardly anything remains at this day to prove their substantial character. It was not thus that the Gospel was disseminated by men who were *real missionaries*. The truth, planted in the hearts of the heathen by genuine conversions, has usually taken root, and continued to propagate the Church for many generations. And even in those quarters where the sword of Mahomet overcame it, a seed has remained to manifest its vitality, as we see in the oppressed Oriental Churches, under all the disadvantages of Turkish despotism.

Volumes have been written on this subject by the various parties in the Church of Rome, the accusers of the Jesuits upon the one side, and the Jesuit apologists upon the other. That the general judgment of Rome and all Papal Europe has been against the Jesuits, is notorious. In 1759, they were expelled from Portugal. In 1764, they were expelled from France. In 1767, they were expelled from Spain, and soon afterwards from Naples, Parma, and Malta. In 1773, Pope Clement XIV. was compelled, though sorely against his will, to abolish the Order through all the States in Christendom, notwithstanding they were the very best soldiers of Popery. Yet their secret continuance was connived at, until they were openly restored in 1814. And they have been expelled again, in many Papal countries, within our own day. All this, however, Dr. Milner keeps back, and only boasts of their apparent successes, to prove how "God bestows His grace to execute the work of the Apostles, as well as to preserve their doctrine, their Orders, and their mission!"

On the other hand, to show the reckless character of your advocate in the work of scandal, he undertakes (page 210) to enumerate the missionary associations of the Church of England. Among the rest, he particularizes the Society

for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and adds, *I hear nothing of its doings*. He mentions the Moravian Missionary Society, which he admits to be *more active than the others*, at the Cape, and in Greenland and Surinam; but he carefully avoids saying what had been achieved there, although it furnishes, perhaps, the brightest page of the missionary work, with the smallest means and the largest personal sacrifices, since the days of the Apostles. And then he sets down the British and Foreign Bible Society, at which he sneers with sovereign contempt, in the true spirit of the Papacy.

Now I shall notice but two of these, in order that my reader may have another plain evidence of this writer's deplorable obliquity. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded in 1701. Missionaries were sent to the American colonies and the Indian tribes, to the West Indies, to Newfoundland, to Guinea, and to Sierra Leone, to the Canadas, Cape Breton and New-Brunswick, to New South Wales, and Norfolk Island. And the *permanency of the work* is shown at this day, by the fruits of established dioceses, with their Bishops, their clergy, and their churches, growing stronger and more numerous with the lapse of time.

In 1818, this Society took the charge of the East Indies, and Dr. Milner's book bears date the same year, although *he had heard nothing of its doings*. And yet, by the report of those doings, published in 1851, the following aggregate appears as the noble result: that in regions where, at the beginning of its labors, not a dozen of the ministers of the Church of England could be found, there are now 57 Bishops, 2,750 clergymen, and three millions of the laity. Of these, we have the following in the East Indies:—The diocese of Calcutta, established in 1813, *five years before Dr. Milner's work was printed*, and having the noble institution

of Bishop's College, where natives of the Island of Ceylon are pursuing their studies for the work of the Gospel ministry. Next, the diocese of Madras, the diocese of Bombay, and the diocese of Colombo. The last returns from the diocese of Calcutta showed the present result with respect to the heathen, viz., 113 villages of converted Hindoos, in which were 2,451 persons baptized, 1,127 communicants, and 26 houses of worship. In the single district of Tinnevely, four large and seven small churches, with accommodation for 3,000 persons, had been erected; besides four central and ten village schools. A seminary at Tanjore contained 50 native students, and another at Tinnevely contained 140. The diocese of Victoria has also been established in China, and six dioceses in Australia, where the conversion of the dark and degraded heathen is contemplated with great interest. And this single society had then 452 missionaries in the various settlements in the West Indies, Asia, Africa, and Australia, at an annual expenditure of 375,000 dollars.

This is not, indeed, a matter of boast. On the contrary, the Church of England, as well as our own, is quite conscious of the fact, that there is far less reason for boasting that she has done so much, than for grieving that she has done so little. Neither would it be just to hold Dr. Milner accountable for omitting those results which have only been attained since he passed away. But still, he is open to grave censure in saying that, in 1818, *he had heard nothing of the doings* of this Society, when, if he had taken any trouble to inquire, he must have known that his covert reproach was perfectly unwarrantable. Still, he should have had honesty enough to remember the vast differences in *resources* between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, in the main point of *men* willing to undertake the

work of foreign missions to the heathen, for which so few are adapted. If it had not been for the establishment of the new order of Jesuits, even Rome herself, notwithstanding her mighty hosts of monks and priests, would have had but little to claim in that direction. But yet, if a fair allowance be made for the difference in numbers, I doubt whether the Church of England has any cause to shrink from a comparison of results, even in *quantity*; while, in the far more important point of *quality*, she has the advantage immeasurably on her side. What she has done she has done WELL AND THOROUGHLY. Her missionaries have not been, like the Jesuits, the objects of universal suspicion and hostility. Her successes have not been violent, and sudden, and enormous, beyond the bounds of credibility; but neither have they been purchased by the sacrifice of Christian principle, by fraud or imposition. And therefore they have not melted away, like snow before the sun; nor have they been accused as dangerous to the welfare and peace of nations. On the contrary, they stand at this day strong and vigorous, the centres of order and true civilization, the bulwarks of moral truth, and the friends of moral progress; giving promise of the best result for the spiritual improvement and social elevation of all around them.

With regard to the Bible Society, it never was supposed that it would do the work of missions; but, as an auxiliary to that work, its labors have been invaluable. It suited well with Dr. Milner's object to deride its claims and discredit its utility. And yet he ought to have remembered that the *translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue* was one of the earliest products of Christian effort in the primitive Church. He ought to have had honesty enough to confess that the early fathers urged their flocks to *read the Scriptures*, and that no Church which was faithful to

the primitive model could expect the Gospel to take root and flourish amongst any people who were debarred from a full and free access to the Word of God. In this respect, however, Rome, in modern ages, has done nothing to be compared with England. By the zeal and munificence of the Bible Society, the missionaries of the cross throughout the globe have been supplied with millions of copies of the Holy Scriptures, in more than two hundred different languages and dialects. And the good work is going on, with increasing proofs of its vast efficacy. Indeed, it would seem to be the very madness of absurdity, even for a Romanist, to doubt it. For suppose that your own Church had no translation of the Bible, but was obliged to take it as the priests could present its meaning from the original Hebrew and Greek, who is so insane as to believe that they would not soon lose every vestige of the Gospel? A consumptive patient may fret because the air cannot be breathed without his lungs being painfully irritated; but he must be a lunatic to fancy, for that reason, that he could live better without any air at all. And just so it is that your modern Church of Rome is fretted by the reading of the Bible; and yet, if it were not for that, the life that still remains in her would speedily end in total dissolution.

Having now gone through the letters of Dr. Milner to the end of the 30th, where he sums up what he calls his evidence in a postscript, I trust that I have fulfilled, thus far, my promise, in the refutation of his claims. For I have proved, by fair and competent testimony, that the Church of England was compelled to the work of Reformation by the highest duty of fidelity to the true Gospel of her Lord and Saviour. That she existed and flourished ages before the mission of Augustin to the pagan King of Kent, at the close of the sixth century. That her union with Rome was re-

sisted by the British Bishops in the beginning, and was afterwards accomplished by the hand of power through Anglo-Saxon domination. That she had a full right to cast off the Roman yoke, when the subsequent corruption of the Papacy, witnessed by the extracts from Fleury, made it intolerable. That in accomplishing the mighty work, she pursued the RULE OF FAITH as laid down by the fathers in the primitive Church, taking THE HOLY SCRIPTURES for her guide, but in accordance with the *primitive Catholic interpretation*. That this interpretation has been embodied in her Liturgy and Articles, so clearly and distinctly, that every item of real Catholic truth is preserved and secured from the possibility of serious departure. That on the four notes of the Church, Unity, Sanctity, Catholicity, and Apostolicity, her claims are far superior to those of your modern Church of Rome, because she possesses all of which Rome can boast, but purified from her corruptions, and restored to the original standard of true Catholicism. And hence I conclude, in direct opposition to Dr. Milner, that the evidence is sufficient, and much more than sufficient, if fairly weighed, to determine in her favor the choice of all who desire the *surest and the safest way of salvation*.

My labor, however, is not yet completed, because your favorite author proceeds to defend his Church against the charges of her enemies, and tries to explain and justify her unscriptural tenets with as much disingenuous art and boldness as we have found him using against ourselves. On all of those points, I am prepared to prove his gross perversions of the truth, and to these, accordingly, I shall now ask the serious attention of my readers; confident, in the blessing of Him who is the way, the truth, and the life, that the result will be entirely conclusive and satisfactory.

L E T T E R X X V I I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I AM not at all surprised that Dr. Milner, in his 32d letter, takes the ground which has been common to all his colleagues, especially since the time of Bossuet, the famous Bishop of Meaux, namely, that as the Church is the interpreter of the Word of God, her decisions should be accepted *implicitly*, without any further examination. That if we be convinced that she is the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, it is utterly *impossible* she should inculcate idolatry, superstition, or any other wickedness ; and that those who believe her to be thus guilty, are, and must be, in a fatal error. That, therefore, his Church cannot, strictly and consistently, be required to vindicate the particular tenets of their faith, either from Scripture or any other authority, it being sufficient for them to show that they hold the doctrine of the *true Church, which all Christians are bound to hear*.

This argument, however, has been examined and exposed sufficiently, I trust, in my 22d letter, where I proved, from the Scriptures and the fathers, that just as the Church of Israel was a divine institution, with the promise of perpetuity forever, and continued to retain the doctrines of her first faith, while yet she became awfully infected with idolatry, false traditions, and licentiousness : even so the Church of Rome, being apostolic and pure in the beginning, continued to retain the true doctrine of the Gospel, and yet became

corrupted from the same causes, and to a greater extent. That, as the Scriptures of the Old Testament prophets, on account of this very union of the false and the true, denounced the Church of Israel as an *adulteress*: even so the same Scriptures denounce the Church of Rome, in the Apocalypse, by the correspondent name of *harlot*. That this Church, therefore, is a *true Church*, so far as she has kept the original faith, and a *false Church*, so far as she has brought in her corrupt and idolatrous inventions. And that, therefore, the object of the Reformers was not to found a *new Church*, but to purify the *old Church* which had come down from the beginning. Hence it is idle and absurd for Dr. Milner to contend that his Church, if it be in any sense a true Church, must therefore be incapable of error. Our duty is to ascertain in what the characters of a true Church consist; and this we can only learn from the WORD OF CHRIST, who alone has power to constitute His Church. And next to this *supreme law*, we consent to be guided by the decisions of the primitive Church, as she was when she issued, in her purest form, from the teaching of the inspired Apostles. All beyond this is the work of man, and not of God; and therefore it is to be likened to a disease, perilous to her proper constitution, offensive in the sight of the divine Redeemer, and to be abandoned, as soon as it is discovered, by all His faithful people.

It is amusing enough, however, to see the conditions on which your favorite author consents to discuss the claims of Romanism. "I require," saith he, "that Catholics" (i. e., Romanists) "should be permitted to *lay down their own principles* of belief and practice, and, of course, to distinguish between their *Articles of Faith*, in which they must all agree, and mere *scholastic opinions*, of which every individual may judge for himself; as likewise between the *authorized Lit-*

urgy and discipline of the Church, and the unauthorized devotions and practices of particular persons." But this, it seems, is not a rule which must be allowed "to work both ways." In the whole of his wanton and malicious assaults upon the Church of England, what has he been doing, all along, but this very thing, against which he now guards himself so carefully? How has *he* confined himself to our *Articles of Faith* and *authorized Liturgy and discipline*? How, on the contrary, has he sought to shelter his attacks under *Watson*, *Balguy*, and a few other individuals, whom he knew perfectly well to be most untrue exponents of the Church's teaching? How has he labored to prove, from the expressions of these men, that we had *no unity at all*? How has he boasted that in *his* Church every priest, all over the world, has always taught, and now teaches, the very same doctrine? Here, then, every reader of common discernment may detect at once the consciousness of a deceiver. And yet, he is welcome to enjoy his conditions, since I shall employ no arguments nor evidence which I do not believe fair and just, according to the universal course of approved and honorable disputation.

Dr. Milner next launches forth into a long list of quotations from the writings of divines of the Church of England, and then gravely informs his readers that the *authors themselves did not believe their own assertions*! The modesty of this is about equal to its logic. But he undertakes to exemplify it, as he saith, in a note, saying that Archbishop Wake, who had strongly condemned the Church of Rome in his controversial works, accusing it of *heresy, schism, and idolatry*, yet afterwards, having entered into a correspondence with Dr. Dupin of the Sorbonne, in Paris, for the purpose of uniting their respective Churches, employed the following words in his last letter, viz.: "*In dogmatibus*

prout a te candide proponuntur, non admodum dissentimus, in regimine ecclesiastica minus, in fundamentalibus, sive doctrinam sive disciplinam spectemus, vix omnino." Here he wishes the reader to infer that Archbishop Wake virtually contradicted his own former opinions. Whereas, if he had told the whole story, the absolute contrary would appear. The very words he has quoted show that the Archbishop was not speaking of the *doctrines of Rome*, but of the *'sentiments of Dr. Dupin.* "In points of faith" (*dogmatibus*), "AS THEY ARE CANDIDLY PROPOSED BY YOU, we do not differ greatly, in ecclesiastical order still less, and in fundamentals, whether we regard doctrine or discipline, scarcely at all." The fact was that Dupin, and many others of the French Church, were highly dissatisfied with Romanism at the time, and were seriously meditating the propriety of following the example of the Church of England. In this temper the correspondence was commenced, and the Archbishop, hoping that it might lead to a happy result, encouraged it; being led to believe, from the statements of Dupin's own opinions, that he was in a fair way to see the truth, and to follow it to the point of urging forward a real reformation. It appeared, however, that the French clergy were not prepared to go to the full extent, and therefore the correspondence ended. And this is the kind of evidence which Dr. Milner ventured to impose upon his readers, as an *exemplification* of his charge, that *the English clergy did not believe their own statements concerning the corruptions of the Church of Rome*, although he quoted from the appendix to Mosheim's Church History, vol. vi., p. 121, where he had the whole story!

The next observation which Dr. Milner addresses to the controversial writers of our Church is, that their writings never unsettle the faith of a single individual, much less do

they cause any one to quit the Roman communion. The assertion is doubtless true to a very great extent, but the reason is because *the priests of Rome forbid their people to read what they call heretical books*, or listen on any occasion to Protestant preaching; while their private confessional gives them complete power to enforce the rule. They have no idea of exposing their flocks to the danger of *examining more than one side of the question*. They prefer that their laity should believe, with a blind faith, whatever their priests tell them; and the blinder the better, because it shows their *implicit confidence in their leaders, and gives no trouble*. We, on the contrary, desire that our people should be intelligent and informed, not only as to *what* they believe, but also *why* they believe it. And therefore there is no check whatever placed in their way. Nor have we any fear that the examination which they may make of the grounds and principles of the Reformation will fail to strengthen and confirm their faith, so long as it is conducted with prayer, and a religious reverence for the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures.

And this brings me to another suggestion of Dr. Milner, viz., that the very violence of the controversial attacks upon the Church of Rome constantly leads Protestants to join her communion, and become the most zealous in her pale. That this has sometimes been the case, I freely admit; but I doubt not that in every instance it has arisen from such individuals being deluded into a false idea of her *unity*, or a weak admiration of her external sanctity or splendor, coupled with a real ignorance of the true scriptural Church of Christ, and a morbid impatience of the imperfections and infirmities of their own reformed community. But how strangely absurd was such an argument from Dr. Milner, when, for every one thus perverted from the Reformed Churches to Rome, he could have counted a thousand turn-

ing from Rome to England ! Surely, he must have forgotten that the kingdoms of Europe who abandoned his Church in the sixteenth century were all trained up in the lap of the Papacy. He must have been ignorant that of all the European Romanists who emigrate to our American continent, a full third part, at least, leave their Church, to return to it no more. And had he lived a few years longer, he would have seen how sixty thousand of the warm-hearted and devoted Irish, in their own fair land, have renounced their priests, and sought the pure faith of the Gospel in the Church of England, in despite of all that prejudice, and menaces, and peril of life and limb, could do to prevent them.

The concluding paragraph of this 32d letter, however, is one of Dr. Milner's highest strains of dramatic piety, for he gravely reminds his controversial accusers that they shall answer at the tribunal of Christ for violating the command of God,—*Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor*. And this is from a man who stands pre-eminent above the great majority of his brethren for the recklessness and abundance of the most determined calumny ! Who abuses systematically the characters, motives, and sacrifices of all the Church of England ; Bishops, priests, kings, queens, nobility, commoners, missionaries, societies, without one redeeming word of palliation or allowance ! Who does not blush to charge the English clergy of his own day with habitual hypocrisy in subscribing to articles which they do not believe ! Who tells the English writers of controversy that they are lying wilfully when they publish their charges against the Papal system, and brands the very *martyrs* of their Church with every possible charge of foul abomination against the evidence of the most respectable historians of his own communion ! But let it pass. I have already had

abundant work to answer his misrepresentations, and shall have no difficulty in the remaining portion of my undertaking. Meanwhile, much as I shall oppose his false facts and false reasoning, I shall abstain from judging their author. God alone can tell how far the deceiver was himself deceived, or with how much personal sincerity he may have prosecuted the work of delusion. I envy not his audacity in claiming the power of reading the hearts of others, and I would rather hope that he was really blinded by the long course of his peculiar training, than assert that he was aware of the truth, while he employed his ingenuity and talents in the service of error.

LETTER XXIX.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

WE come now to the specific examination of those other doctrines which the Church of England rejected at the time of the Reformation, and Dr. Milner commences the list with what he calls the invocation, and what I hold to be the *worship*, of the saints. He denies that the Romanist prays to the saints as to God, and quotes the Council of Trent on the subject, as follows : “ That the saints, reigning with Christ, offer up their prayers to God for men ; that it is *good and useful suppliantly to invoke them*, and to have recourse to their *prayers, help, and assistance*, to obtain favors from God, through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is alone our Redeemer and Saviour.” He compares this to the case of mutual intercession amongst Christians upon earth, only with this difference, that “ as the saints in heaven are free from every stain of sin and imperfection, and are confirmed in grace and glory, so their prayers are far more efficacious for obtaining what they ask for, than the prayers of us imperfect and sinful mortals.”

In answer to the objection that the praying to the saints, whom we cannot see, involves, of necessity, a belief in their *omnipresence*, which is a *divine attribute*, Dr. Milner employs the following language : “ How does it follow, from my praying to an angel or a saint in any place, that I *necessa-*
rially suppose the angel or saint to be in that place? Was

Elisha really in Syria when he saw the ambush prepared there for the King of Israel?—2 Kings, vi. 9. BUT IT IS SUFFICIENT THAT GOD IS ABLE TO REVEAL TO THEM THE PRAYERS OF CHRISTIANS WHO ADDRESS THEM HERE ON EARTH."

Again, he asserts that "the Church derived her tenets, on this and other points, *immediately from the Apostles*, before any part of the New Testament was written;" and he closes his letter with these words: "How sublime and consoling!" "how animating is the doctrine and practice of true Catholics" (*i. e.*, Romanists), "compared with the opinions of Protestants! *We hold daily and hourly converse, to our unspeakable comfort and advantage, with the angelic choirs, with the venerable patriarchs and prophets of ancient times, with the heroes of Christianity, the blessed Apostles and martyrs, with the bright ornaments of it in later ages, the Bernards, the Xaviers, the Teresas, the Sales; they are all members of the Catholic Church. Why should you not partake of this advantage? Your soul, you complain, is in trouble; you lament that your prayers to God are not heard: continue to pray to Him with all the fervor of your soul: but why not engage His friends and compeers to add the weight of their prayers to your own? Perhaps the Divine Majesty may hear the prayers of the Jobs, when he will not listen to those of an Eliphaz, a Bildad, or a Zophar. You believe, no doubt, that you have an angel guardian, appointed by God to protect you, conformably to what Christ said of the children presented to Him: THEIR ANGELS DO ALWAYS BEHOLD THE FACE OF MY FATHER WHO IS IN HEAVEN.—Mat. xviii. 10. Address yourself to this blessed spirit with gratitude, veneration, and confidence. You believe also, that among the saints of God, there is one of supereminent purity and sanctity, pronounced by an archangel to be not only gracious, but full of grace, the chosen*

instrument of God in the incarnation of His Son, and the intercessor with this her Son, in obtaining His first miracle, that of turning water into wine, at a time when His time for appearing to the world by miracles was not yet come. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE, as one of the fathers says, to love the Son without loving the mother. Beg of her, then, with affection and confidence, to intercede with Jesus to change your tears of distress into the wine of gladness, by affording you the light and grace you so much want. You cannot refuse to join with me in the angelic salutation, HAIL, FULL OF GRACE, OUR LORD IS WITH THEE; nor in the subsequent address of the inspired Elizabeth, BLESSED ART THOU AMONG WOMEN, AND BLESSED IS THE FRUIT OF THY WOMB. Cast aside, then, I beseech you, prejudices, which are not only groundless, but also hurtful, and devoutly conclude with me, in the words of the whole Catholic Church upon earth: HOLY MARY, MOTHER OF GOD, PRAY FOR US SINNERS, NOW, AND AT THE HOUR OF OUR DEATH. AMEN."

Here, then, we have the most specious form in which this perilous doctrine could be placed, to beguile the simple and credulous mind into the gulf of superstition. But first, I have to charge on Dr. Milner a shameful withholding of the real worship which the Church of Rome renders to the Virgin and the saints. To show this as it is, I shall be obliged to ask your attention to the following extracts from your authorized books of devotion:—

"We fly to thy patronage, O holy Mother of God: despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious and blessed Virgin."

"Holy Mother of God, Mother of divine grace, Mother of our Creator, most powerful Virgin, most merciful Virgin, Mirror of Justice—pray for us. Seat of Wisdom, Cause of our joy, Tower of David, House of Gold, Ark of the Covenant,

*Gate of Heaven, Morning Star, Health of the weak, Refuge of sinners, Comforter of the afflicted, Help of Christians, Queen of angels, Queen of patriarchs, Queen of prophets, Queen of Apostles, Queen of martyrs, Queen of confessors, Queen of virgins, Queen of all saints—pray for us.**

“O blessed Virgin, Mother of God : and by this august quality worthy of all respect from men and angels, I come to offer thee my *most humble homage*, and to implore the aid of thy prayers and *thy protection*. Thou knowest, O blessed Virgin, that from my tender years I looked up to thee as my mother, my advocate and patroness : thou wert pleased to consider me, from that time, as one of thy children, and *whatever graces I have received from God*, I confess, with humble gratitude, that it is *through thee I receive them*. Why was I not as *faithful in thy service* as thou wert *bountiful in assisting me* ? But I will henceforth *serve, honor, and love thee*. Accept, O blessed Virgin, my *protestations of fidelity*. Look favorably on the *confidence I have in thee* : obtain for me, of thy dear Son, a lively faith, a firm hope, a tender, generous, and constant love. Obtain for me a purity that nothing can soil, a humility that nothing can elate, a patient submission to the will of God, that nothing can ever disturb. In fine, O glorious Virgin, obtain for me so *faithful an imitation of thy virtue* in my life, that I may experience the *power of thy protection at my death*. Amen.”†

In the same authoritative book of Roman devotion, we have what is called “*A consecration of one’s self to the blessed Virgin*,” in the following words :—

“Holy Mary, Virgin Mother of God, *I this day choose thee for my mother, queen, patroness and advocate*, and firmly

* True Piety, New-York edition of 1826, p. 38–9.

† Ibid. p. 180.

resolve never to depart either by word or action from the duty *I owe thee*, or suffer those committed to my charge to say or do anything against thy honor. *Receive me, therefore, as thy servant forever, assist me in all the actions of my whole life, and forsake me not in the hour of my death. Amen.*"

Then follows "The prayer of St. Bernard to the blessed Virgin," viz.: "Remember, O most pious Virgin, that *it is unheard of, through all ages, that any one who had recourse to thee, implored thy aid, and begged the assistance of thy prayers, ever was forsaken.* Animated with the same confidence, I fly to thee, O Virgin of virgins. Mother of my God, I come to thee, and cast myself at thy feet, a wretched sinner, groaning and weeping. O Mother of the Eternal Word, despise not this my humble supplication, but graciously hear and mercifully grant my request."*

The same book gives us what is called *The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin*, in which it is ordered that for every single repetition of the Lord's Prayer, there shall be *ten repetitions* of the prayer to the Virgin called "Hail Mary." It is in this favorite and universal exercise of the devout Romanists that the use of their beads becomes so necessary; *telling their beads* being the common phrase for saying the Rosary. This useful piece of mechanism keeps them right in the number enjoined, because there is a large bead, followed by ten small ones, upon the string; and so *the fingers* remind them when the requisite number of Hail Marys is completed, and the Lord's Prayer comes round again. Alas for the devotion which needs such helps as these!†

The third part of this Rosary calls upon the worshipper of Mary to contemplate what is termed *The Fourth Mystery*, in the following words:—

* True Piety, p. 182-3.

Ib., p. 275.

“Let us contemplate, in this mystery, how the glorious Virgin Mary, after the resurrection of her Son, *passed out of this world unto Him, and was by Him assumed into heaven, accompanied by the holy angels.*” Then we have the prayer, viz. :

“O most prudent Virgin, who, *entering into the heavenly palace, didst fill the holy angels with joy, and man with hope, vouchsafe to intercede for us, in the hour of death, that, free from the illusions and temptations of the devil, we may joyfully and successfully pass out of this temporal state to enjoy the happiness of eternal life. Amen.*”

The fifth mystery, accordingly, is set forth, under the title of—

“*The Coronation of the most Blessed Virgin Mary in Heaven.*”

“Let us contemplate in this mystery how the glorious Virgin Mary was, *with great jubilee and exultation of the whole court of heaven, and particular glory of all the saints, crowned by her Son with the brightest diadem of glory.*” After which, is another prayer :—

“O glorious Queen of all the heavenly citizens, we beseech thee accept this Rosary, which, as a crown of roses, we offer at thy feet. Hail ! holy Queen ! *Mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, and our hope,* to thee do we cry, poor banished children of Eve ; to thee do we send up our sighs, mourning and weeping in this valley of tears. Turn, then, most gracious *advocate,* thine *eyes of mercy toward us,* and, after this our exile is ended, show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus, O clement, O pious, O sweet Virgin Mary.”*

The reigning idea which runs through all this is evi-

* True Piety, p. 285.

dently the indispensable importance of the Virgin's authority and influence in the salvation of mankind. And this is in perfect agreement with another form of devotion, drawn up for nine successive days, and called for this reason a *Novena*, the whole of which is addressed to the *Infant Jesus*, as if the glorified Redeemer of the world had never attained the fulness of manhood, but remains AN INFANT STILL in the arms of his mother. In this surprising piece of profanation, the Saviour is addressed by the title of *infant* fifty times. As thus: "*Infant*, Jesus Christ, have mercy upon us. *Infant*, Son of the Virgin Mary—*Infant*, strong in weakness—*Infant*, treasure of grace—have mercy upon us. From the malice of the world deliver us, O *Infant Jesus*. From the pride of life deliver us, O *Infant Jesus*;" and so throughout.* Here, therefore, we have the absurd anti-Christian extravagance which meets us so constantly in your favorite pictures, where the Virgin Mary is represented as if in heaven, surrounded by the angelic host, and holding the *infant Saviour* in her arms; conveying to the poor deluded worshipper the same idea set forth so plainly in this Litany, that the *mother has as much power over her Son, as if He were a baby*. And in perfect harmony with the same profane abuse, it is notorious that the favorite image of Christ in the City of Rome, and that which is believed to have the largest power of miracles attached to it, is the *Bambino*, that is, the BABY, a little image of a child! O marvellous infatuation! Was it an *infant* that taught the Saviour's doctrine, and worked mighty signs and wonders? Was it an *infant* that called the Apostles? Was it an *infant* that died upon the cross? Was it an *infant* that rose from the dead, and ascended up to heaven? Is it an *infant*

* True Piety, p. 316.

that now sits at the right hand of God, until He shall come again in glory to judge the world? But such is Romanism, holding in her left hand the ancient truth, while she offers with her right hand the most transparent and degrading falsehood.

In complete accordance with all that I have thus far set before you, is the doctrine that the Virgin Mary was equal to Christ in this, that she was *free from all sin, original or actual*. Thus, in one of the hymns appointed to be addressed to her, we read as follows :—

“ ’Twas meet Son so noble
Should save from stain,
Wherewith Eve’s children
Spotted remain,
The maid whom for mother
He had selected,
That she might be never
With sin infected.”*

Another hymn from the same office calls the Virgin “*Temple of the Trinity*,” and asserts that she was

“ *From sin original
Exempted solely.*”†

And again, in an anthem and prayer, to the repetition of which Pope Paul V. granted a hundred days’ indulgence, we have this incontrovertible declaration of the same false doctrine :—

“ This is the branch in which was *neither knot of original, nor bark of actual, sin found*. In thy conception, O Virgin, thou wast *immaculate*.” Then follows the prayer :—

“ O God, who *by the immaculate conception of the blessed*

* True Piety, p. 289.

† Ib. p. 290.

Virgin, didst prepare a fit habitation for thy Son, we beseech thee, that as by the foreseen death of her same Son thou didst preserve her pure from all spot, so likewise grant that we, by her intercession made free from sin, may attain unto thee, through our Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, who, with thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth one God, world without end. Amen.”*

Extracts of a similar kind from the authorized devotions of your modern Church of Rome might be multiplied to the size of a large volume, but I shall pass on to what may be considered the climax of Marialotry, namely, the favorite formulary called *The Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Mary*. In this we read as follows :—

“ As the adorable heart of Jesus was formed in the chaste womb of the blessed Virgin, and of her blood and substance, so we cannot, in a more proper and agreeable manner, show our devotion to the sacred heart of the Son, than by dedicating some part of the said devotion to the ever pure heart of the mother. For you have here two hearts united in the most strict alliance and tender conformity of sentiments, so that it is not in nature to please the one without making yourself agreeable to the other, and acceptable to both. Go, then, devout client, go to the heart of Jesus, *but let your way be through the heart of Mary.*”

“ Come, then, hardened and inveterate sinner, how great soever your crimes may be. Come and behold. *Mary stretches out her hand, and opens her breast to receive you.* Though insensible to the great concerns of your salvation ; *though, unfortunately, proof against the most engaging invitations and inspirations of the Holy Ghost, fling yourself at the feet of this powerful advocate.* Her throne, though ex-

* True Piety, p. 294-5.

alted, has nothing forbidding, nothing dreadful ; her heart is all love, all tenderness. If you have the least remains of confidence and reliance on her protection, doubt not she will carry you through her own blessed heart in the most speedy and favorable manner, to the truly merciful and most sacred heart of her Son Jesus."

We have next what is called "*An Angelical Exercise* :"—

"I reverence you, O Sacred Virgin Mary, the Holy Ark of the Covenant, and together with all the good thoughts of good men on earth, and all the blessed spirits in heaven, do bless and praise you infinitely, for that *you are the great mediatrix between God and man*, obtaining for sinners *all that they can ask and demand of the blessed Trinity*."

Again : "I am the protectress of my servants, says the glorious Mother of God. *Give me your heart, my dear child, and if it be as hard as a flint, I will make it as soft as wax ; and if it be more foul and loathsome than dirt, I will render it more clear and beautiful than crystal*. My blessed servant, Ignatius, gave me one day power over his heart, and I did render it so chaste and strong, that he never after felt any motion of the flesh all his life. Give me your heart, my child, and tell me, in the sincerity of a true Son, how much you love me, your chaste Mother ? Hail Mary."

"O my dear mother ! *I love you more than my tongue can express, or even my very soul conceive*," &c.

As a further specimen of the various salutations offered in this approved book to the Virgin, I add but this :—

"Hail Mary, lady and mistress of the world, *to whom all power has been given both in heaven and in earth*."

In harmony with this kind of teaching, your modern Church of Rome has established as many festivals in honor of the Virgin as in honor of the Saviour Himself. There is one festival of her conception, another of her nativity, an-

other of her presentation in the temple, and another of her assumption into heaven. A similarity, indeed, between her and Christ is studiously affected. Her assumption into heaven is not only made to parallel our Lord's ascension, but her body is stated to have been, like His, preserved from corruption. A whole week is devoted in honor of that event, and on the fourth day, a lesson is read, which goes far beyond the Scripture narrative with respect to the Saviour. For thus it runs :—

“ At the time of her glorious falling asleep, *all the Apostles who were employed in their holy mission through the whole earth, for the salvation of mankind, were in a moment carried aloft through the air, and brought together at Jerusalem. While they were there, they saw a vision of angels, and heard the hymns of the hosts of heaven, and lo ! with divine glory she delivered her soul into the hands of God. But her body was taken amidst the songs of angels and of the Apostles, and deposited in a coffin at Gethsemane, in which place the melody of angels continued for three days. At the end of those days the Apostles opened the tomb, to enable Thomas, who alone had hitherto been absent, to fulfil a wish which he felt, to adore that body which had borne the Lord. On opening it, the body was nowhere to be found, but only the grave-clothes in which it had been wrapped, and from them issued an ineffable odor, pervading the atmosphere around. So wonderful and mysterious an event astonished the Apostles, who could draw from it but one conclusion—that it had pleased the Word of God that her immaculate body, by which He was incarnate, should be preserved from corruption, and should be at once translated to heaven, without waiting for the general resurrection.*”

In the service of the fifth day is the following lesson :—

“ But who is sufficient to conceive how glorious on this

day was the progress of the queen of the world ! With what transport of devout affection the whole multitude of the heavenly hosts went forth to meet her ! With what hymns she was conducted to the throne of glory ! With how placid, how serene an aspect, with what divine embraces she was received by her Son, and *exalted above every creature*—with that honor which became so great a mother, and that glory which befitted so great a Son !”

“ Providing in all things, therefore, and through all things, for the wretched, *she consoles our fear, she excites our faith, she strengthens our hope, she drives away our distrust, she raises our pusillanimity*. You feared to approach the Father ; terrified at only hearing Him, you fled among the trees. He has given Jesus Christ to you as a mediator. What cannot such a Son obtain from such a Father ! He will be heard for His own sake, for the Father loves the Son. But perhaps you fear also in Him the divine majesty, because, though He was made man, He was still God. Do you desire to have an advocate with him ? *Have recourse to Mary. She also will be heard for her own sake*. For the Son will hear the Mother, and the Father will hear the Son.”

I shall only observe, further, that *Our Lady's Psalter* is an approved book in your modern Church of Rome, being the work of the eminent Cardinal Bonaventura, and this is, throughout, the same with the Book of Psalms in the Bible, only with the substitution of *Our Lady* (the Virgin), in those passages where the original uses the holy term, LORD.

The above extracts may have been tedious to the reader, but they seemed absolutely necessary to show the *true practical understanding* of your Church in this important matter, so vastly beyond what the cautious language of Dr. Milner would intimate. But before I close this letter, it may be well to quote a specimen of the prayers offered to the other

saints, and to the angels, from the authorized book already cited so largely.

Thus we have an address to St. Aloysius in these words :

“ O glorious St. Aloysius, appointed by the Church of Christ as a worthy advocate for her children, intercede for me, obtain for me what I ask, if it be for the glory of God, and the good of my soul. Or, at least, O faithful servant of God, direct my request that it may turn to the honor of my dear and blessed Redeemer, that *through thy patronage He may see in me the effect of His sacred passion and blood.*”*

In the Litany of Saint Joseph, we have a string of titles intended, I presume, as a sort of companion to those of the Virgin, whose husband he was, as follows :—

“ St. Joseph, the Virgin Consort of a Virgin Mother, pray for us. St. Joseph, Ruler of the Lord of the Universe—St. Joseph, *Governor of the Incarnate Wisdom*—St. Joseph, Nursing Father of Him by whom all creatures live—St. Joseph, *Saviour of the Saviour of mankind*—St. Joseph, *honored and served by the King and Queen of Heaven*—St. Joseph, seated on a throne of glory near those of Jesus and Mary, pray for us.”†

The real doctrine which your modern Church imparts to her people in such forms as these, is immensely beyond the statement of Dr. Milner and the Council of Trent, and it is much more fairly expressed by your celebrated Cardinal Bellarmine, where he saith that vows made to the saints are only proper because they are “ *gods by participation.*”‡ And hence it has been common to prefix to the works of the fathers the very word which the classical writers

* True Piety, p. 256.

† Ib. p. 172-3.

‡ *Votum non convenit sanctis, nisi quatenus sunt Dii per participationem.*

among the Latins attached to their deified mortals, *Divus*. Thus, as the old heathen Roman said *Divus Augustus*, the god Augustus, when speaking of the deified emperor, so the modern Christian Roman saith *Divus Thomas*, the god Thomas, *Divus Bernardus*, the god Bernard, when speaking of the canonized saints. The ancient *apotheosis*, in which the deceased hero was enrolled among the gods by the heathen, has been succeeded by the *Papal canonization*, through which the deceased is supposed to become a lawful object of invocation in heaven. And thus the saints of Rome occupy, in some important respects, the place of the old *Dii minorum gentium*, being, according to Bellarmine, GODS BY PARTICIPATION. But this language, though well known to scholars, is never used towards the people, because it would startle them, and give *a handle to the heretics*.

Lastly, I shall close with the following specimen of your devotion to a guardian angel, viz. :—

“O Holy Angel, to whose care God, in His mercy, hast committed me, thou who *assistest me in my wants*, who *consolest me in my afflictions*, who *supportest me when dejected*, and who constantly obtainest for me new favors, I return thee now most sincere and humble thanks, and I conjure thee, O amiable guide, to continue still thy care, to defend me against my enemies, to remove from me the occasion of sin, to obtain for me a docility to *thy holy inspirations*, to protect me, in particular, at the hour of my death, and then conduct me to the mansions of eternal repose. Amen.”*

Here we have a prayer which asks an angel to do what belongs to Christ and the Holy Spirit of God, without one word of reference to the Redeemer ; and yet it is not an *act of worship at all*, saith Dr. Milner, but only an *act of in-*

* True Piety, p. 167.

vocation. Yet higher, in some respects, are the favors expected from the saints, and especially from the Virgin, and still we are assured that it is only the same thing which we all allow when we ask *the saints on earth to pray for us!* But that it amounts to idolatry, substantially if not formally, I shall show, as I think, conclusively. And that it is quite contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures, and to that of the primitive Church, I hold myself fully prepared to prove by evidence beyond the possibility of honest contradiction.

L E T T E R X X X .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

IN entering upon the evidence of Scripture and the primitive Church against your Roman doctrine of angel and saint worship, it will be most advisable, for the sake of perspicuity, to show, first, the contrast between the extracts which I have exhibited, and the express teaching of the Word of God, in reference, especially, to the claims set forth in favor of the Virgin Mary, from which it may be plainly seen that your Church makes her a sharer, if not an absolute rival, in the powers and graces of the Saviour and the Holy Spirit.

Thus, Christ Jesus brought life and immortality to light, saith the Scripture : and *Mary brought life and benediction to the human race*, saith the Church of Rome. Christ is our life and our hope, according to the Scripture : *Mary is our life, our sweetness, and our hope*, according to the Church of Rome. Christ is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and the Lord of lords, saith the Scripture : *Mary is the Queen of Heaven, the Queen of Angels, the Queen of Patriarchs, the Queen of Prophets, the Queen of Apostles, the Queen of Martyrs, the Queen of Confessors, the Queen of all Saints*, saith the Church of Rome. “ All power is given to me in heaven and in earth,” saith the glorious Redeemer :

Hail Mary, lady and mistress of the world, to whom all power has been given both in heaven and in earth, saith the Church of Rome. "There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus," saith the Scripture: O sacred Mary, I bless and praise you infinitely, for that you are the great Mediatrix between God and man, saith the Church of Rome. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and mind," saith the Scripture: O my dear Mother! I love you more than my tongue can express, and more than my very soul can conceive, saith the Church of Rome. "We have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous," saith the Scripture: Hail, Mother of Mercy, most gracious advocate, turn thine eyes of mercy toward us, saith the Church of Rome. "Come unto me," saith Christ, "all ye that travail and are heavy laden:" Come, hardened sinner, saith the Church of Rome, come and behold, Mary stretches out her hand and opens her breast to receive you. "Greater love hath no man than this," saith our Lord, "that he lay down his life for his friends." "Him that cometh unto me I will in nowise cast out." And St. John saith: "This is love, not that we loved Him, but that He first loved us, and gave Himself for us:" But perhaps, saith the Church of Rome to the sinner, you fear the divine majesty in Christ, because, though He was made man, He was still God. Do you desire an advocate with Him? Have recourse to Mary. She will be heard for her own sake. Her throne, though exalted, has nothing forbidding, nothing dreadful. Her heart is all love, all tenderness. Thus, the Church of Rome teaches, that when the sinner is afraid to rely on the infinite and amazing love of Christ, he may still depend for his salvation on the love of the Virgin!

The rivalry of Mary with the Holy Spirit is equally plain. "My son, give me thy heart," saith the Lord in the Scrip-

ture,* “and I will give you a new heart, and put a new spirit within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and will give you a heart of flesh.”† But the Church of Rome represents the Virgin as saying, *Give me your heart, my dear child, and if it be as hard as flint, I will make it as soft as wax; and if it be more foul and loathsome than dirt, I will render it more clear and beautiful than crystal.* Another office of the Holy Spirit is claimed for her, since our Lord expressly names Him “*The Comforter*,” or the Paraclete: But the Church of Rome calls the Virgin Mary *the comforter of the afflicted*. “Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men,” saith the great Redeemer, “but the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven:” But the Church of Rome presumes to say to the hardened and inveterate sinner, “*Come, how great soever your crimes may be, come and behold, Mary opens her breast to receive you. Though insensible to the great concerns of your salvation; though, unfortunately, proof against the most engaging invitations and inspirations of the Holy Ghost, fling yourself at the feet of this powerful advocate!*”

It is painful to dwell on this wonderful delusion, which thus exalts a mere mortal to the prerogatives of the Deity, under the apology that she exercises them in a subordinate capacity. But the ingenuity of Rome carries it into every possible particular. If the Saviour of the world was “holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners:” So, saith the Church of Rome, was the Virgin, *without the slightest taint of sin, original or actual*. If His blessed body saw no corruption: *Neither*, saith the Church of Rome, *did the body of Mary*. His resurrection and ascension are quite equalled, if not excelled, by her resurrection and assumption into

* Prov. xxiii. 26.

† Ezek. xxxvi. 26, Douay Bible.

heaven. All the Apostles fly through the air from distant parts of the earth to be present at her death. There is a vision of angels, who sing hymns for three days. Thomas desires to adore her body; but the coffin, when opened, displays only the grave-clothes, which fill the air with an ineffable odor. The Apostles conclude that it must have been translated to heaven. And the Virgin's assumption is painted with the most glowing words. All the celestial hosts go out to meet her, and she is crowned, with the brightest diadem of glory, as the Queen—yes, the QUEEN OF HEAVEN!

And shall we be told, after all this, that the Romanist does not worship the Virgin Mary, but merely asks her prayers, just as he would do if she were again on earth, and just as all Christians are told, by St. Paul, to ask the prayers of each other? Such is the statement with which your favorite advocate would delude his readers, for it is hard to believe that it could delude himself. But let me examine this theory and note its consistency with reason and with Scripture, on the moderate scale presented by the favorite and constant prayer to the Virgin, which is called, from the first words, *The Ave Maria*, or “Hail Mary,” and in which the worshipper saith, “*Pray for us now, and at the hour of our death.*”

First, then, I ask, How does the Virgin *hear this prayer*, offered by 128 millions of worshippers all over the world, unless she possesses the *divine attribute*, incommunicable to any creature, of OMNIPRESENCE? Dr. Milner replies that *God can reveal to the saints the prayers of Christians who address them here on earth*, and this, he saith, is SUFFICIENT! But who ever seriously acted on such an argument as this? Who can suppose, for a moment, that the multitudes who pray so constantly to the Virgin and the saints, would con-

tinue to do so, if they were frankly assured by their priests that their prayers were not heard by those whom they were addressing, but only came to their knowledge, in so far as God might please to reveal them? Is that the theory which the Apostle sets before us, when he asks his brethren to pray for him? Suppose the Virgin were on earth again, and I desired to have the benefit of her prayers, what Romanist would tell me that I might address her directly with just as good effect, whether she were present or absent, because God could reveal my prayers to her, though she were a hundred miles away? Let the statement be applied to any human analogy, and its absurdity will be at once apparent.

Thus, let me be conceived to have an earthly king, whose subject I am, and of whom I am most anxious to obtain the favor. He has an only son, through whom he has appointed all my intercourse with him to be conducted. I am assured that he has also many favorite courtiers, whose entreaties on my behalf, if I could secure them, would be likely to prevail. His royal son, I know, is accessible to me at all times, on my humble application; because he has invited me to come to him, with an assurance of a kind and gracious hearing. The courtiers, on the contrary, are not accessible to me at all. I know their names, but cannot gain admittance to their persons. What is to be done? Not satisfied with the condescending kindness and promise of the prince, I am resolved to have the aid of the courtiers also. And as I cannot hold any direct intercourse with them, I follow the plan marked out by Dr. Milner. I go into the presence of the king, and I address myself, not to his royal majesty, but to one whom I imagine to be the chief of his favorite courtiers, and whom I know is not present to hear me. And I tell this absent individual, as if she could hear me, although I am conscious she cannot, that I know she possesses the

most absolute influence over the king's son, and that the prince has all power with his father. And therefore I beg most humbly that she will take me under her protection, and obtain for me all I desire. And then I depart, quite satisfied that the king will inform his absent favorite of my request, that she will grant it, that the prince will be moved by her prayer, and that the sovereign will fulfill my wishes ! Would such a piece of management be likely to avail ? Or would it not rather be set down as the conduct of a fool or a madman ?

The theory of Dr. Milner, therefore, is a mere absurdity, and cannot possibly be the practical idea of those who pray to the saints. They do, assuredly, suppose them, *some how*, to be present ; and as the same belief is held by every worshipper, and they have no doubt that the same prayers are heard at once in every quarter of the world, it results, in spite of every evasion, that they do, in the bottom of their hearts, ascribe to the saints, and especially to the Virgin, THE QUEEN OF HEAVEN, a *universal presence*, which is the sole attribute of God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

This constitutes the first branch of the idolatry, which I consider inseparable from the worship of the departed saints. For the Almighty has called Himself “a jealous God,” and “will not give His glory to another.” It is not giving the *name* of God to a creature which constitutes the sin of idolatry. This is certain from the Scriptures, for our Lord Himself saith :* “*Is it not written in your law, I said, ye are gods ? If he called them gods, to whom the Word of God was spoken, and the Scripture cannot be made void : Do ye say of Him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said*

* St. John, x. 34, Douay Bible.

I am the Son of God?" Idolatry consists much more in giving *the attributes* of God to the creature, for it is these attributes which make up the idea which we form, from His own Word, of His essence and His powers. It is because of these attributes that we worship and adore the Deity; and they cannot be communicated to a creature, no, not to the highest archangel in heaven, because there must ever be, in the nature of the case, an *infinite distance between Him who creates, and that which is created*. Therefore, the Archangel Gabriel is shown, in the Book of the Prophet Daniel, to have been entirely destitute of this attribute of ubiquity, or omnipresence.* For thus it is said expressly by the prophet, "*The man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, FLYING SWIFTLY, touched me at the time of the evening sacrifice.*" Even he, notwithstanding his pure spiritual nature, could not communicate with Daniel, without flying down from heaven. How, then, shall the Virgin communicate at once with her 128 millions of worshippers, without descending from her glorious throne at all, as they suppose, unless, like God, *she has the attribute of omnipresence?*

The second branch of this idolatry consists in the necessary inculcation of the Virgin's *omniscience*. For her worshippers are taught to regard her as knowing all their hearts, all their wants, all their difficulties. She is asked to follow them with her eyes of mercy through life, to be with them as their protector in death, and to bring them in safety to final happiness. She is believed to be able to do all this, for all these millions, at the same time. And how can she effect such a stupendous work, unless she has a knowledge of their feelings and circumstances, which can be in no respect distinguished, practically, from the knowledge of God?

* Dan. ix. 21.

The third branch of this idolatry meets us in the ascription to the Virgin of *omnipotence*. For her worshippers are told that *she has all power in heaven and in earth*. True, this is said to be not *inherent*, but *acquired*. She has it, not because it belongs to her, as it does to God, by her divine nature, but because it has been bestowed upon her as the reward of grace. Nevertheless, however it may have been acquired, *she is believed to possess it*, and that, after all, is the practical question. But this, too, we hold to be an absurd and most impious ascription. Absurd, because no created being can hold or exercise the power of the only living Potentate, the uncreated and eternal God. And impious, because the investing of His creatures with His attributes is rightly and justly held to be the deepest offence against His majesty. Christ Jesus Himself does not possess those divine powers, save only by the glorious *hypostatic union of His human nature with the ETERNAL WORD*, who is *ONE IN SUBSTANCE WITH THE FATHER*. In His wondrous incarnation, God and man became united in One Person. And, hence, He only could say with truth, *All power is given unto me, in heaven and in earth*. Nor can that majestic authority be ascribed, in any real sense, to a mere creature, without involving a fearful idolatry.

But your favorite author claims a high superiority of privilege for his Church, on account of this very idolatry. "*How sublime and consoling !*" he exclaims ; "*how animating the doctrine and practice of true Catholics*" (i. e., Romanists), "*compared with the opinions of Protestants ! We hold daily and hourly converse with the angelic choirs, with the patriarchs, the heroes of Christianity,*" &c. Here, by the way, he has already forgotten his own statement, that the saints cannot hear the prayers addressed to them, but only know them by the revelation of God. For now he saith, *We hold daily*

and hourly converse with them! Such, indeed, as I have shown, must needs be the general belief of your Church, and he falls naturally into the usual mode of expression. Still it is an obvious abuse of words in him to talk of *holding converse* with the saints, when, according to his own acknowledgment, neither of the parties could hear the other. And if Dr. Milner offered his prayers to the departed spirits, in the expectation that God would deliver a message which was not even committed to His majesty; and then chose to call it *holding converse* with these departed worthies, I can only say that such an idea of *conversing* strikes my humble judgment as very peculiar and original.

But this is a trifle in the list of inconsistencies. Let us rather look at the *sublime and consoling* privilege which we—poor Protestants, though, as we claim, *true Catholics*—have cast away. Let my reader, then, consider the position in which this notion places, for example, the supposed Queen of Heaven, the Virgin Mary. Every Romanist is bound to offer to her at least two prayers every day, morning and evening. All who use the Rosary (and the more devout are accustomed to that exercise) extend this number to 150. Let us take into the calculation the seven canonical hours of the monks and the nuns, and the daily Masses of the priests throughout the world, and I presume that the average for the whole Church of Rome would be very moderately stated at ten Hail Marys each day for every man, woman, and child belonging to their communion. Now, there are 128 millions of persons attached to that Church, to say nothing of all the rest who, as they claim, ought to be attached to it, and whom, because they are not so attached, they charitably shut out from the hope of salvation. This, of course, gives the Virgin Mary the privilege of hearing (or having revealed to her, as the case may be) 1,280,000,000

petitions every day. Supposing the worship to be constant and unceasing, each hour of the twenty-four would contain, on the average, 53,333,333, or nearly fifty-four millions of these petitions ; each minute would include about 889 hundred thousand ; and each second, 14,814, or nearly fifteen thousand. And as we have allowed ten Hail Marys for each worshipper, the result would be that fifteen hundred souls must pass in review before the Virgin Mary *every second*, day and night, even if she had no other occupation but to attend to them ; and of these, she is expected to know all their wants, all their feelings, all their temptations, all their sins, and to give them the benefit of her influence, her protection, and her prayers, so as to secure their salvation !

What wild absurdity to expect such a work as this at the hands of a creature, unless we first contrive to believe that creature to be invested with the attributes of God ! Against Scripture, against reason, and, as I shall presently prove, against the *really Catholic Church*, how wonderful the infatuation which Romanism has succeeded in establishing during the dark ages of European ignorance, and which the assumed infallibility of your Church will not suffer her to reform away, even in the light of the nineteenth century ! What is there, I ask, *sublime or consoling* in such a phantom of extravagance ? What advantage could be gained to the Church, even if it were possible that the Almighty should have laid such a burden on the shoulders of the Virgin ? How infinitely more sublime and consoling is it to know that the mighty providence of God is exercised by Him who alone can exercise it—by Him who is indeed Omnipresent, Omniscient, Omnipotent—by Him who beholds, without effort, the past, the present, and the future—by Him who is the King Almighty, immortal and invisible, by whom

and for whom all things were created, and in whom all things consist—by Him who has promised that He will never leave us nor forsake us—by Him who is the true Head of His Church—the Lord Jesus Christ, God over all, blessed forever!

LETTER XXXI.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I COME now to consider the evidence of Scripture and the primitive Church, from which it will be easily seen that Dr. Milner's claim to have the Apostles and the fathers on his side, is the actual reverse of the true state of the question. And first, with respect to Scripture.

The whole proof which your modern Church of Rome derives from the Word of God in favor of the Virgin's supposed prerogatives, depends on the Address of the Angel Gabriel, in the Gospel of St. Luke :* "*Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee : Blessed art thou among women,*" taken in connection with the fact itself, that she was chosen to be the Mother of the great Redeemer.

We translate the text differently, "*Hail, thou that art highly favored;*" and this version, we maintain, is much more faithful to the Greek words, Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη. Every tyro in Greek, and especially every scholar, may perceive at once that your Romish version is an unwarrantable gloss upon the original. The word is the participle from the verb Χαριτῶω, which signifies to *make agreeable, or acceptable, or lovely.*† And it occurs in the Epistle to the Ephe-

* Chapter i., v. 28.

† Thus, Donegan, in his Greek Lexicon, translates the word. Schrevelius gives the participial form itself, and translates it *gratia donatus, gratia ornatus*, endowed with grace or favor, or adorned with the same.

sians,* *ἐν ᾗ ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ*, where your own Douay Bible translates it as we do, "*by which He made us ACCEPTABLE through His beloved Son.*"† Now, *highly favored* and *acceptable* accord well enough in meaning; whereas FULL OF GRACE and ACCEPTABLE are manifestly phrases which express a wide difference in privilege. There is no reason why we should translate the same verb *one way* with respect to the Virgin, and *another way* with respect to St. Paul and the Christians of Ephesus. And hence, the Church of Rome herself justifies our version, and proves that, instead of attributing too little force to the term which the angel applied to the Virgin, our translators have, in truth, given it as much as it will fairly bear.

The other part of the angel's address pronounces that the Virgin is *blessed among women*. And she herself, in her inspired hymn, saith, *Behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed*.

This is, undoubtedly, a high honor to the Virgin; but it is limited plainly to the estimation of the *saints below*, and conveys no intimation whatever of the celestial prerogatives claimed for her as the *Queen of Heaven*, &c. In like manner, we see that Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite,‡ is pronounced "*Blessed among women.*" So the Lord declares to Israel,§ "*All nations shall call you blessed.*" Hence, it is plain that the Scriptures, thus far, give no support whatever to your Romish doctrine.

We come, lastly, to the only remaining argument, derived

* Chapter i., v. 6.

† Our English Bible reads, "*Wherein He hath made us ACCEPTED in the Beloved.*" This is closer to the Greek, but the meaning is the same, precisely.

‡ Judges, ch. v., v. 24.

§ Mal. iii. 12.

from the simple fact that the Virgin was the Mother of the Redeemer. It is for this, undoubtedly, that she is accounted *Blessed among women*. It is for this that *all generations shall call her Blessed*, and we claim our full share in the honor due to her, accordingly. But this eminent blessing *in the Church below* is one thing, and *all power in heaven and earth* is quite another. And hence, the enormous superstructure which Romanism has built upon the maternal relation to our Lord is contradicted throughout, and most emphatically, by His own express teaching.

Thus, we find that the Saviour never calls her *Mother* at any time, but *Woman*. As, for example, at the marriage feast of Cana in Galilee,* your Douay Bible reads as follows: “ And the wine failing, the Mother of Jesus saith to Him, They have no wine. And Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what is that to me and to thee? My hour is not yet come. His mother saith to the waiters, Whatsoever He shall say to you, do ye.”

Here, by the way, let me notice another discrepancy in the translation of our English Bible, where your writers accuse us very unjustly. According to our version, the words of Christ are, “ *What have I to do with thee?* ” The Douay Bible adopts the language which I have given above, *What is that to me and to thee?* The Greek original is, τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ, literally, WHAT TO ME AND TO THEE? Your version would therefore *seem* to be nearer to the Greek; and yet it is not so, for the phrase is idiomatic, and signifies precisely what our translators have given as its true meaning. Of this we have full proof from your Douay Bible itself. Thus,† where the devils address to the Saviour these words, “ *What have we to do with Thee, Jesus, Son of God,* ”

* St. John, ii. 3, 4, 5.

† St. Matthew, viii. 29.

according to your own version (which, in this place, agrees with ours), the original Greek gives the very same form. *Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοὶ*, literally, WHAT TO US AND TO THEE? Thus, we have another example, from your own undesigned acknowledgment, of the superior fidelity of our English Bible.

But according to your Roman version, we have here an expression, which the Douay commentators are obliged to say, has been considered "*as harsh*," although they insist, with Dr. Milner, that the Virgin "knew of the miracle which the Saviour was about to perform, and that it was at her request he wrought it." Assuredly, however, the sacred history itself shows the very contrary. She merely tells her divine Son of the fact that there was no wine, and she does not presume to make *any request* whatever. *What* was to be done, or *how*, she leaves entirely to His own discretion. She therefore tells the servants to follow His directions, in the hope that He would, in His kindness, devise some plan to meet the difficulty, while to Himself she does not venture to make any reply. It is perfectly evident, therefore, that the miracle which He saw fit to perform was His own voluntary suggestion, and it is impossible to infer, from his language to the Virgin, that He wished to connect her in any way with the transaction. He did not stand in need of her information, and evidently answered as if to discourage her well-meant officiousness. Instead, therefore, of affording any warrant for your Romish doctrine that the Virgin is the very medium through whom Christ bestows His gifts, it is, in reality, rather a warning against it. For why this admitted *harshness* of expression? Why address her by the name of *woman*, instead of the endearing title of *mother*? Why disclaim her interference rather than encourage it? Manifestly, because our Lord foresaw the evils which a superstitious worship of His

mother would bring into His Church, and therefore, from first to last, mercifully, though sternly, set His face against it.

In strict accordance with this, when He was but twelve years old, and had tarried at Jerusalem, in the temple, and Joseph and His mother sought for Him and found Him there, she undertook, though very gently, to rebuke Him.* “His mother said unto Him, Son, why hast thou so done to us? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Did you not know that I must be about the things that are my Father’s? And they understood not the word that He spoke unto them. And He went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject to them. And Mary kept all these words in her heart.”

Here we see that the Saviour, young as he was, answers the rebuke of his mother with another rebuke, far better justified. For she had said, “*Thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.*” Whereas she knew that Joseph was not His father, and He reminds them both of His true pater-nity by saying, “*Do you not know that I must be about the things that are my Father’s?*” They ought not, therefore, to have sought Him amongst “*their kinsfolk and acquaintance,*” as if He were a common youth, seeking to amuse Himself, during the religious festival. They should rather have taken it for granted that He was at the Temple, *His Father’s house*, employed in preparing for the fulfilment of the high and holy purpose for which He had been sent into the world. Hence, they were to blame, and He shrinks not from telling them so. Nevertheless, He had no intention to withdraw from the ordinary fulfilment of His duties, and therefore He went down with them, and was subject

* St. Luke, ch. ii., v. 43, Douay Bible.

unto them, aiding them to the utmost of His power. But He never departed from the sublime peculiarity of His nature and office, as the Redeemer of the world. He was the Son of Mary according to the flesh, and He was the ward of Joseph, while, nevertheless, He was the divine Lord and Saviour of them both. Hence, they seem to have submitted to His rebuke without a murmur; and though they understood not His full meaning at the time, yet they asked for no explanation, but Mary *kept His words in her heart*.

And yet, in the face of a narrative like this, your modern Church of Rome does not shrink from saying, "*St. Joseph—ruler of the Lord of the universe—St. Joseph, Governor of the Incarnate Wisdom—St. Joseph—Saviour of the Saviour of mankind—St. Joseph, honored and served by the King and Queen of Heaven!*" as if our Lord could have been RULED and GOVERNED by the will of Joseph, like an ordinary child, instead of being guided, in all things, by His own perfect sense of duty. The principle is the same on which He afterwards submitted Himself to be baptized by John the Baptist, not because He could be in any proper sense considered as John's disciple, but because of the rule He had prescribed to Himself, "*So it becometh us to fulfil all justice.*"* The distinction is of the highest importance, because it explains, throughout, the otherwise unaccountable style of His language towards His mother.

The next part of the Gospel history which bears upon this subject, is that conclusive passage, where we read,† "*As he was yet speaking to the multitudes, behold his mother and his brethren stood without, seeking to speak with him. And one said to him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, seeking thee. But he, an-*

* St. Mat., iii. 15, Douay Bible.

† St. Mat., xii. 46, Douay Bible.

swering him that told him, said, *Who is my mother and who are my brethren? And stretching forth his hand towards his disciples, he saith, Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, he is my brother, and sister, and mother.*" It may be observed that while the address of the Angel Gabriel occurs only in the Gospel of St. Luke, this passage is recorded by St. Luke,* St. Mark,† and St. Matthew. And it proves, most clearly, that the blessed Redeemer refused to attach any spiritual pre-eminence to the earthly relationship of His mother. This, indeed, would seem to result necessarily from the unquestionable truth, that He was God and man, in One Person. But the *affinity to God must always depend on holiness*. Hence, the Virgin Mary could claim no kindred to the *divine* nature of her Son *simply because she was His earthly mother*. That relationship is a question of the body. The heavenly relationship is a question of the soul. And therefore the Virgin mother, though highly favored in being selected for such a purpose, and being brought thereby so near to the Person of her divine Son, during the years of His childhood and youth, was regarded by Him as only one of the innumerable multitude which He came to redeem, and, like all the rest, obliged to work out her salvation in the appointed way of living faith and holy obedience. Christ Jesus, as a man, would doubtless have been subject, according to your Roman theory, to all the usual partiality of ordinary human affection. But Christ Jesus, as God, was raised infinitely above them. And as, in Him, the human will was always in strict subordination to the divine, it is as GOD MANIFEST IN THE FLESH that His whole conduct must be regarded.

In accordance with this decisive passage is another,

* St. Luke, viii. 20.

† St. Mark, iii. 32.

which we read as follows: * “ And it came to pass as he spake these things, that a certain woman from the crowd, lifting up her voice, said to him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee suck. But he said, *Yea, rather blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.*” This woman from the crowd took the Romish view of the subject, and it is in nowise extraordinary that a crowd of women should find it a very acceptable doctrine to this day. And hence the frequent reference to the *womb of Mary* which we meet with in the devotions of her worshippers. Nevertheless, it is a low and sensuous notion, and therefore constantly opposed and discouraged by the divine Redeemer.

The last direct text bearing on this subject is the remarkable passage of St. John’s Gospel,† “ Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother’s sister, Mary of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus, therefore, saw his mother and the disciple standing, whom he loved, he saith to his mother, *Woman, behold thy Son.* After that he saith to the disciple, *Behold thy mother.* And from that hour the disciple took her to his own.”

Here we see, plainly, how our Lord regarded his earthly relation to the Virgin. Though in the agony of death, when the human heart is most apt to show the strength of the natural feelings, and to utter, without disguise, the tenderness of its affections towards the beloved mother and the cherished friends of its domestic life, yet the majesty of THE GOD IN MAN towers above it all, in the example of the Saviour. As at other times, so now, He calls her *Woman*. His benevolence provides for her the special care of the beloved disciple, St. John. But in the very words employed, we see a strong intimation of the idea already given,

* St. Luke vii., v. 27, Douay Bible.

† Chapter xi., v. 25, Douay Bible.

that the relation between them, being only of earth, was now transferred to another. The Saviour might have said to St. John, "Take care of her for my sake, and remember that she is my mother." And had he been an ordinary mortal, such would have been, most probably, the form in which the office of guardianship would have been imposed. But instead of this, He saith, *Woman, behold thy Son*; and to the Apostle He saith, *Behold thy mother*. As if He would instruct them, by a fresh and powerful lesson, that He who, as God, had power to form this *temporary* relation with Mary in the beginning, had the same power to transfer it to another at the end of His earthly course; so that henceforth, whatever affinity she might claim to the divine Redeemer of the world, must rest wholly on the *spiritual ground* of that "*HOLINESS, without which no man shall see the Lord.*"

No candid and intelligent mind, therefore, can fail to perceive the contrast between the language of Christ and your Romish theory. And we have reason to be thankful for the divine care and wisdom with which the whole has been recorded, so as to guard, if anything could have guarded, His Church, from the subsequent influx of this sensuous and alluring delusion. Nor is the negative testimony of Scripture less, if it be not even more, conclusive. For we nowhere find that the Virgin was suffered to interfere with the Apostles, or give the slightest counsel or advice, on any subject whatever. We are told of the piety of other women, but nothing is said of hers. She stood with the rest at the cross, but nothing is related of her language, her actions, or her feelings. Mary Magdalene and another Mary go to the Sepulchre, but it does not appear that the Virgin Mother accompanied them. Mary Magdalene was even favored with a special sight of her beloved Lord, after His resurrection, but it does not appear that this favor was accorded to the Mother. She is mentioned once in the first

chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, as being with the rest of the disciples in an upper room, but nothing more is recorded concerning her. How is it possible to reconcile all this with your Romish hypothesis, that she was nevertheless destined to be the Queen of Heaven, the Queen of Apostles, patriarchs, prophets, angels, and saints ! That she was to be the great Mediatrix between God and man ! Yea ! that all power should be given to her in heaven and in earth !

But your ingenious advocate seems to have guarded against this total want of support from the Holy Scriptures, by asserting, that "*the Church derived her doctrine immediately from the Apostles, before any part of the New Testament was written.*" And yet it is very obvious that this affords no imaginable reason why the Apostles should not have inserted it along with the rest of their inspired instructions, *after* they began to write the Gospels and the Epistles, for the standing memorials of the faith which they had preached. Let us turn next, however, to the fathers, Councils, and Liturgies of the early ages of the Church ; and here I shall furnish the plainest demonstration that the Apostles could not have taught any such thing, since the modern apotheosis of the Virgin Mary formed no part whatever of the ancient primitive doctrine.

Thus we find the great Augustine, in the fourth century, and towards its close, addressing himself to God. "Whom may I find that will reconcile me to Thee ? Should I have recourse to angels ? With what prayer ? With what sacraments ? Many endeavoring to return to Thee, and not able of themselves, have tried these things, as I hear, and have fallen into the desire of curious visions, and were worthy of such illusions. But the TRUE MEDIATOR whom Thou by Thy secret mercy hast shown to the humble, and hast sent,

that by His example they might learn humility, is the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.”*

That, in the time of Augustine, the Virgin Mary was not called the Mother of God, seems very clear from the following passage :—

“ Our Lord Jesus Christ was God and man. *So far as it concerned His Deity, He had no mother ; so far as it concerned His humanity, He had.* Therefore *she was the mother of His flesh, the mother of His humanity, the mother of the infirmity which He took upon Him for us.*” “ For the Lord of heaven and earth came by a woman. As He was the Lord of the world, the Lord of heaven and earth, He was also the Lord of Mary. As He was the Creator of the heavens and the earth, He was the Creator of Mary. But as it was said that He was made of a woman, made under the law, He was the Son of Mary.”†

That Augustine held the Virgin Mary to be a sinner is plain from these words in his Commentary on the 34th Psalm : “ *Mary, from Adam, was dead because of sin, Adam was dead because of sin, and the flesh of the Lord from Mary was dead, to take away sin.*”‡

The same doctrine is manifest from those passages in which he sets forth Christ alone as without sin, since this can never be made consistent with the Romish notion that the Virgin was immaculate. This opinion of St. Augustine is abundantly clear from the following discourse on the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans :—

“ He sent His Son in the *similitude* of the flesh of sin. Not in the flesh of sin. In the flesh, truly, but not in the flesh of sin. Therefore *all the flesh of others is the flesh of*

* Augustini Op., Tom. 1, p. 146, Confes. Lib. 10, § 67-8.

† Augustini Op., Tom. 3, 2d Div., p. 260-1, § 9, Com. in Johan. Ev. cap. 1, Trac. 9.

‡ Ib. Op., Tom. 4, P. 1, p. 179, F.

sin. His ALONE was not the flesh of sin, because His mother conceived Him not by concupiscence, but by grace.”*

The distinction between *honoring* the martyrs and *worshipping* them, is plainly pointed out by Augustine, in another discourse, on the martyrdom of the Bishop Fructuosus: “What was the answer of the holy deacon who suffered and was crowned together with his Bishop? The judge said to him, Dost thou worship Fructuosus? And he replied, I do not worship Fructuosus, but I worship God, whom Fructuosus also worshipped. How does he admonish us, that we should *honor the martyrs, and worship God, with them?* For we ought not to be what we grieve to see the heathen are. Since, truly, *they worship dead men.*”†

The famous Basil must also be reckoned among those who counted the Virgin among sinners, for he saith expressly that she doubted at the crucifixion. These are his words: “According to the word of the Lord, *All shall be offended in me*, Simeon prophesied of Mary herself, standing at the cross and beholding the things which were done, and hearing the expressions around her: After the testimony of Gabriel, after the hidden knowledge of the divine conception, after so many miracles performed, yet there will be, saith he, *in thine own mind*, a certain fluctuation. And therefore it was necessary that the Lord should *taste death for all, and that a propitiation should be made for the whole world*, and that ALL should be justified by His blood.”‡

Pope Leo the Great also expresses very clearly the doctrine of his day, which was still later than the former, being in the 5th century, that the Virgin Mary was not free from

* Augustini Op., Tom. 5, p. 505, § 8.

† Ib. Tom. 5, p. 771, § 3.

‡ Basilii Op., Tom. 3, p. 400, E.

sin: "For the ground of human flesh," saith he, "which was accursed in the first prevaricator, brought forth a blessed scion in *that only offspring* of the blessed Virgin, *which was free from the vice of its stock.*"*

So, too, Pope Gregory the Great asserts the same doctrine plainly, in his 4th Homily on Ezekiel, B. 2: "Who, therefore," saith he, "is without sin, but he who was conceived without sin?—for one is the Author and Redeemer of the Holy Church, to whom and by whom all proceed who know themselves to be sinners."†

To these may be added the testimony of St. Epiphanius, the Bishop of Cyprus, who flourished in the fifth century, and who thus argues against the idolatry of the Virgin Mary by a sect of heretics called the Collyridians: "I acknowledge," saith he, "that Mary remained ever a Virgin, but she never was proposed to us as an *object of worship*, since she herself worshipped Him who was born of her flesh, but who had descended from heaven and the bosom of the Father. Wherefore the sacred Gospel also admonishes us, in which Christ saith, *Woman, what have I to do with thee? my hour is not yet come.* Here, He calls her *Woman*, lest any one should suppose her to be of a superior nature, and He used this word as if prophesying for the refutation of those heretics which He knew would arise in the world; that no one should be led away by too great admiration of the Holy Virgin, to adopt these puerile follies."‡ "Wherefore, truly, let Mary be honored, but let the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be worshipped. *Let no one worship Mary.*"§

* S. Leonis Magni Op., p. 76.

† S. Greg. Op., Tom. 1, p. 1350, § 1-7.

‡ S. Epiphan., Tom. 1, p. 1061-2.

§ Ib., p. 1064.

Again, we have in this ancient writer a conclusive testimony against the vain and profane doctrine of Rome about the Virgin's assumption into heaven. "The minds of men," saith Epiphanius, "can never rest, and always incline to evil. But whether the holy Virgin died and was buried, so that her death, being in honor and chastity, the crown of virginity was granted to her; or whether she was slain, as the Scripture seems to indicate by these words, *The sword shall penetrate her soul also*, and so she obtained the glory and honor of the martyrs, and her sacred body, by which light came into the world, was laden with all felicity; or whether, finally, she may not be still alive, for God is able to do whatever He pleases, *but nothing is known certainly about her departure*. Wherefore it is unlawful to honor the saints beyond what is just, but the God of the saints is to be honored."*

And in the following century, we have the testimony of Isidore, the eminent Bishop of Seville, to the same effect. "Some," saith he, "assert that Mary died by the passion of a bodily death, because the just Simeon, holding Christ in his arms, had prophesied, saying, *A sword shall pass through thy soul also*. But it is uncertain whether he spake of the sword of martyrdom, or of the Word of God, stronger and sharper than any two-edged sword. And it may be observed, specially, that no history informs us of Mary having perished by the vengeance of the sword, since her death is mentioned nowhere, neither is her burial reported."†

We see, from the testimony of St. Augustine, as well as of St. Epiphanius, that superstition had already begun to display itself in this direction, but as yet it had obtained

* S. Epiph., Tom. 1, p. 1055.

† Isidori Hispal. de vita et morte sanct., p. 364.

no firm foothold in the Church, nor for a long period after their day. But now let us look to the primitive Liturgies, and examine whether any trace can be discovered in them to warrant the bold assertion of your advocate, that the modern doctrine of Rome was taught by the Apostles.

First, then, we have the Clementine Liturgy, as it stands in the 8th book of the so-called Apostolical Constitutions. And here, there is not a trace of veneration to the Virgin or the saints, but they are commemorated in the Eucharist in these words :—

“ Farther, we offer to Thee for all the saints who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world ; the patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, laymen, and all whose names Thou knowest. We farther offer to Thee for this people ; that for the glory of Thy Christ Thou wilt render them a royal priesthood, a holy nation, for the virgins,” &c. Here, we have the same language used with respect to the departed saints and to the living, but no distinction of honor or authority, no *Hail Mary*, no address to the Virgin, no asking for her prayers ; in a word, not the slightest trace of anything resembling this portion of your modern Roman Liturgy.

Next we come to the Liturgy of St. James, so called, being the same which was used in the ancient Church of Jerusalem, as given in the original Greek of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.* And here we have the following words :—

“ Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee ; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, for of thee was born the Saviour of our souls.”

“ Then the priest says with a loud voice,”

* Tom. 2.

“But chiefly (be mindful, O Lord), of our most holy, immaculate, superlatively blessed and glorious lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.”

“*The Singers.* It is meet that we should truly magnify thee, the ever blessed immaculate parent and mother of God, who art of more honor than the cherubim, and incomparably more glorious than the seraphim. Thee we extol, who broughtest forth the Divine Logos without corruption, and art truly the parent of God.”

“*And again they sing,* Thou, O full of grace, art the joy of the whole creation, both of angels and men, a temple of holiness, a spiritual paradise, and the glory of virginity, of whom the Deity was incarnate, and our God, whose being was from eternity, was made a child. For thy womb was his throne, the seat of Him whom the heavens contain. Thou, O full of grace, art the joy of the universe. Praise be to thee.”

This Liturgy, which certainly was not published at an earlier period than the 5th century, shows a large advance towards your modern superstition, if, indeed, these passages are not the work of still later ages, when the error had fastened firmly upon the Oriental Church. But still the reader will observe that while there is abundance of praise, yet there is *no prayer* to the Virgin. The *Hail Mary* stops short without the subsequent addition, “*Pray for us now, and at the hour of our death.*” And therefore it proves that even so late as the 5th century, the Liturgy was clear of anything more than an extravagant rhetorical laudation of the Virgin, which, nevertheless, prepared the way for further and more perilous innovation.

We come next to the Liturgy of St. Mark, so called, being that used in the Church of Alexandria, and translated from the edition of your own Renaudot, at Paris, 1716.

Here we have a commemoration of the departed, in these words :—

“Be mindful, O Lord our God, of our forefathers from the beginning of the world, of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, saints, just men, and of the soul of every one who is gone before us in the faith of Christ, especially of those whom we this day commemorate, and of our holy father St. Mark, the apostle and evangelist, who showed unto us the way of salvation.”

“Hail, thou that art full of grace, the Lord is with thee : Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, because thou broughtest forth the Saviour of our souls. *With a loud voice* : Especially (be mindful, O Lord) of the most holy, immaculate, blessed lady, the Mother of God, and the ever blessed Virgin.”

In this we see the same laudation of the Virgin, only a little less amplified. But we must carefully remark that the prayer is *for her*, *i. e.*, “Be mindful, O Lord, of our forefathers, the patriarchs, prophets, &c., especially of *St. Mark*, and of *the most holy Virgin*,” &c. Not a word is said of *their intercession for the Church*, but the Church, on the contrary, *prays for them*. Still, therefore, though we behold an extravagant act of praise, yet no supplication whatever is offered to the Virgin Mary.

The fourth of these old Liturgies—old, but by no means primitive in all their parts—is that which bears the name of St. Chrysostom ; and here we have substantially the same form with the last, and I give the passage in full, for my reader’s greater satisfaction.

“We offer, moreover, this reasonable worship, for those who are departed from us in faith, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, chaste persons, and every spirit perfected

in faith. *With a loud voice* : Especially the most holy, immaculate, blessed above all, most glorious lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.”

“ *The people sing* : It is indeed meet to call thee blessed, who art the Mother of God, most highly blessed forever, beyond exception, more honorable than the cherubim, and more glorious than the seraphim, who by an immaculate conception didst bear God the Word : We magnify thee, Mother of God.”

Here, again, the Church *intercedes* for the patriarchs, prophets, &c., and especially for the Virgin Mary, but does not *ask* for her intercession, nor *offer to her any word of supplication*. An allusion is made to her intercession, however, in another prayer, in these words : “ Remit, pardon, and forgive, O God, all the sins which I have committed against thee, * * * according to thy goodness and pity forgive them all, *through the intercessions of thy spotless and ever Virgin Mother.*” This is the whole on the subject in the so-called Liturgy of St. Chrysostom ; and slight as it is, it shows the natural progress of the error.

The Liturgy of St. Basil, so called, comes next in order, as it is given by the same Renaudot, in the Paris edition. And in this we have the following :—

“ Vouchsafe, O Lord, to *remember* those who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world, the holy fathers, patriarchs, apostles, prophets, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, and all just spirits, departed in the faith of Christ.”

“ Especially, the most holy, immaculate, blessed above all, most glorious lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.”

“ St. John, the glorious prophet, the forerunner of our Saviour, the baptist and martyr.”

“ St. Stephen, the first deacon and martyr.”

“ And our holy and blessed father, Mark the Apostle and evangelist, and our holy father, Basil, the worker of miracles.”

“ And all other Thy saints, for the sake of whose prayers and intercessions have mercy upon us, and save us for the sake of Thy holy name, which is called upon, on our behalf.”

We may here observe, from the mention made of Basil, who is called “ the worker of miracles,” that this Liturgy, though bearing his name, could not have been his composition, but was subsequent to his day. He flourished, however, a little before the 5th century, and we all know that 400 years is more than enough to bring in a multitude of changes in any institution placed under human guardianship. Nevertheless, we have here, as before, a prayer to God that He would *remember* the Virgin and the saints; and although there is a reference to the fact that they do pray for the Church (which notion, in itself, is certainly quite unobjectionable), yet there is, as before, not one word of *address to* the Virgin, even in the rhetorical style of some of the other Liturgies, much less is there any *supplication* asking for her prayers.

The Ethiopian Liturgy enters more largely into the instrumentality of the saints, as in the following passage :—

“ We render thanks to Thee, O God, through Thine only-begotten Son * * * through Stephen the proto-martyr, Zachary the priest, and John the Baptist, through all the saints and martyrs, who are at rest in the faith of Christ; through Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the four evangelists, and through Mary, the Mother of God, hear us, O Lord. * * * May all their prayers for us be accepted.” But there is far less laudation of the Virgin, and no address to her, of any sort whatever.

The Liturgy of Nestorius, who was condemned as a heretic by the Council of Ephesus, of which I shall speak by and by, is perfectly clear of the Virgin's peculiar laudation, and resembles, in this respect, the oldest Clementine Liturgy first given.

Next we have the orthodox Liturgy of Severus, the patriarch of Antioch, in the latter part of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. And this is worthy of note for two reasons. First, because there is no special commemoration of the departed saints, by name, excepting "St. James, *the chief of Bishops*," a declaration directly at war with your Romish doctrine that *St. Peter was the chief of Bishops*. And secondly, that these words occur in one of the prayers, "For our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, thine only begotten Son, was *the only person who was ever united to a body of flesh, and entirely subdued all the sinful lusts thereof, so as to leave no room for them to take hold of him*." The Virgin Mary, however, is called "the blessed Mother of God and ever Virgin," in a passage which speaks of the incarnation of the Saviour; but there is no allusion, of course, to her being *immaculate*, which is plainly excluded by the words which I have quoted. Neither is there any reference to her intercession, nor the slightest approach to the other points of your modern Roman doctrine.

But now we come to the old Roman Missal of your *unchanged and unchangeable* Church herself, as printed at Rome A. D. 1647, from the ancient manuscripts. And here, strange to say, there is less honor to the Virgin than we have found in some of the other Liturgies. The following extracts give the whole of the passages alluding to her:—

"Commemorating and honoring the *memory*, in the first place, of the glorious ever Virgin Mary, Mother of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, as also of thy blessed Apostles and

Martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, &c., and of all thy saints ; through whose merits and prayers grant that in all things we may be defended by the help of thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

"Deliver us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present, and to come, and through the intercession of the blessed and glorious ever Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and of thy blessed Apostles, Peter, and Paul, and Andrew, and all the saints, graciously give peace in our days *** through the same our Lord Jesus Christ."

Here we have the title, "Mother of God," and an allusion to the *merits* as well as to the prayers of the Virgin and the saints ; but there is no *Hail Mary*, even in the words of Scripture, as we have seen in the Liturgies called by the names of St. James and St. Chrysostom, no address to the Virgin, of any sort whatever, and not the slightest intimation that she was *immaculate*, much less that she could be a proper object for the Church's invocation.

Lastly, I shall refer to the Sacramentary of Pope Gregory the Great, belonging to the close of the sixth century, in which we have the whole order of the prayers of the Church of Rome, for every day in the year, filling 119 pages folio ; and from the beginning to the end, though her intercessions are constantly referred to, yet not one address to the Virgin or the saints can be found in the whole collection. The following specimens are taken from the Festival of the *Assumption of the Holy Virgin Mary* :—

"O Lord, pardon the sins of thy servants, and grant that we, who are not able to please thee by our works, may be saved by the intercession of the Mother of thy Son, our Lord."

"May the prayer of the Mother of God, O Lord, aid thy people, whom, although we acknowledge that she has de-

parted through the condition of the flesh, yet we believe that, in celestial glory, she prays for us : through the same our Lord."

" Truly worthy and just it is, right and salutary, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks to thee, O holy Lord, Almighty Father, everlasting God ; and that we should praise, bless, and confess thee in veneration of the holy virgins with exulting minds ; among whom, the undefiled Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, whose assumption we this day celebrate, shines glorious, who also, by the overshadowing of thy Holy Spirit, conceived the only begotten Son, and the glory of Virginity remaining, brought forth eternal light into this world, Jesus Christ our Lord."

" The Benediction."

" May God, who, by the offspring of the Blessed Virgin Mary, deigned to redeem the human race, deign to enrich you with his blessing. Amen. May you always and everywhere experience her patronage, from whose undefiled womb you have merited to receive the Author of life. And may you who have assembled this day, with devout minds, to celebrate her festival, carry away with you the gifts of spiritual joys and eternal rewards. Amen."

" Compline."

" Being made participants of the heavenly table, we implore thy clemency, O Lord our God, that we who venerate the festival of the Mother of God, may be freed from the evils which hang over us : by her intercessions, through the Lord."*

We may now see, without any difficulty, the plain absurdity of your Roman assumption, that your modern doc-

* S. Gregor. Mag. Op., Tom. 3, p. 123, Liber Sacramentorum.

trine concerning the worship of the Virgin and the saints was *taught by the Apostles*. For the quotations which I have made from the fathers prove, 1st, that the Virgin was not without sin, or immaculate ; 2d, that the saints and martyrs were to be honored, but not worshipped ; 3d, that the story of the Virgin's death, resurrection, and glorious assumption into heaven, was not received even in the time of Epiphanius, which was the latter end of the fourth century. And the Liturgies confirm all this, and conclusively prove that the modern doctrine had no existence prior to the first Council of Nice, which the Roman theologians themselves agree to have been the period when the oldest of these Liturgies, viz., the Clementine, was published, whereas the others did not see the light until a century afterwards.

Thus, then, stands the evidence. The Clementine Liturgy was by much the older Order for the public service of the Church, and it does not contain the slightest trace of your present Romish doctrine on the subject.

Next, we find the Liturgies called by the name of St. James, St. Mark, St. Chrysostom, and St. Basil, as also the Ethiopic, and the Old Roman, all distinguishing the Virgin, more or less, and some of them in high terms of laudation ; but instead of praying *to her*, they pray and offer the Eucharist *for her*, as well as for the rest of the departed saints. The difference here is enormous, since the very act of praying *for her* supposes that the Church then believed she was in a state which might be *improved* to a higher blessedness. Happy she was, doubtless, in paradise, but not yet exalted to a throne of glory in heaven. Hence the modern Romanist could not possibly use those Liturgies with any propriety. And hence, too, their language is entirely inconsistent with the epithets of your subsequent idolatry, Queen

of Heaven, Queen of Angels, Queen of Apostles, Martyrs, and all Saints, &c.

Still, however, even the advance made towards corruption in these Liturgies was not universal; for we see that not only the Liturgy of Nestorius, but also the Orthodox Liturgy of Severus, the Patriarch of Antioch, in the fifth century, preserves the simplicity and purity of the Clementine Liturgy, with the single exception of calling her the blessed *Mother of God*, a phrase which came extensively into fashion after the Council of Ephesus, and one which, at first sight, *seems* susceptible of a perfectly sound and correct meaning. For Christ was God, manifest in the flesh. And Mary was the Mother of Christ. Therefore, as the Son was God, why, it might be plainly asked, should not His Mother be called the Mother of God? In strictness of language, however, the decision of the Council did not authorize this conclusion, because it turned only on the propriety of the term *θεότοκος*, *Deipara*, or the GOD-BEARER, which Nestorius denounced, and in defence of his censure, fell into the serious heresy of dividing Christ into *two Persons*, thereby depriving His righteousness and His atoning sacrifice of all the majesty and worth derived from the *hypostatic union* of the divine with the human nature in ONE PERSON. The Council condemned him for this, and justly. But there is a difference, notwithstanding, between the Virgin's *bringing forth* Deity, and her being the *Mother* of Deity, and therefore the title *Deipara* or *θεότοκος* did not strictly justify the other title, *Mother of God*. For it is evident that the mere fact of *bringing forth from the womb* does not, of itself, constitute the relation of *mother*. To constitute a *mother*, the woman must produce a living creature which has *derived its nature and its qualities* through her instrumentality, so that it is of the *same race*, and is truly her off-

spring or *progeny*. And therefore, although the Virgin brought forth God, yet she was not the *Mother* of God ; but, as St. Augustine (one of the canonized saints of Rome) most truly saith, in the passage which I have quoted from him, " Christ was God and man. SO FAR AS IT CONCERNED HIS DEITY, HE HAD NO MOTHER ; so far as it concerned His humanity, He had. Therefore, Mary was the *Mother of His flesh, the Mother of His humanity, the Mother of the infirmity which He took upon Him for us*. For the Lord of heaven and earth came by a woman. As He was the Lord of the world, the Lord of heaven and earth, He was also the Lord of Mary. As He was the Creator of heaven and earth, He was the Creator of Mary. But as it was said that He was made of a woman, *made under the law*, He was the Son of Mary."* The common mind, however, did not thus distinguish. Few had the acuteness of an Augustine. And therefore, the authorizing of the term θεότοκος or *Dei-para*, through the condemnation of Nestorius, gave a new impulse to the honor of the Virgin, by seeming to justify the phrase, *Mother of God* ; and it was rapidly adopted throughout the Church, doubtless, from a zealous desire to show how orthodox men, everywhere, abhorred his heresy ; and yet without the slightest apprehension of the awful idolatry to which the novelty would in after ages extend.

But even if we take the Liturgies which I have quoted as being all free from interpolation, the result is still conclusive against your modern Church of Rome. For they prove, incontestably, that up to the commencement of the seventh century, the Church had not adopted the *Ora pro nobis*, " Pray for us," in any form whatever—that the *Hail*

* See page 79, *ante*, first foot-note.

Mary had been introduced in some quarters, but without the additional clause which supplicates the Virgin—that the Church prayed *for her*, instead of praying *to her*—that she had not received, anywhere, the magnificent titles of Queen of Heaven, Queen of Angels, Queen of Patriarchs, &c.—that in the oldest of the Liturgies, the Clementine, she was not specified by name at all—and that although the tendency to magnify her was manifestly growing, and had already made a large advance, yet a vast change was still required, before it was possible to elevate her to the idolatrous majesty of power and privilege, presented in your modern Papal system.

Nevertheless, I do not charge upon your Church a *formal* idolatry in this matter. I know, perfectly well, your careful distinction between the kinds of worship rendered to God and to the Virgin and the saints. That the worship of *Latria* is paid only to the divine persons in the Adorable Trinity; that the worship of *Doulia*, or service and honor, is what you pay to the saints; while the Virgin professedly receives the worship of *Hyper-doulia*, or the highest kind of the second sort, which is lawful to a creature. All this I place to your credit freely and cheerfully. But I have shown, as it seems to me, that although you do not worship the Virgin nominally as a God, yet you must necessarily assume that she possesses powers which can only be claimed by the Deity, since otherwise you could not authorize the praying to her everywhere at once, nor imagine that she is able, in effect, to dispense, to all her worshippers throughout the world, the care and government which can only belong to the Providence of the Almighty. And hence, while I willingly acquit you of idolatry *in form*, I cannot acquit you of idolatry in substance. Even this allowance, however, is only due to the popular belief, for we have seen

that Cardinal Bellarmine, and other leaders in your Church, do not scruple to go the whole way of formal idolatry, boldly claiming for the saints that they are Gods by participation.

Lastly, let me state, that while we utterly deny to the Virgin Mary the extravagant and unauthorized powers claimed for her by the modern system of Rome, yet we hold her justly entitled to all the honor and regard which the Angel Gabriel and her own prophetic hymn attribute to her. We believe her to be "blessed among women." We esteem her as "highly favored." We maintain that "all generations should call her blessed." We venerate her name and memory, with those of all the ancient saints and martyrs. But we hold her to have been a sinner, needing to be redeemed by her divine Son. We hold that she herself admitted the fact when she said,* "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God, MY SAVIOUR." For how could God be her *Saviour*, if, as your modern Church asserts, she was perfectly *free from sin, whether original or actual*? And how can our interpretation be doubted even by the Romanist himself, when it is so manifest that all the primitive Church, including Pope Gregory the Great, are with us in this doctrine? We hold further, with the Council of Ephesus, that she might justly be called Θεότοκος, or *God-bearer*, but we likewise hold, with St. Augustine, that she cannot be called, in strict propriety, the *Mother of God*. We admit, also, that all the departed saints pray collectively, in their Paradise of rest and peace, for the Church of Christ on earth; and therefore we do not question that they perform this duty as they did before their departure, nor do we doubt that it is done with

* St. Luke, i. 46-7, Douay Bible.

greater zeal and affection. And therefore we hold that the *Communion of Saints* comprehends them, with ourselves, in the bonds of faith, and love, and hope, in the Lord Jesus. But we deny that they are appointed, before the Resurrection, to any special government on earth, that they are present with us, that they can see our hearts, and hear our supplications, or that they have any part assigned to them in the providential government of the world. We deny, likewise, that there is any power in the Church militant to decide what individuals the Lord may have chosen to glorify among them, and we dare not venture to intrude, as St. Paul saith, *into those things which we have not seen*,* nor legislate for the Almighty in the selection of His favored ones. And in all of this, we claim the authority of Scripture, the course of the primitive Church, and the assent of enlightened reason, as being plainly on our side; and charge your modern Papal creed with a perilous, presumptuous, and heretical innovation upon the true Gospel system.

Before I close this letter, however, I am bound to notice some misrepresentations of the fathers, with which Dr. Milner endeavors to sustain the modern doctrine of his Church. "With respect to the earliest date of prayers to the saints," saith he,† "I may refer you to the writings of St. Irenæus, who introduces the blessed Virgin praying for Eve; so the apology of his contemporary, St. Justin the Martyr, who says, 'We venerate and worship the angelic host, and the spirits of the prophets, teaching others as we ourselves have been taught;' and to the light of the fourth century, St. Basil, who expressly refers these practices to the Apostles, where he says, 'I invoke the Apostles, prophets, and martyrs to pray for me, that God may be

* Col. ii. 18.

† P. 241.

merciful to me, and forgive me my sins. I honor and reverence their images, since these things have been ordained by tradition from the Apostles, and are practised in all our Churches." Some time and trouble will be required to rectify this delusive statement of your favorite advocate ; but the truth is worth all the labor it may cost, to the faithful and candid seeker.

Beginning, then, with Irenæus, who was Bishop of Lyons in the latter part of the second century, I would first observe that the part of his work to which Dr. Milner refers, has not reached us in the original Greek, but only in a very unskilful Latin version. Such as it is, however, the passage is as follows :—

Presenting to his readers a sort of parallel between the Virgin Eve and the Virgin Mary, he saith, "As Eve was seduced through the speech of an angel, that she might depart from God, and violate His word : so Mary was evangelized through the speech of an angel, that she might carry God, being obedient to His word. And though the one was disobedient to God, yet the other was persuaded to obey Him, so that *the Virgin Mary might be made an advocate of the Virgin Eve*. And as the human race was devoted to death through a Virgin, it is saved through a Virgin, the disobedience of a Virgin being equally balanced by the obedience of a Virgin. For even so the sin of the first-made man received a remedy through the chastisement of the First-born, and the subtlety of the serpent has been conquered by the simplicity of the dove, those chains being loosed by which we had been bound to death."*

* St. Irenæi Op., Tom. 1, p. 316, Lib. 5, cap. xix. The special clause referred to by Dr. Milner is, "*uti Virginis Evæ Virgo Maria fieret advocata.*"

Here we have the whole passage, and the reader may readily see that it is altogether wide of the point for which your author ventures to quote this ancient father. Not one word is said of the Virgin *praying for Eve*. She may have done so, for aught I know ; but whether she did or not, is nothing to the purpose. Because the question is not about what the Virgin might voluntarily introduce into her prayers, but about the authority which *we have to pray to her*, as if she were present, and to rely on her intercession for each individual soul, as if she were the appointed Mediatrix of the world. Indeed, the whole paragraph is not so much a statement of the doctrine or of the practice of the Church, as a fanciful display of ingenuity, running a parallel between Satan and Gabriel, between Eve's disobedience and Mary's obedience, between Adam as the first made, and Christ as the First or only begotten. So that, in sober truth, it has not the slightest relation to the matter in controversy.

In order to make it applicable at all, look, I pray you, at the process which would be necessary. Irenæus saith (or his translator makes him say), that *the Virgin Mary might become an advocate of the Virgin Eve*. What this was intended to mean, is by no means a plain or easy question to answer. But Dr. Milner desires us to understand that Mary *prayed for Eve*. Now Eve was dead nearly 4000 years before Mary was born, and her condition must have been fixed, so long previous to the existence of her advocate. Probably, then, our author would have us suppose that she was in purgatory, and that Mary prayed for the release of her soul. But *where* did she so pray ? While she was on earth, or after her departure ? And *why* did she so pray ? Was it of her own spontaneous solicitude, or because Eve applied to her for an act of intercession ? And in *what character* did she so pray ? Was it in the charac-

ter of an obedient servant of the Lord, like any other accepted disciple, or was it as the Queen of Heaven, &c. ? And if Dr. Milner be allowed to have manufactured a reply to all these questions, satisfactory to himself, there is yet another, namely, *how* are we to conclude that because Mary prayed for one Eve—our first mother—therefore she is able and willing to hear and answer the prayers, at the same time, of 128 millions ?

But dismissing this specimen of irrelevancy, let us proceed to the second proof of your author, derived from the alleged statement of the martyr Justin. And here, we find the words of the original Greek susceptible of quite a different meaning : “ We worship and adore Him, and His Son,” saith Justin, “ who came out from Him (and hath taught us respecting these things, and respecting the host of the other good angels who follow Him and are made like unto Him), and the Prophetic Spirit, honoring them in reason and in truth. And to every one who wishes to learn, we freely deliver our opinions, as we have been taught.”* Now that this is the true meaning we maintain, not only because it is the only one consistent with the doctrine of the primitive Christians, for several centuries after the time of Justin, but also because it is the only one consistent with other passages of the same father, in the very same book. For thus Justin expresses his doctrine a little further on, in terms which are not capable of misrepresentation :—

* ‘ Ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ’ αὐτοῦ διὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, πνευμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα, καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες. I have inserted the ordinary parenthetical marks in my version, to show that the parenthesis which the Romanist is obliged to admit in the words καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα should be extended to include the ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, and thus the meaning is perfectly clear.

“ We worship,” saith he, “ the Creator of this universe, declaring, as we have been taught, that He requires not sacrifices of blood, and libations and incense ; and we praise Him to the utmost of our power, with words of prayer and thanksgiving, for all things which we enjoy. Again, we have learned that He who taught us these things, and for this end was born, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea, in the time of Tiberius Cesar, was the Son of Him who is truly God, and we esteem Him in the second place. And that we with reason honor the Prophetic Spirit in the third place, we shall hereafter show.” And again Justin saith : “ *Wherefore we worship God only ; but in all other matters we joyfully serve you*” (namely, the Roman emperor and Senate, to whom his apology was addressed), “ confessing that ye are kings and rulers, and praying that ye may be found to possess, together with your royal power, a sound and discerning mind.” Here, therefore, this witness to whom Dr. Milner so boldly appeals in his support, is found to testify, when honestly quoted, directly against him.

And his third pretended authority from Basil, “ *the light of the fourth century*,” is not a whit more reliable. For, strange to say, the identical copy which he quotes, viz., the Parisian edition of the Benedictines, places this epistle in the third class, numbers it ccclx., and sets down the number 205, by which Bishop Milner chose to refer to it, with an *Alias*, in the margin only, while the whole class of which it forms a part is put out of the list of Basil’s genuine writings, as *dateless, doubtful and spurious*, and the heading of the very page on which it stands presents the title, *Epistolæ Spuriæ* ! And hence I was gratified to find that, in the copious index which closes the volume, the learned editors, though devoted to the Church of Rome, were too honest to

insert the statements of this forgery amongst the sentiments of St. Basil, but passed it wholly by, as unworthy of their notice. Nor was I able, after the most careful searching of the index, to discover the source of Dr. Milner's statement anywhere, until, on recurring to the notes which I had made for my own use, many years ago, upon this and the other fathers, I found the reference, and then I turned to the place and saw, with renewed surprise, that this *Apostolic Vicar* had descended to cite the false and pretended testimony of Basil, with the title *Spurious Epistles* staring him in the face !

Such, then, is the value of your advocate's appeals to Christian antiquity. Such is the Jesuitical morality which deems it no sin to use a *pious fraud*, for the sake of proselyting. And so powerful is the real evidence, both positive and negative, which the primitive Church pronounces against your modern doctrine, in this important matter of the Virgin and the saints, that the audacity which claims for it an Apostolic origin can only be supported by an irrelevant passage of one father, a false translation of another, and a downright forgery of a third !

L E T T E R X X X I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE next topic which Dr. Milner undertakes to clear from misrepresentation, is the veneration which his Church pays to images and relics, or, as he calls them, “ the *memorials* of Christ and his saints, viz., crucifixes, relics, pious pictures and images.” He quotes the Council of Trent, Gother and Challoner, to prove that the Church of Rome does not authorize prayer or worship to images ; and then proceeds to show, from the Bible, the reverence which the religious Jews rendered to the Ark of the Covenant, how the handkerchiefs and aprons were brought from the body of St. Paul to heal the sick, and especially how a dead man was restored to life, when the corpse was accidentally brought into contact with the bones of the Prophet Elisha.

He endeavors, also, to prove that the members of the Church of England do acts equally open to censure, on their ground, with the alleged practice of Rome, by bowing reverently at the name of Jesus, by kneeling to the king, by bowing to the empty throne in the House of Lords, and by kissing the Bible at the taking of an oath. And he concludes by asserting that “ the end for which pious pictures and images are made and retained by Catholics is the same for which pictures and images are made and retained by mankind in general, to put us in mind of the persons and things they represent. They are not primarily intended for the purpose of being venerated ; nevertheless, as they

bear a certain relation to holy persons and things, by representing them, they become entitled to a relative or secondary consideration." He also specifies an important use of pious pictures, viz., "that they help to instruct the ignorant." "Still," continues he, "it is a point agreed upon among Catholic doctors and divines, that *the memorials of religion form no essential part of it.*"*

The first duty which I have to discharge in reference to the foregoing part of Dr. Milner's work, is to supply his omissions as to the real doctrine of your Church, since that which he has stated is so far below the truth, that if his book had not been written for the purpose of deluding Protestants, it would have been very likely to incur the Papal censure. We have already seen how deceptive was his representation on the subject of the Virgin Mary and the saints, and he pursued precisely the same policy on the obnoxious point of the worship of images and relics.

The evidence on this part of the case shall be taken from the Council of Trent, the second Council of Nice, and the Roman Breviary, three sources which no Romanist can dispute, for they are of the highest authority.

Thus, in the Twenty-fifth Session of the Council of Trent,† we read as follows: "The holy bodies also of the martyrs and others, living with Christ, are to be venerated by the faithful, for they were, when living, the members of Christ, and the temples of the Holy Ghost, and shall be raised again and glorified; and *through them, many favors are bestowed on man by the Almighty*: so that those who affirm that veneration and honor are not due to the relics of the saints, or that it is useless for the faithful to honor these and other sacred memorials, and that it is vain to visit the sepulchres of

* P. 237.

† Hard. Concil. Gen., Tom. 10, p. 168.

the saints in order to ask their help, are to be *altogether condemned*, as the Church *has already condemned, and does also now condemn them.*"

"Moreover," continues this Council, "the images of Christ, of the Virgin, the Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained, especially in Churches, and due honor and veneration are to be rendered to them ; not because it may be supposed that there is in them any divinity or virtue on account of which they are to be worshipped, or that anything is to be asked of them, or that confidence is to be placed in images, as was formerly the case amongst the heathen, who rested their hope on idols : but because *the honor which is exhibited to them is referred to the prototype which they represent ; so that through the image which we kiss, and before which we uncover our heads and bow down, we adore Christ, and venerate the saints whose similitude those images do bear. The same doctrine is sanctioned by the decrees of the Councils, especially the second Council of Nice, against the opposers of images.*" At the end, the Council pronounces, "If any one shall teach or think contrary to these decrees, *let him be anathema.*"

I pass next to the second Council of Nice, which the Council of Trent here endorses and ratifies, and this will give us some further details upon the subject. The reader will bear in mind, however, that the second Council of Nice was held A. D. 787, more than four and a half centuries later than the first Council of that name, and that the Church had by this time admitted a large amount of unscriptural, unprimitive and superstitious innovation. The Greek Emperor Leo, whom Roman influence stigmatized as the *Iconoclast*, or the Image-breaker, had warmly opposed the new corruption of image worship a considerable time before, and a Council had been called, A. D. 754, which unanimously

condemned it, in accordance with his opinions. The second Council of Nice was summoned to sustain the popular novelty, through the exertions of the Roman pontiff, who stiffly maintained this attractive delusion, and the Romanists claim for it the authority of a General Council. But this we deny, not only because it is historically certain that it did not express the sense of the Church in the East, but further because it was afterwards condemned by the Council of Frankfort, in the time of the famous Charlemagne, as I shall prove specifically, by and by, from your own witnesses.

Thus, then, speaks this second Council of Nice, as endorsed by the authority of 'Trent, in the definitive decree :* "Taught by the ancient fathers, we salute the venerable images. Whosoever does not consent herein, *let him be anathema.*" "And we also salute the figure of the precious and vivifying Cross, and the holy relics of the saints. Moreover, we honor and salute those precious and venerable images, and *honorably adore them*, namely, the image of the humanity of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, and of our most holy and pure lady, the Mother of God, and of the holy incorporeal angels, who appeared in human form to the just. In like manner also, the figures and effigies of the divine and most famous Apostles and Prophets, and of the martyrs and holy men, *since they are able by their pictures to lead us to remember them, and draw us to the originals, and make us partakers of a certain sanctification.*" "To these," therefore, "*kisses and honorable adoration shall be rendered*; but not that superior worship (*latria*) which is according to faith, and alone becomes the Divine Nature. And to the precious figure of the vivifying Cross, and to the

* Hard. Concil. Gen., Tom. 4, p. 262 and 266.

holy Gospels, and the other holy memorials, let the offering of *incense and lighted candles be exhibited in their honor, according to ancient custom. For the honor of the image passes to its original; and whoever adores the image, adores in it the substance of the representation.*”*

“If any one does not admit the evangelical narrations made by titles or pictures, *let him be anathema.*”

“If any one does not kiss them, as made in the name of the Lord and His saints, *let him be anathema.*”†

“And forasmuch as many of the venerable temples have been consecrated without the relics of the martyrs, we decree that relics shall be placed in them according to the accustomed rule. And if, from the present time, *any Bishop be found to consecrate a temple without relics, let him be deposed, as one who transgresses the ecclesiastical tradition.*”‡

Here, then, we see plainly the exceeding unfairness of Dr. Milner, whose statement of his Church’s doctrine is so defective that no one could derive from it the real truth. Thus, he tells us that the Church of Rome *does not authorize prayer or worship to images*, and that “*it is a point agreed on by Catholic doctors and divines that the memorials of religion form no essential part of it.*” But the Council commands relics to be placed in every church; that the images shall be *honorably adored, with kisses, and incense, and lighted candles*; and that those who presume to omit this duty shall be *accursed*, for such is the meaning of their repeated *anathema*. They could not pronounce a heavier sentence on those who denied the highest doctrines of the faith; and yet your author coolly informs his Protestant readers that these things *are not regarded amongst the essentials of religion!*

* Hard. Con. Gen., Tom. 4, p. 455.

† Ib. 471.

‡ Ib. 491.

To show the extent of the superstition which your Church attaches to the relics of the saints, a few extracts from your own Breviary will be sufficient.

Thus, in the lesson appointed to be read on the Festival of St. Isidore, we read, that his body was purchased at a great price by Ferdinand I., King of Castile and Leon; "that a temple was forthwith built in his honor; and that there, distinguished by miracles, he is venerated with great devotion by the people."

The same Breviary relates of St. Ubald, that "his body, which remains uncorrupted after so many ages, is honored with great veneration of the faithful in his country, *which he has more than once delivered from imminent danger.*"

We are also assured by the same authority that the body of St. Januarius, at Naples, "*formerly extinguished volumes of flames breaking forth from Mount Vesuvius.*"

The body of St. Francis Xavier is said, in the same Breviary, "*to have extinguished a fierce pestilence in the Malaccas.*"

Nay, since the year 1790, the Pope instituted a pious fraternity in honor of the miraculous image of the Virgin, at Ancona, which opened and shut its eyes on public occasions. This image was solemnly crowned by Pope Pius VII. on the 13th of May, A. D. 1814, an annual feast was appointed in its honor, and a plenary indulgence was attached to it. We have many accounts, of late years, of other images, which are related to have shed tears, and winked their eyes in the most edifying manner. An old picture of the Virgin and Child, at Mercatello, even changed color, and the infant was seen to bend forward, to signify the satisfaction with which it received the devotions of the people! Among Protestants, indeed, these things are prudently omitted by your priests, for the most part; but wherever Ro-

manism is at home, and your clergy act without constraint, the extravagance of the faith placed in images and relics is cherished as much as ever, and volumes would not contain the details of the degrading superstitions continually practised in this fruitful and profitable branch of delusion.

Such, then, being a brief selection of the facts, in relation to your doctrine, let us look at the effort which your advocate makes to press the Scriptures into his service, and then we shall advert to a few testimonies from the fathers.

The Book of Kings states that a dead man was restored to life, when the corpse touched the bones of the Prophet Elisha. And this is the nearest approach which your Church can make to a claim of scriptural authority. But in truth, the sacred history proves the very reverse of your doctrine, because it was evidently a special wonder, regarded by the Israelites as a single and peculiar display of divine power, and not followed by any act of veneration to the remains of the prophet. For, according to the Romish view of the subject, they should have believed that the bones of Elisha possessed an *inherent and constant efficacy*, and they should have taken them from the sepulchre and kept them in state, and exhibited them *to the veneration of the faithful*. The sacred relics should have been enshrined in gold and precious stones, and incense and lighted candles should have been used in their honor, and miraculous cures should have been performed by their touch from time to time, and through them, Elisha should have protected the nation from danger, healed the pestilence, delivered them from their enemies, and manifested the same sort of power which your people are taught to expect from the bones of the saints to this day. But where is there a trace of any such superstition among the Jews? What honor did they render to the skeleton of the prophet? Famous as he

was, when living, for the working of miracles, when did the Israelites ever look to him for miracles after he was dead? Prone as they were to all other kinds of idolatry, they evidently had no idea of this degrading superstition. They left the bones of Elisha to moulder into dust, and hence they evidently regarded the wonder as a *particular act of divine power*, instead of adopting it as an important part of a *standing system*. And thus the case is so far from justifying your doctrine of Rome, that it really administers the strongest rebuke of your delusion.

Indeed, the reference of your author to the Church of ancient Israel was a most unfortunate one for his hypothesis. For there we behold at once the most admirable materials for the establishment of image and relic worship, together with a strong tendency in the people to all idolatry. What saints in the Roman calendar can be more lofty than Moses, who conversed with God as a man talketh with his friend, and what relic so precious as the rod with which he performed such stupendous miracles! What a glorious line of prophets succeeded him, whose bodies and garments might have been so easily preserved! What a splendid relic would the mantle of Elijah have been, with which Elisha smote the river Jordan, and the waters separated immediately! What images might have been made to represent the saints and heroes of the wondrous history, not forgetting the female worthies, Miriam and Deborah, and Jael and Hannah—prophetesses and heroines, deserving of all honor! And yet, amongst all this treasury of objects so admirably fitted to the purpose, we find no images whatever of the saints, and only one example of veneration for a relic, when the people began to burn incense to the brazen serpent, which Moses had erected in the wilderness; and the good King Hezekiah, shocked at the idolatry, brake it

in pieces, calling it *Nehushtan*—a piece of brass, without the least regard to the *reverence due to a sacred memorial* !

As to the veneration which the Israelites paid to the Ark, your author quite forgets that the Almighty had condescended not only to give the pattern and the command for its construction, but had also granted the glorious Shekinah—the visible manifestation of His presence—to rest upon the mercy-seat between the Cherubim. The act of worship before the Ark was therefore an act of worship to the Deity. What possible relation can any mind but that of a Romanist discover between this and the veneration paid to the fanciful products of sculptors and painters—to dead bones and relics of men and women, who were no objects of worship when they were living, but who would have started back, with holy indignation, from receiving the smallest portion of the idolatrous honor rendered to their fictitious portraits and statues, their mouldering remains, and even their very clothes, after they had departed to their reward !

Lastly, we come to the evidence which Dr. Milner seeks to derive from the fact that the woman who touched our Saviour's garment was healed of an issue, and that aprons and handkerchiefs were brought from the body of St. Paul to cure the sick. But did not our Lord know the humble faith of the woman, and *will* her recovery ? And did not St. Paul's *prayers* attend the use of those aprons and handkerchiefs ? And was not the result, in both cases, to be attributed to the miraculous power which Christ dispensed of His own divine and inherent right, and afterwards granted to His chosen Apostles, during their *living and personal ministry* ? What, then, have these facts to do with your Romish doctrine of *relics* ? For a RELIC (*relicta*) is something *left behind after the decease of the owner*, and therefore the garments of the Redeemer and the handkerchiefs of the Apos-

tle could in no sense be called *relics*, while they were living upon earth. But where do we read that these things were *laid up*, as *sacred memorials*, to be venerated and relied upon for the curing of diseases through all time to come? On the contrary, do we not find that, under the very eyes of the inspired Apostles, the first martyr, Stephen, *was carried by devout men to his burial*? Suppose your modern Church of Rome had possessed a voice in that holy company, and St. Peter had been told that the body of Stephen should not be buried, but embalmed for preservation, put into a precious case, have incense burned and candles lighted to its honor, and be resorted to by all the faithful, with prayers and prostrations, as a resource against diseases, earthquakes, pestilences, and all calamities! Would not the holy Apostle have denounced such a suggestion as the device of Satan, and probably visited upon the head of the proposer the sudden judgment which fell, for a far less perilous sin, upon Ananias and Sapphira?

Thus, then, stands the weak and flimsy attempt to gain the Scriptures into the interests of this degrading sort of superstition and idolatry. Let us next look at the effort of your author to manufacture some analogy out of the practice in England of bowing in the House of Lords to the empty throne, and kneeling to the king, and the general custom of bending the head at the name of Jesus, and kissing the Bible when an oath is taken upon it.

The first of these English customs, viz., the bowing to the empty throne, has nothing to do with the subject, being a mere piece of monarchical etiquette, totally distinct from any pretence of faith, worship, or religious veneration. I doubt the fact, however, because, when I visited the House of Lords some fourteen years ago, I saw nothing of the kind, but on the contrary, the temporal peers, with the ex-

ception of the Lord Chancellor, sat with their hats on, only taking them off when they rose to address the woolsack. But even if our author's statement be admitted, I cannot see any foundation for the supposed analogy. For the vacant throne is certainly not a *relic*, neither is it an *image*, neither are *prayers addressed* to it, nor *incense burned before it*, nor *candles lighted in its honor*, nor is any *benefit expected* from the passing bow of royal etiquette. And the same remarks apply to the custom of kneeling to the sovereign. Were nothing more than this involved in the doctrine or practice of Rome, Dr. Milner well knew that his Church would neither have found the worship of images and relics so profitable to the priests and monks of her communion, nor should we have ever thought the question worth an argument.

The second pretended analogy is equally wide of the mark, although the practice to which it refers stands on a very different foundation. We bow our heads at the name of Jesus, because we bow our hearts and knees to Jesus, according to the precept of the Apostle, that *at His name every knee shall bow*. But the name of Jesus is not an image, nor a picture, nor a relic of a mortal saint. Our reverent bending of the head is an act of true worship, and it is done because He is the rightful object of our worship, which none but God can be. If the same argument could be pleaded for the images and relics of Rome, her advocates might claim a sure and easy victory.

And the third illustration of your author, derived from our custom of sealing a solemn oath by pressing the Bible to our lips, is quite as little to the purpose. That this is a token of reverent affection, is granted. That it is often a dictate of natural love to kiss the miniature or the letter of an absent friend, is granted also. But where is the incense?

Where are the lights? Where are the prayers of faith? Where is the hope of receiving important aids and blessings? Where is the association of the act with the alleged cures, the miraculous deliverance from sickness, calamity, and danger? It is these which stamp the doctrine of Rome with the brand of a perilous idolatry. It is for the sake of these that the deluded multitude pay their offerings of silver and gold, to touch the holy coat at Treves, to adore the holy tooth of St. Peter, or to fall down before the winking statue of the Virgin at Ancona. And hence, in the total absence of all that marks the influence of superstition and idolatry, the reference to our kissing the Bible, as affording any analogy with the doctrine and practice of Rome, is simply ridiculous.

Equally absurd is the evasion attempted by your author, when he compares the Romish view of the subject with the Protestant use of statues, pictures, &c., as *memorials merely*. He knew, perfectly well, that all this was only an ingenious effort to throw dust in the eyes of his readers. No sensible man ever found fault with sculpture or painting, as a memorial of past events, or of departed friends, or as a tribute to peculiar greatness, either in Church or State. No man of common feeling or reflection ever censured the wish even to preserve a *relic* of remarkable men or deeds, as an object of association which must interest posterity. Thus, the sword of Goliath was laid up by the priest of the sanctuary, as a memorial of the victory of David. Thus the sword of Frederick the Great is preserved at Potsdam. Thus the crozier of William of Wyckham is kept at Oxford. Thus the chair of Edward I. is exhibited in Westminster Abbey. As *simple memorials*, all this is perfectly unobjectionable. And if Rome, beginning with what is right, as in all other cases of her corruptions,

had not gone on, adding more and more, until she converted a wholesome truth into an enormous and idolatrous system of imposture; there would have been no place for this branch of our controversy.

To prove that the primitive Church was entirely hostile to the doctrine of modern Romanism on this whole subject, will be an easy labor, and to this I shall now invite your attention.

To begin with Clement of Alexandria, in the early part of the third century, thus he speaks on the subject of images made for the purposes of religion: "Those images which are made by vile and sordid men, are made of vain and useless materials; hence they are also vain, useless, material and profane. Therefore the works of art are by no means to be esteemed sacred and divine."*

Jerome, repelling with indignation the charge of Vigilantius, in the fourth century, when the veneration for the relics of the saints first began to appear, saith: "We do not worship the relics of the martyrs, nor the sun and the moon, nor angels nor archangels, no, not the cherubim and seraphim, nor any name which is named either in the present or the future, lest we might serve the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever."†

Many years before Jerome, however, the Council of Eliberis, A. D. 313, in their 36th Canon, decreed: "That there ought to be no pictures in the Church, lest that which is worshipped and adored be painted on the walls."‡

The testimony of the famous Ambrose, Bishop of Milan in the fourth century, is express to the same point, where he saith that "The holy Rachel hid the images, that is, the

* Clem. Alexand. Stromata, Lib. vii., p. 714.

† S. Hieron. Op., Tom. 2, p. 82, c.

‡ Hard. Concil. Gen., Tom. 1, p. 254.

Church, or prudence, because *the Church knows nothing of those empty ideas and vain figures of images*, but acknowledges the true substance of the Trinity.”*

And Augustine, a little later, speaking of those professing Christians in his day, whose faith and conversation were alike defective and impure, mentions the worshippers of sepulchres and pictures with strong disapprobation. After challenging the Manicheans to compare their morals with those of Christians, he guards against the evil example of such as these, in the following words: “Do not collect to me the professors of the Christian name, who neither understand nor exhibit the proper power of their profession. Do not reckon the crowds of the unskilful, who are either superstitious in that which is the true religion, or so addicted to their lusts, that they forget what they promised to God. I know that many are *worshippers of sepulchres and pictures*; I know that there are many who drink to excess over the dead; and spreading their feasts before the corpses, bury themselves over the buried; and reckon their gluttony and drunkenness for religion. I know that there are many who have renounced the world in words, and yet choose to be oppressed by all the burdens of the world, and rejoice in their oppression. Nor is this wonderful in so great a multitude of people. *But how vain are those things, how hurtful, how sacrilegious!*”† Here we see that the Church was beginning to be infected by this superstition, while its great lights and teachers condemned the rising abuse with strong and decided censure.

The same view of the subject appears most clearly in the statement of St. Epiphanius, one of whose epistles, ad-

* S. Ambros. Op., Tom. 1, p. 429.

† S. Augustini Op., Tom. 1, p. 531, De Moribus Ecclesiæ.

dressed to John, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and warning him against the errors of Origen, was translated by St. Jerome, and from this I make the following interesting extract :—

“ Travelling on a certain day,” saith St. Epiphanius, “ to the holy place which is called Bethel, I came to the town named Anablatha, where I saw a lamp burning as I was passing by, and asked what place it was, and being told that it was a church, I went in to pray. And there I found a veil hanging over the doors, colored and painted, and *having an image as if of Christ or some saint*. For I do not well remember whose image it was. Therefore when I saw this thing, *an image of a man hanging in the Church of Christ against the authority of the Scriptures*, I TORE IT, and told the wardens of the place to wrap it together and carry it away from thence, as if it were a dead pauper. And they answered, murmuring against me : If he has chosen to tear it, he ought to give another and a different one instead of it. When I heard this, I promised that I would do so.”* Thus we have another proof that the corrupt innovation was growing, but was perfectly odious in the sight of the eminent Bishops, whose names are distinguished by a place in the calendar of the saints, and to whose doctrine your modern Church of Rome pretends, with such marvellous effrontery, to conform.

The next testimony to which I shall refer is that of the famous Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem, in the fifth century, who, explaining that clause of the baptismal covenant in which the candidate was called upon to renounce Satan, his pomp and his worship, uses these words :—

“ The worship of the devil is the supplication offered *at the shrines of idols*, and those things which are done *to the*

* S. Hieron. Op., Tom. 2, p. 110, E. F. Epistola Epiphani.

honor of inanimate images, as the lighting of lamps, or the burning of incense at fountains or rivers, so that some, being deluded by dreams, or by the fraud of demons, come to these waters, thinking that there they will obtain the cure of their bodily diseases, and other things of the same kind. Beware that thou hast no part in them. Augury, divination, omens, amulets, and inscriptions, magical and other evil arts, and everything of a similar character, are also the worship of the devil. Flee, therefore, from them all. For if you yield to them after you have renounced Satan, and joined yourself to Christ, you will experience a more cruel tyranny than ever.”* Here is a description which contains many of the elements of modern saint-worship—the lifeless images, the lighting of candles, the incense, the supplication, the *holy wells* of Ireland and other places, where the poor devotees expect to be healed of their diseases, the amulets and charms—all classed together with a solemn and fearful warning, that they must be shunned by every baptized Christian.

From St. Optatus, the Bishop of Milevi, a little later, I take a short passage, as follows :—

“It was reported,” saith he,” “that Paul and Macarius were to come at that time, that they should be present at the sacrifice, and, when the altars were solemnly prepared, that they should bring forward *an image*, which they should first place upon the altars, and so the sacrifice should be offered. When our ears had heard this intelligence, our hearts were struck, so that every one that heard it said, Whoever tastes that, tastes of an accursed thing. And it was rightly said, if the report had proved true.”† This shows plainly the horror

* S. Cyrilli Hierosol., Cat. xix., Mystagog. 1, p. 308–9.

† S. Optati, De Schism. Donatist., Lib. iii. p. 69.

with which the eminent and consistent Christians of the fifth century regarded the connection of an image with the worship of the true God.

The tendency towards the extravagant veneration of the saints was so strong, however, that their images, and pictures, and relics grew gradually into greater favor, until at length, towards the close of the sixth century, we find Pope Gregory the Great patronizing them as the regular ornaments of every Church, although still with a careful prohibition of their being worshipped. To make this perfectly clear, it will only be necessary to set before my readers his letter to Serenus, the Bishop of Marseilles, who had seen with indignation that the people were not to be restrained from this degrading species of idolatry, and therefore had broken the images and cast them out of the churches of his diocese in the same spirit which we have observed in the famous St. Epiphanius, a century and a half before. A great complaint arose, in consequence; and the Pope remonstrates with him in the following terms:—

“It has lately come to our ears that your Fraternity, beholding certain persons adoring images (*quosdam imaginum adoratores*), has broken those images, and cast them out of the churches. And truly we have praised the zeal which you have manifested *to prevent the adoration of anything made with hands*; but we declare that you ought not to have broken the images. For a picture is therefore exhibited in the churches, in order that those who are ignorant of letters may read, at least, by looking on the walls, what they cannot read in books. Your Fraternity ought, for this reason, to retain the images, and *keep the people from adoring them*, so that those who are ignorant of letters may have somewhat to teach them the knowledge of history, and that the people, at the same time, may NOT SIN BY THE ADORATION

OF THE PICTURE" (*et populus in picturæ adoratione minime peccaret*).*

From a subsequent epistle of the pontiff to the same Bishop, it appears that Serenus was by no means satisfied with the counsel of the Pope, and therefore Gregory enlarged upon the scandal which the breaking of the images had occasioned, and reiterated his opinion. "For truly," saith he, "we have altogether commended you in FORBIDDING THAT THEY SHOULD BE ADORED, but *we have censured you for breaking them*."† Here we see the slow but constant advancement of images and of Papal power together. The Council of Eliberis, A. D. 313, had expressly forbidden that pictures should be admitted into the Church. St. Epiphanius, not quite a century later, had torn down a pictured veil which he found at Anablatha; and now, about two centuries after that, Gregory undertakes to censure the Bishop of Marseilles because he had done the same thing as Epiphanius, yet still commends him for prohibiting the adoration of images, and only pleads for them on the ground of the instruction which they gave to those who were too ignorant to read. We have already seen that the same eminent Pope, in his famous Sacramentary of prayers for every day in the year, referred constantly to the intercessions of the Virgin and the saints, while he carefully abstained from any addresses to them, and throughout directs his prayers only to God.

But when we come to the end of the next hundred and thirty years, we find another Pope, Gregory III., writing to the Emperor Leo Isaurus, strongly reprehending him for his opposition to images, representing the prayers of the

* S. Greg. Mag. Epistola cv., ad *Serenum*, Op., Tom. 2, p. 1006.

† Ib. 1100.

Church as Rome uses them now, *addressed directly to the Virgin and the saints*, and defending images, not on the old ground of his predecessor, as affording *instruction* to the ignorant who could not read, but on the new ground that they *excited the devotional feelings of all the faithful*.^{*} Behold the change from A. D. 313 to A. D. 600, and from A. D. 600 to A. D. 726, showing the slow and stealthy progress of corruption, until we have it fully acknowledged and prescribed as a law, in A. D. 787, at the second Council of Nice, miscalled General, under the infamous Irene and her son, Constantine, through the influence of Hadrian, the Bishop of Rome. For this Council decrees the very thing which Pope Gregory I., not two centuries before, had expressly forbidden. "We honorably *adore* the precious and venerable images." (*Has pretiosas et venerabiles iconas, honoramus et salutamus, ac honoranter adoramus.*)[†] I do not wish you to understand, however, that this word *adore* is here employed in the sense of divine worship, for your Church always distinguished between the worship of *Latria*, due only to God, and the worship of *Doulia*, given to the saints. And the Synodical Letter of this very second Council of Nice insists on the distinction very carefully.[‡] But I do expressly aver that the Latin translation of the Council employs the *very same word* which the first Pope Gregory employed, and it is to be supposed with the same meaning; and hence they stand in direct and palpable contradiction. The images must be retained *for the instruction*

^{*} Hard. Con. Gen., Tom. 4, Ep. Prima Greg. ad Leonem Imper. p. 3-14. The proof of the change in addressing the prayers to the saints is on p. 7.

[†] Ib. 266, c.

[‡] Ib. 475.

of the ignorant, saith Pope Gregory, A. D. 600, but must not be adored. The images must be retained to excite the devotions of the faithful, saith the Council, A. D. 787; and if any one refuses honorably to adore them, let him be anathema.

I have said that this second Council of Nice was, in no proper sense, entitled to the respect due to a General Council of the Church. And I shall demonstrate the truth of the assertion from these facts: *First*, that its decision was opposed to the Scriptures, and to the Catholic doctrine and practice of the Church from the beginning. *Secondly*, that it did not truly represent the sentiment of the Church, even of its own age. This is manifest from the decrees of the Council held near Constantinople, under the emperor, in A. D. 754, and from those of the Council of Frankfort, held in A. D. 794, which embraced the Churches of Saxony, Germany, and France. *Thirdly*, that there were no representatives of the West in the Council of Nice, except the legates of the Pope. Of these reasons, the first is all-sufficient in itself, because tho Holy Scriptures are above all, and there can be no doctrine admitted as Catholic unless it can be shown to have been held, in the words of Vincent of Lerins, *semper, ubique et ab omnibus*. Nevertheless, I shall prove the second and the third statements, for my reader's satisfaction, from the testimony of your Roman historians themselves.

The Council held in the East, A. D. 754, under the Emperor Constantine, according to your Roman historian, Fleury, consisted of 336 Bishops, at the head of whom were Gregory of Neocesarea, Theodosius, Bishop of Ephesus, and Sisinnius, Bishop of Perga, in Pamphylia. They sat during six months; and finally, they decreed that every image, painted in whatever manner, ought to be rejected by

the Church with abomination ; and they forbade all persons to make, to adore, or to set up in the Church, any image for the future, under the penalty of deposition to the clergy, and anathema to monks and laymen. All the Bishops consented, saying, *Thus we all believe, and we have subscribed it with joy.* And they return thanks to the emperors for having banished idolatry.*

So much for the testimony of the Eastern Churches, only thirty-three years previous to the second Council of Nice. I come next to the great Council of Frankfort, held by the order of the famous Charlemagne, A. D. 794, only seven years after the second Council of Nice, in which the second Canon condemns the decrees of that Council in these words :—

“The question is brought before us concerning the new Council of the Greeks, which they have raised about the adoring of images at Constantinople, in which it is written, that whoever shall not render, not only to the divine Trinity, but also to the images of the saints, service or adoration, shall be adjudged by anathema. But all our most holy fathers, *rejecting entirely such adoration and service, have disdained this decree, and with one consent have condemned it.*”†

The third statement is taken from Fleury’s account of the *Caroline Books*, so called because they were prepared by the Bishops of France, in the name of Charlemagne, to prove, by argument and authority, the error of the second Council of Nice. And here it is expressly objected that this Council was *not universal*, not only because the decrees which it passed were hostile to the doctrine of the universal Church, but also because it was not assembled from all

* Fleury, Hist. Ecc., Tom. 9, pp. 334, 338, 339.

† Hard. Con. Gen., Tom. 4, p. 904.

parts of the Church, no one being present from the whole West except the Papal Legates.*

Such, then, is the ground on which we deny the authority of this second Council of Nice, which your Council of Trent has undertaken to ratify. True, indeed, it is, that its doctrine at length became triumphant, because the tendency of the Church was constantly increasing towards corruption. But that fact is no proof in favor of its claim to *Catholicity*. Thirty-three years before, the Eastern Bishops had subscribed the direct contrary. Their number was far greater, being 336; and their testimony as witnesses to what they held to be the truth is as good as the testimony of those who came after them. So, likewise, was the testimony of the Council of Frankfort, with the Bishops of France who drew up the Caroline Books, and therefore we have two Councils, one East and one West, united against the second Council of Nice. The only difference in its favor, on your Romanist principles, is, that Pope Hadrian concurred in its decrees. But I have shown that Pope Gregory the Great, in A. D. 600, gave the same decision as the Council of Frankfort. The Church of Rome herself holds Gregory to have been far the greater *Pope* of the two; and why, then, should his authority in this question be less than the subsequent decision of Hadrian? The Church of Rome also allows that the older decisions are the best; and assuredly no good reason can be given for the assumption that the Papal opinion of A. D. 600 should be overruled by the Papal opinion of A. D. 787. Hence, you have here another powerful evidence of the audacious falsehood of your Roman claim to be *unchanged and unchangeable*. You have Popes against the fathers, Pope

* Fleury, Hist. Ecc., Tom. 9, pp. 520, 523.

against Pope, and Council against Council. And any candid mind may see distinctly, that when our English Reformers cast aside the whole idolatrous superstition of images and relics, together with the worship of the saints, they were justified by Scripture, by the primitive Church, and by all the principles of true apostolic Catholicism.

The practical abuses to which this portion of Roman corruption led the priests, in order to extract money the more readily from the deluded and credulous people, would far exceed my limits. I shall only give a few specimens, taken from Burnet's History of the Reformation. Among the relics found at the suppression of the monasteries, were the wing of an angel who had brought over the spear's head that pierced the Saviour's side ; some of the coals that roasted the martyr, St. Lawrence ; the parings of St. Edmond's toes ; the boots and penknife of St. Thomas à Beckett ; pieces of the True Cross more than sufficient to make a large whole one ; a piece of St. Andrew's finger ; and a vial of crystal, one side of which was quite thin and transparent, but the other very thick and opaque, which was filled with the blood of a duck once a month. This the people were assured was the blood of Christ, which they could see when their sins were forgiven, but not otherwise. The vial was kept near the altar, with the thick side outwards, until the priests were satisfied with the amount of the offerings which the worshippers brought in, to obtain the divine favor: and then the vial being turned round with the transparent side towards the people, they received the miraculous proof of their pardon with great joy, and went home, well satisfied with their expense and trouble !

The most celebrated amongst the images, however, was the crucifix of Boxley in Kent, commonly called the *Rood of Grace*, to which pilgrimages were made from all parts,

because it was observed to bow and lift itself up again, to shake the head, the hands, and the feet; to roll the eyes, move the lips, and make other motions; all which (like the Virgin's images at Ancona and Mercatello in our own day) were regarded by the absurd multitude as effects of the divine power. But it was discovered to have been all done by mechanical contrivances, springs, &c. The image was publicly exposed to the people, and the cheat made openly manifest; and this did more to convince the popular mind than a thousand arguments from Scripture, fathers, Councils, or reason could have effected.

To show the immense attraction and profit produced by this superstitious reliance on the saints, an extract was published from the account books of Christ Church, Canterbury, where the relics of Thomas à Beckett were exhibited to the veneration of the people. There were three great altars in this Church, one dedicated to Christ, one to the Virgin, and the third to St. Thomas. And in one year it appeared that there was not a penny offered at Christ's altar. At the Virgin's only £4 1s. 8d. While at the altar of St. Thomas, there was no less a sum than £954 6s. 3d. !*

Here, too, another imposture was discovered. The skull of St. Thomas was exhibited, and drew large crowds to worship it. But on opening his grave, the true skull was found along with the rest of his body. In a word, volumes would not suffice to contain the multitude of priestly and monkish falsehoods engrafted on your modern Roman system of saint and relic worship. In Protestant countries, such things would not be borne, and therefore your priests are too politic to attempt them. But in Papal Europe, every intelligent traveller knows that the same gainful superstition is still carried on to this day. The results, however, are

* Burnet's *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. 1, p. 314-5-6.

perfectly consistent with the doctrine. For the basis is false, and the superstructure is naturally extended into all imaginable fraud and imposition.

Before I conclude, I must expose a few more of Dr. Milner's misrepresentations, for nothing can exceed the bold dexterity with which he contrived to manufacture evidence to suit his purpose. Thus, on page 240, he tells us, on the authority of Tertullian, that it was usual to represent our Saviour in the character of the *Good Shepherd*, on the chalices used in worship. And here, he purposely raises a false issue to blind his readers, for he thereby insinuates that an ornamental enchasement like this was objectionable according to our principles, when he knew perfectly well that the contrary was the fact. If the embellishment thus innocently placed upon the chalice in the time of Tertullian had been, according to the second Council of Nice, an *image set up to be worshipped with kisses, salutations, lighted candles and incense*, it would have been somewhat to the point. As it stands, it is only another proof of our author's Jesuitical dexterity.

But a graver example of false dealing occurs directly after. "We are informed," saith he, "by Eusebius, the father of Church history, and the friend of Constantine, that he himself had seen a miraculous image of our Saviour in brass, which had been erected by the woman who was cured by touching the hem of his garment, and also different pictures of him and of St. Peter and St. Paul, which had been preserved since their time." To prove the utter dishonesty of your advocate, I shall place the whole passage from Eusebius before my readers, as follows :—

* After stating that he had seen in the city of Paneas the house said to belong to the woman who had been healed by touching the garment of the Saviour, Eusebius goes on to say, that "near the door of that house there was a brazen

statue of a woman, standing on a pedestal of stone, with bended knees and outstretched hands, like one supplicating. Opposite to this, there was an image of a man, composed of the same metal, standing clothed decently in a cloak, and extending his hand towards the woman ; at whose feet, from the bottom of the pedestal, a certain unknown plant is said to grow, which rises to the fringe of the brazen cloak, and is an antidote for all diseases. They said that this statue bore the likeness of Jesus Christ. Moreover, it remains to our day, and we, having entered that city, beheld it. But truly, it is not wonderful that *the heathen, being benefited by our Saviour, should have done this*, since we have heard of their keeping the images of the Apostles Peter and Paul, within our memory, painted on tables, as well as that of Christ. For it was the mode of the ancients without discrimination to pay such honor, *by a certain heathen custom*, to those, as saviours, who had conferred benefits upon them.”*

Now here we find that Eusebius is speaking, not of an image *erected by Christians*, but of an image ERECTED BY THE HEATHEN. So far from its being the *custom of the Church*, he calls it expressly a HEATHEN CUSTOM. Dr. Milner also styles the statue a *miraculous* image, which is nowhere intimated by the historian. Our author, indeed, would probably say that this must be inferred from the unknown plant which sprung from the ground at the pedestal, and grew till it reached the border of the cloak, and was an antidote against all diseases. But what right had he to put that inference in the mouth of Eusebius, who only states it as a report, and in no respect pledges himself, nor even insinuates his belief, either that the plant possessed such medicinal powers, or that its growth or its qualities were

* Eusebii Pamph. Ecc. Hist., L. vii., c. 18, p. 216.

occasioned by the image ? Thus, then, we see again, how our author *manufactures evidence*, slipping in the word *miraculous*, which gives a totally different sense, representing the whole story as if the statue were a *Christian work*, *approved by the Church* ; and speaking of the pictures of the Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as those of Christ, as if they were in the hands of *Christians* : when Eusebius expressly states the whole matter as a mark of *heathen respect*, according to the *heathen custom*, by which the ancients were used to commemorate the benefits of all who acted as their saviours from sickness or calamity, “ *without discrimination.*”

So far, therefore, is the passage from yielding the smallest support to your modern Romish doctrine, that it is, in truth, rather a testimony against it. Nearly three hundred years elapsed after the time of Eusebius, before Pope Gregory the Great had gotten so far as to authorize the use of images in the Church, even as *memorials* ; while the notion of their being *miraculous*, or proper objects of *adoration* in any sense, was entirely alien from the mind of Christian teachers. And yet this most unscrupulous writer, by adding to the narrative on the one side, and taking away from it upon the other, would try to cheat his unsuspecting readers into the belief that the modern Romish doctrine of image worship had a decided supporter in “ *Eusebius, the father of Church history, and the friend of Constantine !*”

With regard to the worship of the cross, your author tries to mislead us in the same way, confounding the custom of using the *sign of the cross*, to which Tertullian bears testimony, with the acts of *salutation, prayer and incense* offered to the IMAGE OF THE CROSS, which came in along with the worship of other images. Thus the Council of Trullo, held A. D. 706, forbade the introduction of the figure of the cross, on the ground or the floor of churches, lest it might

be *walked upon*, which seems to have been the practice of many, previous to that time, without reprehension. Here, therefore, we have another proof of the period when this new superstition was introduced, viz., the eighth century. The words of the Council are as follows :—

“ As the cross exhibits to us our life-giving salvation, we ought to use all diligence that to it, by which we are redeemed from our ancient fall, we should render due honor. Wherefore, giving to it adoration with the mind, with the speech, and with the sense, we order that those figures of the cross which have been made by some *upon the ground or the pavement* shall be altogether destroyed, lest an injury be done by the treading under foot the trophy of our victory. Those also who hereafter construct the sign of the cross upon the ground, we decree to be deposed.”*

Lastly, I would briefly notice the way in which Dr. Milner† answers the charge that the priests of Rome, in their *ordinary Catechism for the people*, leave out the Second Commandment:‡ “ *Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor of those things that are in the waters under the earth. Thou shalt not adore them nor serve them. I am the Lord thy God.*”§ While, in order to prevent the cheat from being discovered, they split the Tenth Commandment into two! His reply is a beautiful specimen of his characteristic artifice: “ It is a gross calumny,” saith he, “ that we suppress any part of the Decalogue, for the whole of it appears in all our Bibles, and in all our *most approved Catechisms.*” Here, as in a hundred other instances, he *seems* to say what he carefully avoids saying. The charge is, that

* Hard. Concil. Gen., Tom. 3, p. 1687, Can. lxxiii. † P. 236.

‡ Exod. xx. 5.

§ Douay Bible.

you omit the Commandment against images in your *ordinary Catechisms*, which is notorious and undeniable. He cannot summon candor enough to admit the fact, but he says it is a *gross calumny that they suppress it*, because they have it in their *Bible* and their *most approved Catechisms*! The reader will perceive at once that this answer is a mere trick, since it does not in reality meet the accusation at all. Dr. Milner knew perfectly well that the mass of your people never see the Bible nor the *approved Catechisms*. And yet, while he totally evades the only question in the case, he affects to regard the allegation as a gross calumny; thus dexterously, and most dishonestly, making his adversaries appear to be false accusers, exclaiming, like an injured man, against an imputation which no one had made, but doing it in such a shape as to make it pass for a defence against the true charge, which he could not directly deny.

L E T T E R X X X I I I

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE next topic, namely, Transubstantiation, is one of vast importance to your modern Roman Church, and many a faithful martyr has she burned alive, for refusing to believe it. Your favorite Milner, therefore, defends it with his usual dexterity. And I shall endeavor to follow his principal arguments, as hitherto ; and I trust with the same confidence in the victory of truth.

You are aware, of course, that your doctrine supposes the bread and wine, which our Lord appointed as the emblems of His body and blood, to be so perfectly changed by the words of priestly consecration, that nothing remains of their former substance, but that Christ Himself, perfect and entire, in His whole body, blood, soul and divinity, occupies their place ; and hence, the consecrated wafer, now become the Deity incarnate under the *appearance* of the bread, must be adored with the highest worship of *latria*, as the corporally and actually present God and Saviour of the world. This is the change which your divines call *Transubstantiation*.

Our reformed Church, on the contrary, holds that the consecrated elements of bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ not corporally, actually, or really, but *sacramentally* or *symbolically* only. That the true presence of Christ is indeed granted in the *reception* of the sacrament, but only to the *faithful receiver*, and *only after a heavenly and*

spiritual manner. And by necessary consequence, as the substance of the elements, though consecrated, and endued with symbolical solemnity, is not otherwise changed, they are not the proper objects of divine worship, but that such worship is an act of idolatry.

This introduces us, regularly, to the first argument of Dr. Milner, in his 36th letter, where he insists that the Romanist cannot be guilty of idolatry, even if he be mistaken in his doctrine of Transubstantiation, because the object of his worship is Christ; and therefore, whether the Redeemer be corporally and really in the consecrated wafer or not, the worshipper is still mentally adoring Him who ought to be adored, and consequently is in no proper sense open to the charge of idol-worship. He complains, therefore, of the injustice of our accusation. And by way of illustrating his argument, he uses the following analogy:—

“Let me suppose,” saith he, “that being charged with a loyal address to the sovereign, you presented it by mistake to one of his courtiers, or even to an inanimate figure of him, which, for some reason or other, had been dressed in royal robes, and placed on the throne, would your heart reproach you, or would any sensible person reproach you with the guilt of treason in the case? Were the people who thought in their hearts that John the Baptist was Christ, and who probably worshipped Him as such, idolaters, in consequence of their error?”

These illustrations I shall answer in their order. And with respect to the first, I reply, that a mistake made *once* by the simplicity of an individual, who took a courtier or a dressed-up image for the king, would doubtless be laughed at and forgiven. But if a large and powerful body of the king's subjects were to make *a creed of their mistake*, and persisted in it against all the light and evidence which could

be given them, I doubt much whether the monarch would not regard it as a very grave mockery of his majesty. And if, instead of only mistaking a courtier for their sovereign, or paying their respects to a figure dressed in the royal robes upon the throne, they insisted that the seal appointed by the king was the king himself, and carried it abroad in open procession, and addressed their petitions to it, and bowed down before it with all the respectful devotion which the monarch's own presence could inspire, I doubt whether the sovereign would not think the mockery quite too much to bear. Nay, I believe it highly probable that he would call them to a serious account, and hold them guilty of a high contempt against his royal dignity.

And so, in the other illustration, I grant that one mistake of John the Baptist for Christ might be quite pardonable. But if the worshippers of John refused to believe him when he said, "I am not the Christ," and persisted in their error, and continued to worship John in the face of all the evidence which could be asked to convince them of their sin, I say, confidently, that they would have been idolaters, and I doubt whether Dr. Milner himself could summon hardihood enough to deny it.

This may suffice for our author's illustrations. As to the argument itself, it amounts to a blank absurdity, because it places the sin of idolatry, not in the falsehood of the *fact*, but only in the falsehood of the worshipper's *intention*, and therefore, if his hypothesis be correct, there never was an idolater since the world began. For it is as certain that there is a living and true God, as that there is a living and true Christ. And who can deny that the heathen *intend* to worship the living and true God, when they bow down before stocks and stones? Who supposes that any of them ever worshipped their idol, with the belief that it was an idol?

Who doubts that in their souls they suppose they are worshipping the true object of worship, namely, the Supreme, all-governing Intelligence of heaven and earth? And yet, if they unite with this intention a false and unauthorized association with the creature—if, with the old Peruvians, they imagine the sun to be that Supreme Deity; or with the old Persians, the fire; or fancy, with the inhabitants of Thibet, that He is incarnate in the Grand Llama; or set Him forth in the Trinity of the Hindoos; or degrade His divine attributes by presenting them in the thousand fantastic forms of subordinate deities, with the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, instead of submitting all their ideas concerning Him to the pure teaching of His own word: it is not in the power of all the abstractions in the world to save them from the sin of idolatry.

Like all other sins, however, the sin of idolatry contains many varieties of aggravation. There is somewhat of the sublime, notwithstanding the grossness of the error, in the Pantheism of the old Egyptians, who held that God was the soul of the world, and that all created things might be worshipped, as the emanations of His wisdom and His power. There was something yet more attractive in the idolatry of the Aztecs, who believed the splendid orb of day to be the visible glory of the Divinity. There was even somewhat of plausibility in the supposed incarnation of the Grand Llama, in the hero-worship of the Greeks, and in the poetic grandeur of the Scandinavian mythology. But in the whole range of heathenism, there is nothing so revolting to the proper majesty of an incarnate Deity, as the theory of transubstantiation. They were all abominable, all false, all linked with more or less of cruel barbarism and moral licentiousness. And yet the dogma which presents the ineffable glory of the Son of God to the adoration of His worshippers

in the form of a little piece of bread,—that dogma which grew into credit when the great mass of the priesthood were sunk in the lowest depth of libertinism,—that dogma which massacred its hundreds of thousands in the service of religious persecution, and brought so many of the best and purest Christians to the stake, seems the most inconsistent kind of idolatry amongst them all, and the most degrading to a proper conception of the Deity.

The true test of idolatry, therefore, is not a point of abstract *intention*, but a question of *fact*. And hence the Israelites were guilty of idolatry when they worshipped the golden calf, although they *intended* to worship, in this form, the true God who had brought them out of the land of Egypt. Consequently, if the Romanist worships the consecrated *symbols* of Christ's body and blood, under the false belief that they are *Christ Himself*, he does unquestionably fall into the sin of idolatry. From this there is no escape, except by proving that the dogma of Transubstantiation is the truth. And, like every other article of the Christian faith, this can only be done by the Scriptures, as interpreted by the Catholic consent of the primitive fathers.

Your author next complains that although the Lutheran doctrine of *Consubstantiation* is as objectionable to the Church of England as the doctrine of Rome, yet the English Parliament has only legislated against the Romish dogma, and has tolerated every other variety of opinion upon the subject. But in declaiming upon this instance of what he calls "disingenuity and injustice," he chose to ignore altogether the reasons why the law of the land should have guarded against the one error, and not against the others. He chose to forget that the Lutherans, although they were at first misled into the idea of consubstantiation, yet, after the death of the great Reformer, gave it up, and

conformed quietly to the doctrine of Calvin. He chose to forget that Luther himself at no time allowed any act of worship to the consecrated elements, as to the present Christ, in which consists the sin of idolatry. But, above all, he chose to forget the point which made the Romish error a fit subject of parliamentary prohibition, namely, that Rome had made Transubstantiation the *test of faith*, and had punished those who disclaimed it, with the dungeon and the flames. The English nation had nothing to fear from the Lutheran error, which did not concern them. But they had everything to fear from that Papal despotism which enforced its creed with the arms of cruel persecution, and visited the effort to reform the Church from its corruptions, with tortures and with blood.

The last remark of Dr. Milner, with which he concludes his 36th letter, is, that "as transubstantiation was the first of Christ's miracles, in changing the water into wine ; so it may be said to have been his last during his mortal course, by changing bread and wine into His sacred body and blood."* To which I would reply by saying, that if our Lord had changed the water into wine, at the marriage supper, in no other way than the Romish priest changes the bread and wine of the Sacrament, it would have been no miracle at all, because the senses of the company would have borne testimony that it was water still. Flesh and blood are as much the objects of sense, as wine and water. And a miracle which is so far from appealing to the senses that all the senses refuse to acknowledge it, is a contradiction in terms, and involves a perfect absurdity.

L E T T E R X X X I V .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE 37th letter of your favorite, Milner, opens with an attack upon the Catechism of the Church of England, which declares that the body and blood of Christ are *verily and indeed* taken and received by the faithful, in the Lord's Supper. This he calls a "disguising of our real tenets by adopting language of a different meaning from our sentiments, in consequence of such being the language of the sacred text." Next, in a note, he sets down what he calls the *variations in the Liturgy* upon the subject. Thirdly, he quotes the scriptural argument on which his Church relies. Fourthly, he cites some passages from the fathers. Fifthly, he undertakes to press many English divines into his service, amongst whom he particularly specifies Hooker. As to his reference to Luther, I shall pass it by on the same ground as formerly, being only called upon to vindicate the truth of Christ, in reference to our own Communion. The other topics I shall proceed to consider in the order presented.

With respect to the first charge, namely, the alleged disguising of our meaning in the Catechism, it is like all the other charges of your reckless author—bold enough, but totally wanting in fairness and candor. For the same Catechism goes on to define a sacrament as consisting of *two parts—the outward and visible sign, and the inward invisible grace*. And the outward part or sign of the Lord's Sup-

per is declared to be *Bread and Wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received*, while the inward part or thing signified is the *Body and Blood of Christ, which are spiritually taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper*. Where is the disguise? Where the inconsistency? The *spiritual* reception of the body and blood of Christ, *granted by Himself* to the faithful believer, is *verily and indeed* as real and true, as a *bodily* or *corporal* reception *from the hand of the priest* could be, were such a thing possible as the act claimed by your Romish system. According to our doctrine, the consecrated *symbols* of the body and blood are given by the priest, that is, the outward part of the sacrament, or *the bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received*; but the inward part or thing signified is the gift of Christ Himself to the faithful. According to the Church of Rome, the priest has *transubstantiated* the elements; the bread and wine are there no longer, but he holds in his hands, and delivers over to the communicant, the actual body and blood, soul and divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, and there is nothing left to be done by the grace of God, who is the sole Dispenser of every heavenly blessing. No language could be more simply expressive of the enormous difference between the two systems than the words of the Catechism, taken together. Our author, indeed, thinks fit to represent it as a contradiction. "It is saying," as he tells his readers, "*you receive that in the sacrament which does not exist in the sacrament.*" But, according to the Catechism, a sacrament consists of two parts—the *outward*, which is committed to the priest, and the *inward*, which is conferred by the Saviour. The divine gift, therefore, *is* in the sacrament, considered with respect to its inward grace, and hence there is neither contradiction nor inconsistency.

It is true, however, that this word, Sacrament, is frequently employed in the outward sense only, and rightly, because such is the mode in which it was used by the ancient fathers. But in undertaking to censure our Catechism, Dr. Milner was obliged, in fairness, to notice the definition given *there*; and had he done so, he might perhaps have spared his readers this very small display of his disposition to carp at nothing.

His next exhibition of spleen is in the attempt to ridicule the "variations" of the English Liturgy. But what are they in comparison of the variations in the Roman Liturgy? And when it is considered that from the very nature of the case, the English Reformers could not have completed so vast a work immediately—that their own views were necessarily progressive—that it was only by degrees that their eyes were opened to the full amount of the corruptions of doctrine in which they had all been educated, and that they were careful to make no changes until the fullest examination and most satisfactory proof had satisfied them with respect to each:—the wonder will not be that some amendments were found advisable, but rather that the task of duty was completed so early and so well.

We come, in the third place, however, to the main point, viz., the evidence on which your author undertakes to justify your modern Romish doctrine. And this he finds abundantly, as he supposes, in the Gospels. First, he quotes the 6th chapter of St. John's Gospel, where our Lord saith, "*I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world. The Jews therefore strove among themselves, saying, How can this man give us His flesh to eat? Then Jesus said unto them: Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the*

flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.—Many, therefore, of His disciples, when they had heard this, said : This is a hard saying. Who can hear it?—From that time many of His disciples went back, and walked no more with Him. Then Jesus said unto the twelve : Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered Him : Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.”

In this scriptural quotation, your author has omitted some most important verses which are essential to our Lord's meaning, and these, therefore, must be first supplied. Thus, immediately after the words, “*This is a hard saying. Who can hear it?*” we read as follows :—

“When Jesus knew in Himself that His disciples murmured at it, He said unto them : Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before? It is the Spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life. But there are some of you that believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray him. And He said, Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me except it were given him of my Father.”

After these verses, we come to the concluding part of Dr. Milner's quotation : “*From that time many of His disciples went back, and walked no more with Him.*”

Now here let us pause a little, that we may have the benefit of St. Augustine's Commentary.* And this you are perfectly aware that you are bound to respect, since your Council of Trent forbids the Scriptures to be understood except according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.

* S. Augustini Op., Tom. 5. p. 446.

Thus, then, this prince of the fathers expounds the passage, and my readers will find it, I trust, instructive and interesting, notwithstanding it is directly in the face of the carnal literal sense, for which Dr. Milner contends.

After quoting the words of the Saviour, *Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood ye have no life in you*, Augustine proceeds to say: "His disciples were offended—not all, indeed, but the greater part—saying in themselves, *This is a hard saying. Who can hear it?* But when the Lord knew this in Himself, and heard the murmurs of their thoughts, He answered to the thinkers, who had not yet spoken, that they might know that they were heard, and might cease to think so. What then does He answer? *Doth this offend you? What and if you shall see the Son of Man ascending up where he was before?* What doth He mean by the question, *Doth this offend you?* Do you think that I am about to divide this body which you behold into parts, and cut my members into pieces, and give them to you? *What, therefore, and if you shall see the Son of Man ascending up where he was before?* Certainly, He who could ascend entire could not be consumed. Therefore, He gave us the salutary refection of His body and blood, and resolved at once the great question of His integrity. Let those eat who eat, let those drink who drink, let them hunger and thirst: let them eat life, let them drink life. To eat that, is to be renewed; but you are so renewed that the source of your renewal may not be diminished. To drink this, what is it but to live? Eat life, drink life, you shall possess life, and that life is entire. Then the body and blood of Christ will be life to every one of you, IF THAT WHICH IS VISIBLY TAKEN IN THE SACRAMENT shall be SPIRITUALLY EATEN AND SPIRITUALLY DRANK IN THE TRUTH ITSELF. (*Si quod in sacramento visibiliter sumitur, in ipsa veritate spiritaliter manducetur,*

spiritaliter bibatur.) FOR WE HAVE HEARD THE LORD HIMSELF SAYING, IT IS THE SPIRIT THAT QUICKENETH; THE FLESH PROFITETH NOTHING. THE WORDS WHICH I HAVE SPOKEN UNTO YOU ARE SPIRIT AND LIFE."

Here we see that Augustine applies the language of the Saviour to the Sacrament, so as perfectly to destroy the idea of Transubstantiation. The flesh profiteth nothing. It is the Spirit which quickeneth. And therefore, that eating and drinking which is effectual is not *corporal*, but *spiritual*. But the following passage will show his meaning yet more clearly. "If a preceptive speech," saith this eminent father, "either forbids a crime or a sin, or orders something useful or beneficent, it is not figurative. But if it appears to order a crime or a sin, it is figurative. *Unless you shall eat*, saith our Lord, *the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you*. Here He seems to order a crime or an outrage, and therefore IT IS A FIGURE, DIRECTING THE COMMUNION OF OUR LORD'S PASSION, AND, THAT WE SHOULD SWEETLY AND USEFULLY LAY UP IN OUR MEMORY THAT FOR US HIS FLESH WAS CRUCIFIED AND WOUNDED."*

Thus we see that the 6th chapter of St. John's Gospel, instead of bearing the carnal and literal meaning which the modern Romanist puts upon it, was interpreted *figuratively* by the greatest light of the primitive Church in the fourth century. And the same result will be shown in reference to the next scriptural proof, which your author cites from the Gospels as follows :

"For," continues Dr. Milner, "*whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take ye and eat : THIS IS MY BODY*."

* Augustin. Op., Tom. 3, p. 40, § 24, De doctrina Christiana, L. iii., Ed. Benedict.

And taking the chalice, He gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this. FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH SHALL BE SHED FOR MANY UNTO THE REMISSION OF SINS. Mat. xxvi. 26-8. This account of St. Matthew is repeated by St. Mark, xiv. 22-4, and nearly word for word, by St. Luke, xxii. 19, 20, and St. Paul, 1 Cor., xi. 23-5, who adds: Therefore, whoever shall eat this bread, or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and eateth and drinketh judgment to himself. 1 Cor., xi. 27-9."

Now, let us see how the fathers interpret this: whether *literally*, with the modern Romanist, or *figuratively and spiritually*, with the Church of England.

Thus saith the same great Augustine: "If the sacraments had not *a certain similitude of those things of which they are the sacraments*, they could not be sacraments at all. But from this similitude, for the most part, *they take the names of the things themselves*. Therefore, according to a certain mode, the Sacrament of Christ's Body is the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christ's Blood is the Blood of Christ; and in like manner, the Sacrament of Faith" (meaning Baptism) "*is Faith*. Hence the Apostle saith, speaking of Baptism, *We are buried by Baptism into death*. He does not say, *We have set forth the Sign of burial*, but He saith, *We are buried*. He calls the SACRAMENT of the thing BY THE WORD BELONGING TO THE THING ITSELF."*

Augustine, elsewhere, applies this directly as follows: "Our Lord," saith he, "did not hesitate to say, *This is my body*, when He gave them the sign of His body."†

The same interpretation precisely was given to the lan-

* Augustin. Op., Tom. 2, p. 202-3, § 9.

† Ib. Tom. 8, p. 90, § 3.

guage of our blessed Saviour by all the other primitive witnesses. Thus, Tertullian saith: "The Lord, in the Gospel, showed bread, calling it His Body, in order that you might thence understand Him to have given to the bread THE FIGURE OF HIS BODY."* And again: "Our Lord," saith he, "taking the bread, and distributing it to His disciples, *made it His body by saying, THIS IS MY BODY, that is, the figure of my body.*"† "And that you may recognize an ancient figure of blood in wine," continues Tertullian, "Isaiah will teach you, saying,‡ *Who is this that cometh from Edom with red garments from Bozrah?—I have trodden the wine-press alone,—and their blood is sprinkled upon my garments.* And still more clearly in the Book of Genesis, where Jacob, in the blessing of Judah, delineates Christ: *He washed His robe in wine, and His garment in the blood of the grape,* indicating His flesh in the clothing, and His blood in the wine. Thus, now He consecrates His blood in wine, as then He figured wine for His blood."§

Cyprian, the Bishop and martyr of Carthage, gives us another plain proof of the same doctrine. It appears that some foolish innovators, in his days, had undertaken to administer the Eucharist with water only, and he rebukes them in the following terms: "I wonder greatly from whence this novelty has arisen, in certain places, that against the evangelical and apostolical discipline, water is offered in the cup of the Lord, which can never, by itself, express the blood of Christ." "For the water *signifies the people*: as the divine Scripture declares in the Apocalypse, *The waters which thou sawest, upon which the harlot sat, are peoples, and tribes, and nations, and tongues.* Which thing

* Tertul. adv. Marcion, Lib. 3, p. 408.

† Ib. Lib. 4, 457.

‡ Chap. 63.

§ Ib. 458.

we behold contained in the sacrament of the cup. For as Christ carried us all by bearing our sins, we see that THE PEOPLE ARE SIGNIFIED BY THE WATER, WHILE BY THE WINE HE SHOWS THE BLOOD OF CHRIST. Therefore, when the water is mixed with the wine in the cup, the people are united with Christ, and the whole host of believers is conjoined and incorporated with Him in whom they believe. And thus it is manifest that, in consecrating the chalice or cup, water alone cannot be offered, nor yet wine alone; for if any one offers wine alone, *the blood of Christ begins to be without us*; but if the water be alone, *the people begin to be without Christ*: but when both are mixed together, then the spiritual and celestial sacrament is perfected.”*

Nothing can be more evident, from this decisive extract, than the entire agreement of Cyprian with Tertullian and Augustine. For he applies the same figurative language to the water, as *signifying the people*, and to the wine, as *signifying the blood of Christ*. And hence it is manifest that he could not have believed in Transubstantiation in the one, any more than he believed it in the other.

But Cyprian proceeds to speak of the other part of the Sacrament, and it may be well to note his mode of explaining it. “As the cup of the Lord,” saith he, “is not water only, nor wine only, but both united; in like manner, the body of the Lord is not flour alone, nor water alone, but both united together, so as to form one solid mass of bread. By which is also signified one people united together; for, as many grains of wheat collected in one, and ground and mixed, make one bread, so in Christ, who is the bread from heaven, we know there is one body, to which our assembly is united and conjoined.”† It seems too plain for argument that this prim-

* Cyprian. Ep. 118, p. 63. Ed. Rigaltii.

† Ib.

itive saint and martyr could never have used such words as these, if the Church, in his time, had known anything of the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Let us now turn to the eminent Jerome, who occupies so high a place on the Roman Calendar, and we shall find him using precisely the same language as the others. Thus, speaking incidentally of the Sacrament in his epistle against Jovinian, he saith: "He" (i. e. Christ) "offered not water, but wine, as a *type of His blood*."* So likewise, in his Commentary on the very text in St. Matthew's Gospel, Jerome speaks as follows: "After the typical Passover had been fulfilled, and He had eaten the flesh of the lamb with the Apostles, He took bread, which comforts the heart of man, and proceeds to the true sacrament of the Passover, even as Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High God, had done, offering bread and wine, in prefiguration of Him, that he also might *represent the truth of His body and blood*."† And again, in his Commentary on St. Mark's Gospel, Jerome saith: "Jesus took bread, and blessed and brake it, *transfiguring His body into bread*, which is the present Church, received in faith, blessed in number, broken in sufferings, exhibited in examples, taken in doctrines; *forming His blood in the cup, mixed with wine and water*, that by the one we might be purged from our sins, and by the other, might be redeemed from punishment. For by the blood of the lamb the houses are kept from the stroke of the angel, and by the water of the Red Sea the enemies are annihilated, which are the mysteries of the Church of Christ."‡ Here this eminent father clearly shows that Transubstantiation was

* S. Hieron., Tom. 2, p. 52, C.

† Ib. Tom. 9, *Com. in Mat.*, p. 64.

‡ Ib. Tom. 9, p. 87, *Com. in Marc.*

not yet dreamed of in the Church of God. He speaks of the consecrated elements as *figures, types, representations* of the real Body and Blood of Christ; and saith that our Lord *transfigured His body into bread*, which is the absolute contrary of the modern Romish doctrine, that He *transubstantiated the bread into His body, blood, soul and divinity*.

But Dr. Milner adduces the authority of the fathers as decidedly in his favor, and refers particularly to Ignatius, Origen, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and Ambrose. To these, therefore, I must next invite your attention.

That there are multitudes of passages in those ancient writers which, taken by themselves, agree *apparently* with your doctrine, no divine or any patristic learning denies. But the question cannot be settled by these, because Augustine has already explained to us the established phraseology, and justified it by a reference to St. Paul, saying, that "if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things of which they are the sacraments, they could not be sacraments at all. But *from this similitude, for the most part, they take the names of the things themselves*. Therefore, according to a certain mode, the Sacrament of Christ's Body is the body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christ's Blood is the blood of Christ, and in like manner, the Sacrament of Faith" (i. e. Baptism) "*is faith*." "Hence," continues Augustine, "the Apostle saith, *We are buried by Baptism into death*. He does not say, *We have set forth the SIGN of Burial*, but he saith, *We are buried*. He calls the sacrament of the thing by *the word belonging to the thing itself*."

Such being the unquestionable rule of language, not only in the Church, but, to a large extent, in all other departments of society, it is evident that we can only determine the real doctrine on the subject by those passages which go to the point of the distinction. When, therefore, Igna-

tius, speaking of heretics, asserts that "they do not admit of Eucharists and oblations, because they do not believe the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ," his language, interpreted by the statement of St. Augustine, affords no evidence at all with regard to the doctrine in question, because the inquiry is not touched. Whether Ignatius meant the flesh of our Saviour, in *actual substance*, or in *symbol or figure*? But we know that the most troublesome heretics of Ignatius' time were the Gnostics, who maintained that Christ had no real human body at all, but only presented a phantom of mortal shape to the eyes of men. We know also, that the sacrament could not be the *figure or symbol* of Christ's Body unless He had a *real body*, because it is impossible to establish a *figure or symbolical representation* of that which is *not believed to exist at all*. And thus we see why the Gnostic heretics should have abandoned the Eucharist, whether the doctrine of Rome or of England were the doctrine of the Church, because both doctrines equally require faith in the Saviour's *real humanity*.

From Ignatius I pass to Origen, and here we have abundant proof that Dr. Milner has entirely misrepresented this eminent father. The words which he has quoted, indeed, are plainly inconclusive: "Manna was formerly given as a figure, but now the flesh and blood of the Son of God is specifically given, and is real food." This we do not deny, but maintain it, the question not being whether Christ gives His flesh and blood to the faithful recipient of the Sacrament, but whether He gives them after a heavenly and spiritual manner, in connection with the faithful and devout reception of the consecrated symbols of the outward and visible sacrament; or whether He gives them by *transubstantiating the bread and wine*, so that they are no longer

figures, signs, or sacraments of His Body and Blood, but really and actually converted into His *true Body and Blood, Soul and Divinity*. Of this the passage says nothing, and what it does say is quite as consistent with the one doctrine as with the other.

But now let us have some further testimony from Origen, and it will appear very plainly that he agrees perfectly well with the evidence of Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, and Jerome.

Thus, for example, he saith: "There is in the New Testament a literal interpretation (*litera*) which killeth him who does not spiritually apprehend those things that are spoken. For if you follow according to the letter what is said, *Unless you shall eat my flesh, and drink my blood*, this letter killeth."*

And again, Origen delivers this conclusive statement: "Since *everything which enters into the mouth goes into the belly and is cast out into the draught*, so likewise the very food consecrated by the word of God and prayer, insomuch as it is material, goes into the belly, and is cast out into the draught: but insomuch as prayer is joined to it, according to the proportion of faith, it becomes useful, and causes the mind to become enlightened, looking to that which profiteth; nor is it the material bread, but the prayer offered upon it which helps him, who, not unworthily of the Lord, eats it. And thus much concerning the TYPICAL AND SYMBOLICAL BODY."† It is impossible, as it seems to me, that any man could have written thus who was a believer in Transubstantiation.

Ambrose stands also on the list of Dr. Milner's witnesses;

* Origen., Hom. 7 in Levit.

† Origen., Com. in Matthæum, p. 254.

and yet, when we look at the whole of his testimony, we shall find no discrepancy. For his language, even as quoted by your author, is easily made to agree with the doctrine of the Church of England: "Perhaps you will say, Why do you tell me that I receive the body of Christ, when I see quite another thing? We have this point, therefore, to prove. How many examples do we produce to show you that this is not what nature has made it, but what the benediction has consecrated it? and that the benediction is of greater force than nature, because, by the benediction, nature itself is changed," &c. Such are the words of this father, and all that we have to do is to take his own explanation, as follows:—

"That I may further answer thee," saith Ambrose, "it was not the body of Christ before consecration: but, after consecration, I tell thee it is the body of Christ. He said, and it was done; He commanded, and it was created. *Thou also wast; but thou wast the old creature: after thou wert consecrated, thou didst begin to be a new creature. Dost thou desire to know how? Every one, saith he, who is in Christ, is a new creature.*"*

Here we have a sufficient key to the sentiments of Ambrose. The doctrine of the Church, to which we fully assent, was that the bread and wine were common, before they were consecrated; but after consecration, they became converted, by the words of Christ's institution, into the *figures, symbols, or emblems* of the body and blood of Christ. This was a *change*, and one which seemed to challenge the senses, because the spectator might have said, according to the question put by the father, "Why do you tell me that I receive the body of Christ, when I see

* S. Ambros. Op., Tom. 2, p. 369.

quite another thing?" That is, "Why am I to believe that this bread, previously common bread, is now become the figure of Christ's body, when I see nothing but bread, and observe no change whatever in its appearance or its form?" The answer is, that it has become the *figure of His body by the word of His power who is Almighty*. That it is now consecrated to bear the new emblematic and sacramental character. That it is therefore invested with a new significance and a new solemnity, as a *representative image, symbolically, of the Redeemer of the world*. And that this must be believed in faith, notwithstanding there was no more outward resemblance to Christ than there was before.

To prove this, therefore, Ambrose illustrates it by the change which consecration produces on the Christian: "*Thou wast the old creature, saith he; but after thou wert consecrated, thou didst begin to be a new creature.*" And thus we see plainly how far this venerable father was from teaching *Transubstantiation*. For no one imagines that the Spirit of God, in producing the new creature, through a change of heart and the consecration of Baptism, effects any change in the *material substance* of the man. The change is a change of *character and relation*. No illustration could demonstrate more plainly the meaning of the whole.

A little further on, however, Ambrose speaks yet more clearly: "Perhaps, nevertheless," saith he, "you will say, I do not see the appearance of blood. BUT IT HAS A SIMILITUDE: *for as thou hast taken the similitude of death, even so thou drinkest the similitude of precious blood, that there may be no horror of blood itself, and yet the price of thy redemption might be available.* And thus you have learned that what you receive is the body of Christ."* Here we

* S. Ambros. Op., Tom. 2, p. 370.

have the full development of his idea ; for instead of answering the objection like a believer in Transubstantiation, he takes the true ground, that the thing which the eyes beheld had a *similitude*. The modern Romanist would have replied by saying, that the objector must not trust his senses ; that it was actual blood notwithstanding ; that it was *not a similitude*, but a *miraculous reality*. And hence the manifest incompatibility presented by the language of this chosen witness, when compared with the doctrine which your advocate would fain extract from his testimony.

One passage more from Ambrose must close this part of our evidence, and this is taken from the words of the Liturgy, as established in his day : " Listen," saith he, " to the celestial words of consecration. The priest saith, Make this to us, O Lord, a chosen, allowed, reasonable and acceptable sacrifice, which is THE FIGURE of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."* Thus, then, we have this highest proof, from the very language of the Church's public service, that the consecrated elements were esteemed, in the time of Ambrose, precisely what we hold them to be, namely, the *figure* of the body and the blood ; and hence we find no difference between this witness and the others, notwithstanding the apparent confidence with which Dr. Milner appeals to him.

We come now to the testimony of Cyril, the Archbishop of Jerusalem, from whose mystagogical discourses your author has made an extract resembling that which we have seen from Ambrose. But there are other passages in the works of this father which will furnish a much fairer view of his doctrine.

Thus, warning the recently baptized against the use of

* S. Ambros. Op., Tom. 2, p. 371.

those sacraments which had been offered to idols, he speaks as follows :—

“ For in like manner as the bread and wine of the Eucharist, before the holy invocation of the adorable Trinity, were bare bread and wine, but the invocation being finished, the bread became the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ: *in like manner the meats belonging to the pomp of Satan*, though by their nature they were bare and common, are rendered *profane and contaminated by the invocation of the demons*.”*

Here is a comparison which no believer in Transubstantiation could think, for a moment, of making. The bread and wine, consecrated by the invocation of the Trinity, to be the *emblems* or *symbols* of the body and the blood of the Saviour, might well enough be contrasted with the meats which were contaminated by the invocation of devils. But to compare the defilement of the one with the holiness of the other, when that other was believed to be not a *consecrated emblem*, but *Christ Himself, body, blood, soul and divinity*, would be a monstrous solecism, unworthy not merely of the eloquent and pious Cyril, but of any man of common sense.

This eminent father, however, makes another comparison, no less fatal to your modern Roman hypothesis, where, speaking of the chrism or holy oil which was introduced very early into the Church, he employs these words :—

“ Beware that thou dost not think this ointment to be naked or vile. For as the bread of the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, is no longer common bread, but the body of Christ, even so this holy ointment is no longer bare, or, if any one prefers so to call it, common ointment, after the invocation, but it is the efficient gift of

* S. Cyrilli Op., p. 308, *Ed. of Touttèc*.

Christ and the Holy Spirit, by the presence of His Deity. Which truly is applied *symbolically* on thy forehead, and thy other organs of the senses. And while the body is anointed by the visible ointment, the soul is sanctified by the holy and life-giving Spirit.”*

Here, again, we have an illustration which proves incontrovertibly that Cyril’s doctrine agreed with our own, and was totally incompatible with that of modern Romanism. For he compares the consecration of the Eucharist with the consecration of the Chrism. In *that*, there was, confessedly, no Transubstantiation. It remained, *in substance*, what it was before, but in *figure* and in *sanctity*, it was esteemed a holy thing, and when used *symbolically*, the presence of Christ and the Holy Spirit gave sanctification to the faithful soul.

I shall close the evidence of Cyril with his comment on the language of the Liturgy, in which he saith expressly : “ For those who taste are not ordered to taste the bread and wine, but the SIMILITUDE (Gr. *ἀντίτυπον*, similitude, figure, or representation) OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST.”†

If, instead of these plain and conclusive words, this eminent father had said that they were not ordered to taste the bread and wine, but to receive *the real body, and blood, and soul, and divinity of Christ Himself*, Dr. Milner might have appealed, with some honest confidence, to Cyril’s testimony.

Having thus shown the doctrine of those fathers on whom your author rests, I shall sum up the testimony of the early writers with Isidore of Seville, who, like the others, is one of the saints canonized by the rulers of the Church of Rome.

* S. Cyrilli Op., p. 316-7, *Ed. of Touttiè.*

† S. Cyril., Cat. xxiii., Mystag. v., § xx., p. 331.

Thus he adopts the language of Cyprian, directing the water to be mixed with the wine in the administration of the Eucharist, saying: "For if any one offers wine alone, the *blood begins to be without the people*; but if the water be alone, the *people begin to be without Christ*."* This language of itself suffices to prove the figurative character of the consecrated elements, for no one denies that the water could only have signified the people *metaphorically*, as the wine signified the blood of the Saviour *metaphorically* or *in a figure*, according to the language of Tertullian and the other fathers. But St. Augustine plainly declares that the custom was to call the representations by the names of the things themselves, on the authority of the Scriptures. And Cyprian, in this very passage, gives us a strong example of the rule. As, therefore, when the *people begin to be*, we know that it was not the *people*, but the figure which represented the people; so, when the blood *begins to be*, it was not really the blood, but the figure which represented the blood. It must be evident, at a glance, that no believer in Transubstantiation could have adopted such a comparison as this, and yet we see it fully endorsed by Isidore in the beginning of the seventh century.

The same conclusion, however, is equally plain, from his definition of the sacraments. "A sacrament," saith he, "is in a certain celebration, when the thing performed is so done, that it is *understood to signify something* which is to be accepted sacredly. And the sacraments are, Baptism and Chrism, and the Body and Blood of Christ, which are called sacraments on this account, because under the outward covering of corporeal things, the divine virtue secretly works the health of those sacraments, by reason of which secret or holy virtues, they are termed sacraments."†

* S. Isidori Hisp. Op., p. 395, B.

† Ib., p. 52, A. B.

Here, by the way, as I have already shown, we see that Chrism, which is now called Confirmation, was raised to the rank of a sacrament in the time of Isidore, while the other four, which modern Romanism has since added to the list, had not yet been so accounted, notwithstanding your boast that the Church of Rome has always been *unchangeable*. But we also see that by the very definition of a sacrament, the consecrated elements must be taken as a corporeal *figure*, *signifying what is to be accepted*. And hence it is manifest that if the figure could be transubstantiated into the *divine reality*, it would be a sacrament no longer.

And this is demonstrated by the very highest Romish authority, in the face of the sophistry by which some of your writers contend that it may be the figure and the reality at the same time. As if a prince, say they, should put on a mask, to hide his features, should we not have at once a figure and the real prince together ?

This is ingenious, but totally inapplicable to the question. For in the supposed analogy, the prince could only wear a mask in order that *he might not be known* ; and if he put on such a disguise, and at the same time proclaimed to every one that he was the prince notwithstanding, we should all agree that he was playing the fool. And yet such is the illustration chosen by the advocates of this profane dogma. Our Lord is supposed to present Himself under the mask of a little wafer, while yet it is proclaimed to all the world that He is actually present in His body, blood, soul and divinity !

But let me now prove the absurdity of this evasion, by your own highest testimony. In the second Council of Nice, A. D. 787, which established the worship of images, the acts of the previous Council were read, and condemned. And amongst these acts we find the following :—

“ Let those rejoice and be glad, and let them act faithfully, who make with sincerest mind the true image of Christ, and desire it, and reverence it, and offer it for the salvation of the body and the soul ; which He our most sacred sacrificer and God, * * * according to the time, delivered to His servants *as a type and evident memorial* of His proper passion. For, being about to deliver Himself to His memorable and vivifying death, He took bread into His hands and blessed it, and giving thanks, He brake it, and delivering it, said : *Take and eat this for the remission of sins.* THIS IS MY BODY. In like manner giving them the cup, he said : THIS IS MY BLOOD : *Do this in remembrance of me.* As if there was no other species or imaginary form chosen by Himself under heaven, representing His incarnation. Behold, therefore, how this is precious and honorably made THE IMAGE OF HIS VIVIFYING BODY. * * * For this is demonstrated to be the TRUE IMAGE of the dispensation made in the flesh, namely, of Christ our God, which He Himself, the true Maker and vivifier of nature, with His own voice delivered.”*

Here we have plainly set forth the old doctrine of the primitive Church, in accordance with the united testimony of the fathers. But the second Council of Nice, in its zeal for the popular fashion of image-worship, flatly denied it all. “ These men,” say they, “ willing to demolish the spectacle of the venerable images, have introduced another image, *which is not an image, but the body and the blood.* * * * FOR IF IT BE THE IMAGE OF THE BODY, IT CANNOT BE THE DIVINE BODY.”†

Thus, then, a Council which all Romanists esteem to be general and infallible, had settled the question in the latter

* Hard. Concil. Gen., Tom. 4, p. 367-8.

† Ib., p. 369, A.

part of the 8th century, that the consecrated elements could not be both an *image*, or a *figure*, and likewise the *reality*. The idea, indeed, is sufficiently absurd in itself, and has evidently been adopted in the vain attempt to reconcile the old fathers with their modern doctrine. But to you, most Reverend Sir, it ought to be the *argumentum ad hominem*, because it is the authoritative decision of what you hold to be a General Council, to which you profess to submit your faith in all things.

I shall not here repeat the evidence on which, in my letter on image-worship, this second Council of Nice was shown to be no true exponent of the primitive Church, nor even of the prevailing opinions and practice of the age in which it was holden. Certain it is, as we have just seen, that the 336 Bishops of the Oriental Churches, who held the previous Council, delivered their decrees against images, and also against transubstantiation, expressly maintaining that the Eucharist was the *image*, and the *only authorized image*, of our Lord and Saviour. This proves conclusively that so late as the latter part of the 8th century, the old doctrine still existed, while the new and contrary opinion was only partially sustained. But the tide was running strongly in favor of superstition, and the victory was gained in due season.

That it was not gained, however, soon, nor without serious opposition, is clearly proved by your own historian, Fleury. He states that about the year 859, Paschasius Radbert wrote a book, maintaining that the body of Jesus Christ is the same in the Eucharist with that which was born of the Virgin, and that it was *reality* and a *figure* both together. The famous John Scot, who was confessedly one of the lights of his age, published a treatise against this doctrine, which was condemned at the Council of Vercell,

nearly two hundred years after.* It does not appear that his opposition to Paschasius brought him into any trouble at the time, but another work, viz., a translation of Dionysius, the Areopagite, excited Pope Nicholas against him, and Charles the Bald, instead of sending him to be tried for this book, which favored the Greek Church and was very obnoxious to the Roman hierarchy, allowed him to go to England, where the famous Alfred placed him at the head of the King's Hall, at Oxford, and there he lectured for some years with great reputation. Fleury admits that "Paschasius knew well that his doctrine was combated." He also specifies the work of Ratram, monk of Corbie, which was published against him, besides two other writings without name, and mentions that a certain Frudegard and others *had difficulties* about his book. The book of Ratram, in opposition to his doctrine, however, was one of peculiar importance, being written by order of Charles the Bald, and in that it was maintained that we must distinguish, according to the fathers, between the natural and the eucharistic body. "That the body which our Lord took of the Virgin Mary was a true body, visible and palpable, while the body which is called the mystery of God is not corporeal, but *spiritual*, and by consequence neither visible nor palpable."†

Opinions were allowed to fluctuate between these opposite doctrines for a considerable time, nor was there any attempt to settle the dispute authoritatively, until the year 1079, when Berenger, a celebrated theologian of France, opposed the growing figment of transubstantiation, and was compelled by a Council, held at Rome, to make his recantation. Like Galileo, however, who was forced by the

* Fleury, Hist. Ecc., Tom. 10, p. 544-5.

† Ib., p. 548.

same infallible authority to recant his astronomical discovery that the earth moved round the sun, and just after he rose from his knees, said to his friend, "It moves, notwithstanding;" even so Berenger remained of the same mind, and when he returned to France, continued to inculcate his former doctrine. According to the truth of history, therefore, it is impossible to assign the establishment of the present teaching of your Church to an earlier period than the eleventh century.

I have reversed my usual line of argument on this important subject, with express regard to the decree of the Council of Trent, in its fourth session, which enacted that "*no one should dare, in those things which belong to faith and morals, to interpret the Holy Scriptures against that sense which Holy Mother Church has held and holds, OR AGAINST THE UNANIMOUS CONSENT OF THE FATHERS.*"*

The sense which the *Church has held*, in primitive times, I have proved from the Liturgies of Ambrose and Cyril, where the *FIGURE* of the body and blood of our Lord is stated expressly as the object of sacramental consecration. In this, therefore, the Church of England stands justified by the oldest and truly Catholic authority. And the *unanimous consent of the fathers* I have also shown to agree with the same interpretation. Your Council of Trent spake well and wisely, in laying down the rule; but when it is alleged that the modern Church of Rome can demonstrate her faithfulness in obeying it, we hold her claim to be a bold pretence, opposed to the real evidence of antiquity in this and every other point which was rejected by the principles of the English Reformation.

My next letter will lead me back to the language of the

* Hard. Con., Tom. 10, p. 23, D.

Scriptures themselves, in connection with which I shall notice the Jesuitical attempt of your favorite, Dr. Milner, to enlist the divines of our Church in favor of your doctrine. And I beg you to remember that, in refuting his book, I am compelled to speak plainly, because it is, throughout, an unscrupulous assault upon my own communion, and it is impossible to defend the purity of our system against such an opponent without candidly expressing my sincere conviction of its character. Most deeply do I lament the fatal policy by which, I doubt not, he justified his course. Most freely do I exonerate the deluded victims of his misrepresentation from the sin of wilful error. And as I ask no one to credit me any farther than I *prove* what I assert, I trust that the cause of divine truth will not suffer in any mind by the frankness of its advocate.

L E T T E R X X X V .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

IN the arguments of your divines on the subject of Transubstantiation, they talk triumphantly of their faithful adherence to the very words of Christ ; and yet it is very plain that they cannot interpret those words without admitting a figure of speech, notwithstanding their boast that they take the literal meaning.

Thus, when our Lord saith, *This is My blood which is shed for you*, how does the literal meaning agree with the unquestionable fact that His blood was not *actually* shed for them until the following evening ? Hence the necessity of understanding that it was then shed only in the divine decree and in His own will, which, in the agony of Gethsemane, He had submitted so absolutely to the will of His Father. Here, then, clearly, the *literal expression* is not the real meaning.

Again, we read, according to your Douay version, as quoted by Dr. Milner, " Taking the chalice, He gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this." Not of the chalice, certainly, but of WHAT THE CHALICE CONTAINED. But this is a *figure of speech* beyond all controversy, and your divines are obliged to interpret it as a figure, in despite of all their zeal for the strict literal phraseology.

Again, St. Luke states the words somewhat differently :* “ This cup is the NEW TESTAMENT in my blood, which is shed for you.” What will the literal meaning prove here ? You do not pretend to maintain it ; and yet the language of St. Paul† repeats the same expression, besides making another slight variation in saying, “ This is my body which is broken,” instead of “ *given*,” for you. Thus, then, it is impossible to interpret the meaning without admitting a figure of speech. There was no *literal covenant* written in blood, neither was it *literally true* that His sacred body was broken. But the cup might well be called a covenant, *figuratively*, because our Lord shed His blood to accomplish His *covenant promise* of forgiveness and redemption to His people. And His blessed body might well be pronounced broken by the same well-known figure of speech, in which we say that the *heart is broken*, when it is tortured unto death by grief and anguish.

Hence, it is surely manifest to the slightest attention, that the argument derived from the strict *letter* of St. Matthew cannot, of itself, decide the controversy. Two of the Evangelists use one form of expression, St. Luke and St. Paul employ the other. And the figurative meaning is absolutely necessary, to a greater or a less degree, in interpreting them all.

But let us consider whether the doctrine of your modern Roman Church is proved, even on your own ground. “ *This is my body.*” What is the sense of the verb ? Does it mean the *actual being*, or a *representation* of being ? For it is undeniable that it is currently employed in both these senses in every language under heaven, and throughout the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation.

To test this assertion by an appeal to the fact, I shall first

* Chapter xxii. 20.

† 1 Cor., xi. 24-5.

ask your attention to a few texts in which the verb is used in the *representative* or *figurative* sense confessedly. And in order to exclude all doubt, I shall quote your own Douay Bible. Thus :—

Gen. xvii. 13. *My covenant SHALL BE in your flesh*, i. e., my covenant shall be *represented* by circumcision.

“ xl. 12. *The three branches ARE yet three days*, i. e., they signify three days.

“ “ 18. *The three baskets ARE yet three days*, i. e., they signify them.

“ xli. 26. *The seven beautiful kine and the seven full ears ARE seven years of plenty*, i. e., they signify them.

“ “ 27. *The seven lean kine—and the seven thin ears—ARE seven years of famine*, i. e., they signify them.

“ xlix. 14. *Issachar SHALL BE a strong ass*, i. e., *like* a strong ass.

“ “ 17. *Let Dan BE a snake in the way*, i. e., *like* a snake in the way.

Deut. xxviii. 23. *BE the heaven that is over thee, of brass*, i. e., *like* brass.

“ “ “ *And the ground thou treadest on, of iron*, i. e., *like* iron.

“ xxxii. 33. *Their wine is the gall of dragons*, i. e., *like* the gall of dragons.

“ xxxiii. 22. *Dan is a young lion*, i. e., *like* a young lion.

Josh. xxiii. 13. *They SHALL BE a pit and a snare*, i. e., *like* a pit and a snare.

Psalm v. 11. *Their throat is an open sepulchre*, i. e., *like* an open sepulchre.

“ xiii. 3. *The poison of asps is under their lips*, i. e., their words are venomous, *like* the poison of asps.

“ lvi. 5. *The sons of men, whose teeth ARE weapons and arrows*, i. e., *like* weapons and arrows.

- Psalm lviii. 8. *A sword is in their lips, i. e., their words pierce like a sword.*
- Daniel ii. 38. *Thou ART the head of gold, i. e., the head of gold represents thy majesty.*
- " iv. 19. *The tree which thou sawest—it is thou, O King, i. e., it represents thee.*
- " vii. 23. *The fourth beast SHALL BE the fourth kingdom, i. e., the beast is a symbol of the kingdom.*
- " viii. 20. *The ram is the King of the Medes and Persians, i. e., symbolically.*
- Zach. v. 2-3. *I see a volume flying—And he said, This is the curse that goeth forth, &c., i. e., it is a symbol of the curse.*

These are but a few specimens from the Old Testament, to show how the verb *to be* is employed in a figurative sense of *representation*, *similitude*, or *figure*. The New Testament, however, is more immediately adapted to the question, and from this, therefore, I shall make a larger number of quotations :—

- St. Matt. v. 13. *You ARE the salt of the earth, i. e., like the salt.*
- " xvi. 18. *Thou ART Peter (Gr., $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$, a stone), i. e., figuratively.*
- St. John vi. 70. *Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil? i. e., like a devil, the enemy of Christ.*
- " x. 9. *I AM the door, i. e., figuratively.*
- " " 34. *You ARE gods, i. e., like gods, by receiving the Word of God.*
- " xi. 25. *I AM the Resurrection, i. e., the cause and the power of the resurrection.*
- " xiv. 6. *I AM the way, i. e., figuratively.*
- " xv. 1. *I AM the true vine, i. e., figuratively.*
- Rom. vi. 4. *We ARE buried together with Him by baptism, i. e., figuratively.*
- " " 6. *Our old man is crucified with Him, i. e., figuratively, or spiritually.*

- 1 Cor. x. 4. *The Rock WAS Christ, i. e., a figure of Christ.*
- 2 Cor. iii. 2. *You ARE our epistle, i. e., figuratively.*
- Gal. iv. 24. *These ARE the two testaments, i. e., allegorically.*
- 1 Tim. iii. 15. *The Church IS the pillar and ground of the truth, i. e., figuratively.*
- Heb. v. 13. *Every one that is a partaker of milk is unskilful in the word of justice, for he IS a little child, i. e., spiritually.*
- “ xii. 29. *Our God IS a consuming fire, i. e., like a consuming fire to the impenitent.*
- St. James, iv. 15. *What is your life? It IS a vapor, i. e., like a vapor.*
- St. Jude, 12. *These ARE spots in their banquets, clouds without water, trees of the autumn, raging waves of the sea, &c., i. e., figuratively.*
- Rev. i. 20. *The seven stars ARE the angels of the seven churches, and the seven candlesticks ARE the seven churches, i. e., symbolically.*
- “ xi. 4. *These ARE the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks, i. e., the olive-trees and candlesticks were symbols or figures of them.*
- “ xvii. 9. *The seven heads ARE seven mountains, i. e., symbolically.*
- “ “ 12. *The ten horns ARE ten kings, i. e., symbolically.*
- “ “ 15. *The waters which thou sawest ARE peoples, and nations, and tongues, i. e., symbolically.*
- “ “ 18. *The woman IS the great city, a kingdom which hath dominion over the kings of the earth, i. e., symbolically.*
- “ xix. 8. *The fine linen ARE the justifications of saints, i. e., symbolically.*

Now here are nearly fifty texts, all taken from your own Bible, in which the verb *to be* is acknowledged on all sides to signify a *figurative, representative, or symbolical* being. When, therefore, our divine Lord takes bread and blesses it, and breaks it, and gives it to His disciples, and saith,

Take, eat, this is my body, by what law of interpretation do you deny His meaning to have been, *This REPRESENTS my body*, or this is a FIGURE or a SYMBOL of my body? Why must the verb *to be* bear, in this text, the sense of *actual existence*, involving the monstrous idea of Transubstantiation, while yet your divines allow the same verb to signify a *figurative being* in all the other passages which I have quoted from the same word of God?

You may say, indeed, that you adopt the figurative meaning in those passages, because the other meaning would involve a gross incongruity. But I beseech you to point out a greater incongruity amongst them all, than the notion that a morsel of bread can actually be changed into the INCARNATE GOD, born of the Virgin—the *true, real body and blood, soul and divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ*, while it continues, to all appearances, just as it was before! Or you may urge, that in those various passages, the senses proved that no change of substance was intended. But certainly this can yield you no ground of argument, so long as the same senses give a positive contradiction to the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

I do not think it likely you would allege that the Almighty could not have changed Isaachar into an ass, or Dan into a snake, or Nebuchadnezzar into a head of gold, or a beast into a kingdom, or a ram into a king. Or that our Lord could not convert Himself into an actual door, way, vine, rock, or consuming fire. Or that He could not transubstantiate stars into angels, and candlesticks into churches, or waters into people, or heads into mountains, or a woman into a city, if it pleased Him. For assuredly there is no force in an objection addressed to Omnipotence. But there is nothing more vast nor enormous in any of these changes than the act which you suppose to transform your little wa-

fers into the incarnate Deity. Indeed, the whole of these wonders would sink into insignificance in comparison with your doctrine that those little wafers are converted into the actual body, soul and divinity of the Son of God *in every quarter of the world, and continually*, so that your priests are in this way working miracles all the while, far greater than the most stupendous prodigies recorded in the Bible.

Perhaps, however, you may say that this change of the consecrated elements is of more importance to the redemption of mankind, and is therefore more worthy of the exercise of miraculous power. But this affords no reason for your doctrine, since it is manifest that our views of the subject are as high as yours, in the true spiritual incorporation of the soul with Christ. The supposed change of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of the Redeemer, gives you no superiority in the essential privileges of that blessed gift, and you gain nothing by it, beyond a display of what we cannot but regard as a sensuous and idolatrous superstition.

But possibly you may suppose that Transubstantiation is required to give greater efficacy to the Sacrament. If this be your idea, we hold it to be another example of delusion. The Sacraments are *outward and visible signs* of the grace given by Christ Himself to the worthy receiver. And you destroy the sacramental character, when you teach that the *sign* is changed into the *reality*. Baptism is also a sacrament, and no less necessary than the Eucharist, not to say even more so, according to your own doctrine, because you hold that infants cannot be saved without Baptism, although they may be saved without the Eucharist. And yet, you do not ask us to believe that there is any *Transubstantiation of the element* in Baptism. You do not consider it necessary that the *water* should be *converted into the HOLY*

GHOST, but regard it as quite sufficient that the blessing of God accompanies its application. The true idea of sacramental efficacy, therefore, instead of being a support, is really fatal to your doctrine. That it adds to the dignity and power of your *priests*, I doubt not; but that it adds to the efficacy of the *Sacrament*, is nothing better than a theological contradiction.

Lastly, you may allege that Transubstantiation yields the most powerful testimony to the triumph of *faith* over the senses, and therefore it deserves to be cherished so devoutly. But permit me to remind you, most Reverend Sir, that FAITH, as propounded by the divine Redeemer, is not a blind assent to assertion without proof, but a spiritual and cordial reception of the revealed Word of God, on the fullest evidence. Hence, miracles and prophecy bore witness to the truth of the Mosaic system. Hence, miracles and prophecy bore witness to the Gospel of Christ, and the mission of His Apostles. Hence, our Lord appealed to His works: "If ye believe not me," saith He, "believe the works."* "If I had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not had sin. But now they have both seen and hated both me and my Father." Thus the appeal which the great Redeemer made was addressed to the *senses* and the *reason* of mankind. And what other course would have been consistent with the laws of the human constitution? Has He not created us with those senses and that reason? And on what possible basis could our faith in Him be placed, if the proofs of the Gospel were not adapted to their testimony?

In strict accordance with this indispensable principle, therefore, the blessed Redeemer presented His divine truth

* John x. 37-8.

in constant harmony with the celestial exhortation delivered through the Prophet Isaiah : “ *Come, now, let us reason together, saith the Lord.*” All His instructions were addressed to the reasoning faculty. All His parables and illustrations were master-pieces of reasoning power. All His miracles were adapted to the senses. Thus the basis of proof, throughout the whole, was laid in the testimony of sense, and the just exercise of the understanding ; and then, when belief was authorized by sense and reason, the power of divine grace built up the Church by the internal work of repentance and faith, in a true spiritual conversion.

The result must surely be perfectly manifest, that there is nothing in the Gospel of our Lord contrary to the senses and reason of mankind. That it leads us to a sublime range of truth which is entirely *above* and *beyond* our natural sense and reason, is indeed most certain. But this is a very different thing from a *contradiction* to sense and reason. The superstructure of a building is *above the foundation*, but it is so far from being in contrariety or opposition to it, that it rests on that foundation for its whole security. The inhabitants dwell in the upper rooms, and do not think of inspecting the basement wall unless there be danger of its failing. And so the Christian’s faith dwells in the upper regions of his spiritual house, and he rarely recurs, on his own account, to the process by which it was erected. And yet he knows full well, that if a successful breach could be made in the evidence of sense and reason, on which the Gospel system is founded, the whole edifice would fall, and involve his hope of happiness in ruin.

But this argument will probably commend itself more favorably to your attention, in the words of the eminent Tertullian. Thus, in his Treatise on the Soul, this celebrated light of the third century expresses himself :—

“It is not allowable for us,” saith he, “to cast doubt upon the evidence of the senses, lest the facts of Christ’s history be destroyed, for it may then be said that He falsely saw Satan fall from heaven, or that He falsely heard the voice of the Father bearing witness of Him, or that He was deceived when he touched the mother-in-law of Peter—or *that the flavor was something else than of wine, which he consecrated in memory of His blood.* But nature did not thus make a mockery of the Apostles. Faithful was their sight and hearing on the Mount : faithful their taste of the wine which had been water, in the marriage of Galilee : faithful the touch of Thomas, who was thereby made a believer. Read the testimony of John : *That which we have seen, saith he, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life.* But all this testimony is false, if nature lies to us in the senses of the eyes, and the ears, and the hands.”*

The same father pursues this argument in his treatise against the heretic, Marcion, where he asks this significant question : “ Shall I believe the Lord concerning the *interior* substance, who has deceived me concerning the *exterior* ? If he is fallacious in what is manifest, how shall he be true in what is concealed ?”†

Thus, then, we see that *faith* can never be truly alleged in that which, while it is, in itself, a proper object of the senses, nevertheless contradicts their whole testimony. In your supposed miracle of transubstantiation, your people may have what you are pleased to call *faith*, but it is not the faith of the Gospel, because this can only rest on the Word of God, and is always consistent with the senses and the reason of mankind. Instead of this, you insist on giving

* Tertul. de Anima, p. 276.

† Ib. adv. Marcionem, Lib. 3, p. 401.

your own interpretation to the language of the Saviour, which I have proved to admit of the representative or figurative meaning by the usage of Scripture, and that such was the doctrine of the primitive Church, according to the fathers and the oldest Liturgies. But bread and wine are the objects of sense, *material things*. And flesh and blood are the objects of sense, *material likewise*. The sight bears witness that the words are in the Scripture, but cannot settle the meaning in which they should be understood, until it beholds the subject of your supposed miracle. And then the *same sight* which proves the words to be in the Bible, also proves that the bread and the wine remain unchanged in their material properties. While along with the *sight*, there is the *touch*, the *taste*, and the *smell*, all corroborating its testimony.

Where, then, I pray you, is the evidence of your faith? Not in the Scriptures, which admit of a very different and perfectly reasonable meaning. Not in the primitive Church, for that is directly against you. Not in the senses, for four out of five testify the contrary; and the fifth, that is, the hearing, is incapable of judging whether the consecrated element be flesh or bread. Not in the reason, since nothing can be more absurd than the proposition that bread and wine can be transubstantiated into flesh and blood, and yet retain all the sensible qualities of their proper nature, just as they were before! Not in the utility of the supposed miracle, because the true spiritual incorporation with Christ is as well secured on our system as on yours: or rather, as I should have said, much better; for a false belief can expect no benefit from Him who is the truth itself. Not in the analogy with the other Sacrament of Baptism, since it is confessed by all your own divines that the ingrafting of the penitent sinner into the body of the Saviour is accomplished

in that sacrament, without a change in the outward element of water. In a word, your so-called *faith* in this monstrous idea has no evidence at all. Your people take for evidence the assertion of your priesthood, but that alone is no sufficient authority. True faith demands the divine testimony, addressed to the senses and the reason of mankind. Take this away, and it is no longer *faith*, but simple credulity.

Your favorite advocate, however, thinks something may be gained for his cause by proving that the divines of the Church of England maintain the doctrine of the *real presence*! But, in the proper spiritual sense, we have never doubted it. He calls that, indeed, the *main point* under consideration, and yet he could hardly have been ignorant that it was not a point at all. Our Church, it is true, does not employ the phrase, lest it might be misapprehended, but she declares distinctly that the faithful receiver of the Eucharistic Sacrament does *verily and indeed* receive Christ's body and blood, in a heavenly and spiritual manner, through faith; while she utterly and absolutely rejects and protests against the gross, sensuous, and idolatrous dogma of Transubstantiation. This presence of Christ she holds to be *real*, that is, *true*, and none the less real because it is spiritual, but rather the more so, since it is the divine nourishment of the soul, which, being spiritual in its nature, could not be strengthened by a partaking of actual flesh and blood. Hence Dr. Milner raises here, as in many other places, a false issue, to blind the eyes of his simple Protestant readers, and all he quotes on that subject, to an intelligent Episcopalian, amounts precisely to nothing.

Even in this, however, his usual disingenuousness attends him. The extracts he gives from the English divines are garbled and unfair, stopping entirely short of their full meaning. To prove my assertion, I will trouble you with

only one example, where he quotes him whom he justly calls *the profound Hooker*, as follows :—

“ I wish men would give themselves more to meditate, with silence, on what we have in the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner *how*. Sith we all agree that Christ, by the sacrament, doth really and truly perform in us His promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by consubstantiation, or else by transubstantiation ? ”

What simple-minded reader would not suppose, from this, that Hooker was well disposed to both these carnal views of the real presence, and was ready to assent to the probable truth of either ? And yet, in the very same division of the work from which Dr. Milner has so dexterously culled this passage, the admirable author states the true doctrine in these words :—

“ The *real presence* of Christ's most blessed body and blood is *not* to be sought for *in the Sacrament*, but IN THE WORTHY RECEIVER OF THE SACRAMENT. And with this the very order of our Saviour's words agreeth ; first, *Take and eat* ; then, *This is my body which is broken for you* : first, *Drink ye all of this* ; then followeth, *This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins*. I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ, when and where the bread is His body, or the cup His blood, *but only in the heart and soul of him which receiveth them*. As for the sacraments, they *really exhibit*, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them, *they are not really*, nor do *really contain in themselves that grace, which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow*.”

“ If on all sides it be confessed that the grace of Baptism is poured into the soul of man, that by water we receive it,

although it be neither seated in the water, nor the water changed into it: what should induce men to think that the *grace of the Eucharist must needs be in the Eucharist, before it can be in us that receive it?*"*

Such is the doctrine of all our standard divines upon the subject of the *real presence*; not a corporeal presence on the altar, and in the hands of the priest, but a spiritual presence vouchsafed by Christ Himself to the faithful soul. The bread and the wine are changed by the prayer of consecration, so as now to *represent* what they did not represent before, viz., the body and blood of the blessed Redeemer, by virtue of His own appointment. By this, therefore, they become the *figure* of His death and passion, in the words of Tertullian, Jerome, and the Liturgies of Ambrose and Cyril of Jerusalem; or the *sign* of His body, in the words of Augustine; or the *typical and symbolical body*, in the words of Origen. By this they become a *Sacrament*, for a Sacrament is a *sacred sign* of the thing signified, and not *the thing itself*. But when received with a faithful and a loving heart towards the blessed Redeemer, with lively gratitude for His wondrous sacrifice upon the cross, with charity towards all mankind, and with an earnest desire to show our love towards our crucified Lord, by forsaking all sin, and obeying His pure commandments: then He bestows His real presence on the soul, and strengthens and refreshes it in the life of holiness, and draws it more and more to Himself in a true spiritual and heavenly union.

The efforts of your favorite, at the close of his 38th letter, to justify your dogma of Transubstantiation, are a display of the most manifest sophistry. And yet, as he has evidently thought his comparisons might impose upon the weak and thoughtless reader, it may be my duty to consider them.

* Eccl. Pol., B. 5, ch. 67, § 6, 3d vol. of Keble's Ed., p. 540.

Thus, in replying to the conclusive argument derived from the contradiction of the senses, he hesitates not to say, that such a test "would undermine the incarnation itself. With equal reason the Jews said of Christ, *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not His mother called Mary?* Hence they concluded that He was not what he proclaimed Himself to be, the Son of God. In like manner, Joshua thought he saw a man, and Jacob that he touched one, and Abraham that he ate with three men, the different senses of the patriarchs misleading them. Again, were not *the eyes of the disciples, going to Emmaus, held so that they should not know Jesus?* Did not the same thing happen to Mary Magdalene and the other Apostles? But independently of Scripture, philosophy and experience show that there is no essential connection between our sensations and the objects which occasion them, and that, in fact, each of our senses frequently deceives us. How unreasonable, then, is it, as well as impious, to oppose their fallible testimony to God's infallible word!"

Here we have a set of apparent analogies, put forth in Dr. Milner's easy, dashing style, with as much apparent confidence as if he thought they were really conclusive, instead of being, in truth, totally inapplicable to the real question.

Thus, in the matter of our Lord's divinity, how can it be said that the Jews were deceived by their senses? They *beheld* a man of humble parentage, though truly descended from David. They *heard* His holy doctrine, they *saw* His wondrous works, and in all this there was *no deception of their senses, but the very contrary*. Hence, the Saviour always appealed to the testimony of their senses, to prove that He was divine. How? Not because they could *behold* His Deity, for they knew that NO MAN HAD BEHELD

GOD AT ANY TIME ; but because they saw Him do what none but God could perform, and therefore were bound to believe His Deity, as a certain conclusion from their reason, guided by the predictions of their own prophets, which they saw Him fulfilling before their own eyes. Nothing, therefore, can be more untrue than that the Jews were deceived by their senses. They were misled by an evil heart of unbelief to attribute the miracles of Christ to the agency of Satan, instead of to the power of God, and hence their error was not an error of the sense, but of the reason. What opinion of his reader's understanding could Milner have entertained, to suppose that the sin of the Jews could be confounded, by any mind of the most ordinary discernment, with the argument against Transubstantiation !

Equally irrelevant is his reference to the patriarchs' being *misled by their senses*, when it pleased the Lord to appear to them in a bodily form. For their senses were not misled. They saw what was presented to their eyes, correctly. They heard what was presented to their ears, correctly. There was no error *in the senses*. But whether the being who addressed them was the Deity, or an angel, or a man, *was not a question for the senses to determine*. And when they were informed of His true character, the sense of hearing did not oppose the sense of sight, but only gave the information to their reason, or their intellect, that the form which they beheld was assumed by the Divinity. Here, therefore, there was no contradiction of the sense, because the form assumed was *really* assumed, and the testimony of the sense and the conclusions of the reason agreed perfectly together. What imaginable connection is there between this, and the monstrous idea of Transubstantiation ?

Still less, if possible, can Milner make a parallel out of the fact that the disciples' eyes *were held so that they should*

not know Jesus. For it is absurd to suppose that their want of recognition was caused by the error of the senses. They did not believe, as yet, that He could rise from the dead. They could not suppose that it was Himself they beheld, and therefore concluded that it must be some other. Hence, they saw truly what was the subject of the sense, and in the testimony of sense, therefore, there was no deception: but their reason was not enlightened, until He opened the eyes of their understanding. Had it been otherwise, indeed, what proof would the Church have had, that our Lord had ever risen at all? Let us only, to humor Dr. Milner, give up the evidence of eyesight, and the whole Gospel history may be resolved into an *error of the senses*, and thus, to favor the absurdity of Transubstantiation, the sure basis of our entire faith in Christ will be effectually overthrown.

And, to cap the climax of this preposterous sophistry, your author coolly tells his readers that *philosophy and experience show no essential connection between our sensations and the objects which occasion them, and that, in fact, each of our senses frequently deceives us.* But how do men discover when any of their senses seem to have erred? Is it not, in every instance, because these very senses correct the false impression, or because the senses of those around them are enabled to decide that the deceived individual is laboring under some disorder of the nerves or brain? Suppose, for example, that a man is deceived by an appearance at night, which a superstitious fancy supposes to be supernatural, and he exerts courage to go up to it, and convince himself that he was mistaken. Are his senses deceived? Not at all; but on the contrary, the *senses*, when fully exercised, correct the *error of the imagination*. And if, instead of using his senses, he flies away in terror, is it not manifest that he is still not deceived by his *senses*, but by

his own weak and superstitious *thought*? The only exceptions to the rule are those produced by disease and insanity. And although these are apt to continue so long as their causes are not removed, yet the rest of mankind are sure to decide correctly, and therefore treat the case *according to the testimony of their senses*, without doubt or hesitation. What possible application can this bear to a doctrine like that of Transubstantiation, which sets at naught the *senses of the whole world*, and commands all mankind to acknowledge that bread is flesh, and wine is blood, and that a little wafer, when consecrated by the priest, is changed into the incarnate Saviour, and must be worshipped forthwith as a present Deity? And yet Dr. Milner gravely saith: "*How unreasonable is it, as well as impious, to oppose the fallible testimony of the senses to God's infallible word,*" as if any man could know what is the Word of God except by using his senses! For the senses and the reason of man are the work of the same Almighty Being who has given us His word. Who, then, *is the unreasonable and the impious*, he who sets the works and the word of the Deity in irreconcilable opposition to each other, or he who reverences both, and preserves them in the constant harmony which marks the wisdom and perfection of the Creator, the Redeemer and the Sanctifier, as the One living and true God?

I have not yet arrived, however, at the end of Dr. Milner's irreverent and absurd paralogisms. In answer to the question, How Transubstantiation can be true, he puts forth what he intends his readers to understand as facts, presenting an equal amount of difficulty. And first, he saith that, "if we insist on using this *How* of the Jews with respect to the *mysteries* revealed in Scripture, we must renounce our faith in it." But what has that to do with Transubstantiation? This is not a mystery, but a CONTRADICTION. It

is not a doctrine *revealed in Scripture*, but a dogma *neither revealed in Scripture nor anywhere else*, until it was started by the corrupt superstition of the eighth century, and adopted as a notion favorable to the power and influence of the priesthood. 2dly, Dr. Milner informs us that *we do not know what constitutes the essence of matter and space*. And what then? Does this prove that we do not know the difference between bread and flesh, or wine and blood, or a consecrated symbol and the incarnate Deity?

“I say 3dly,” continues our author, “that Christ *transfigured* His body on Mount Thabor, bestowing on it many of the properties of a spirit, before His passion, and that after He had ascended up to heaven, He appeared to St. Paul on the road to Damascus, and *stood by him* in the Castle of Jerusalem.” No one doubts these facts, but what have they to do with the question? Because I believe that our Lord was *transfigured* on Mount Thabor, must I therefore believe that a Romish priest can *transubstantiate* a little wafer into His sacred body, blood, soul and divinity? Because I believe that He *appeared* to St. Paul on the road to Damascus, must I therefore believe that He is actually present where He *does not appear at all*? Because I believe that He *stood by the Apostle* in the Castle of Jerusalem, must I believe that He submits himself, in the disguise of a morsel of bread, to be handled, broken, and offered up afresh by the superstitious invention of men, on every altar in Christendom? Was that the form in which He appeared to His true servants, to claim their faith and adoration? Assuredly, if it were lawful to doubt Dr. Milner’s earnest devotion to his professed object, one would be tempted to believe that by recurring to such manifestations of Christ as these, he must have intended, covertly, to show, in bolder relief, the enormous absurdity of the Romish doctrine.

And lastly, your author asserts, "that God fills all space, and is WHOLE AND ENTIRE IN EVERY PARTICLE OF MATTER." The first part of this proposition is true, but the latter clause is an enormous error, directly justifying the wildest Pantheism. Nay, although it is evidently adopted to favor the dogma of Transubstantiation, yet it destroys even this, because if God be *whole and entire in every particle of matter*, He must be present before the act of priestly consecration, in the wafer; and *every other particle of matter*, as well as that, may lawfully receive the homage of our worship. The defence which Dr. Milner would probably offer, is derived from the argument that the Deity cannot be divided into parts, and therefore, wherever He is, He must be whole and entire; from which it is plausibly inferred that as He fills all space, He must be whole and entire in every atom. But this is one of those so-called demonstrations of philosophy, with which the faith of the Christian would seek no fellowship whatever. Neither is it lawful thus to speculate upon a subject so awfully above our comprehension, beyond the plain guidance of the Scriptures themselves. That God is omnipresent, His own word declares: "DO NOT I FILL HEAVEN AND EARTH? SAITH THE LORD." But the proposition that He is *whole and entire* in every particle of matter, is the deduction of fallible human reason, without any warrant from revelation, and is moreover a perilous assertion, because it affords a basis for one of the most fatal errors in the theosophy of mankind. To my own mind, I hesitate not to say that it is an absurdity. We might as well say that because we cannot separate the sunlight into parts, therefore the sun is whole and entire in every atom that it illuminates. Or that because we cannot divide the ocean into parts, therefore the ocean is whole and entire in every particle of foam. If Transubstantiation stands in need of

an argument like this, it is a very manifest sign of the embarrassment which the doctrine inflicts on its defenders.

Kindred to this is the next assertion of Dr. Milner, that "*my own soul is in my right hand and in my left, whole and entire,*" which is an assumption incapable of proof, and at war with the prevailing opinion that the soul resides in the brain, and that the nerves convey its will to all the other parts of the system, and carry the impressions of the senses to the seat of the intellect. I cannot perceive, therefore, why your author should have supposed that such a proposition could help his cause, unless it can be shown that the readiness of some men to adopt one notion without evidence or reason, affords a good argument why all the rest should hold another of a still more absurd and revolting character.

The concluding proposition of Dr. Milner, however, looks a little more like a fair analogy. "The bread and wine," saith he, "that I eat and drink, are transubstantiated into my own flesh and blood. This body of mine, which some years ago was of a small size, has now increased to its present bulk. It will soon turn into dust, or perhaps be devoured by animals or cannibals, and thus become a part of their substance, and nevertheless, God will restore it entire at the last day."

This is plausible, and yet does not at all meet the point of difficulty. The bread and wine do not become transubstantiated into my flesh and blood, *while they retain the same appearance and sensible properties which they had before.* On the contrary, the change which they undergo has been traced to a great extent *by the senses*, in the process of dissection; and when it can be traced no longer, *nothing remains to contradict the senses.* This kind of transubstantiation, therefore, is so far from aiding the doctrine of Rome, that it only illustrates its absurdity.

And the same observation may be applied to both the other supposed cases of analogy. The body of the infant increases to the size of man, but we test the change by *the evidence of our senses*, and no one pretends that the infant can become a man, and yet *look as much like an infant as it did before*. And even in the last wondrous change of the resurrection of the dead, it was never dreamed of by the mind of mortal that the dust of death could be quickened into life, and *yet remain dust to all appearance*. Nor yet, that the body which may have become a part of the substance of other bodies shall be called into a new and glorified existence at the Almighty word of God, and *still continue to form a part of those other bodies as much as ever*.

With all the ingenuity of your favorite Dr. Milner, therefore, we are quite safe in defying him or any other to produce a single argument of the slightest weight in support of your doctrine of Transubstantiation. It has no evidence from Scripture, when the language of Scripture is fairly understood ; but on the contrary, it undermines the whole testimony of Scripture, and leaves the Gospel of Christ without any foundation of sense or reason. It is opposed to the teaching of the primitive Church. It contradicts all the senses, though the subject-matter, bread and wine, and flesh and blood, are the objects of the senses, and of the senses only. In a word, it is the most enormous imposition on the reason of mankind that was ever attempted or accomplished since the world began. And its necessary results are, therefore, in direct hostility to the truth of God, inevitably leading its unhappy victims either to idolatrous superstition on the one hand, or to total infidelity on the other.

L E T T E R X X X V I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE 39th letter of your favorite, Dr. Milner, is devoted to the defence of your modern innovation, which he terms *Communion in one kind* ; or, in other words, the administration of the Eucharist, to all except the officiating priest, with the bread only—depriving them of the wine—under the pretence, that as the Body, Blood, Soul and Divinity of our Lord are perfect and entire under either species, the communication of one is equivalent to both, and hence the Church was competent to regulate it, according to her discretion, as a matter of “CHANGEABLE DISCIPLINE.”

The introductory remarks of your advocate with respect to the authority of the Church as the interpreter of Scripture, and the regulator of rites and ceremonies, have no proper bearing on this point in our controversy. That we admit the authority of the Church, has been already fully shown in my letters on the Rule of Faith, where its proper bounds and limits are defined. But we distinguish between the authority of the whole *Catholic Church* and that of a divided portion, on your own principle ; and we deny that there has been, or could be, any action by the whole, since the ambition of the Papacy consummated the great schism which separated the East from the West in the ninth century. We also deny that the Church has any power to change the express precept of Christ, who is her divine

Head, Lord and Master. And therefore, when He, whose sole prerogative it is to institute the Sacrament, gave the positive command, "*Drink ye ALL of this,*" and the whole Catholic Church, for more than twelve centuries together, interpreted it as including the laity: we utterly deny your right to contradict both the Saviour and the Church by taking one-half of the Sacrament away from the people.

It was not until the year 1415 that the Council of Constance, which you hold to be *General*, and therefore infallible, ventured to legalize this crying innovation. The reader will find a statement of your own historian, Fleury, on the subject,* with some accompanying remarks; but here I shall set down the very language of the decree, by which it will be plainly seen that the Council acknowledged the change from the institution of Christ and the primitive system:—

"ALTHOUGH CHRIST INSTITUTED THIS VENERABLE SACRAMENT," saith the decree, "UNDER BOTH THE SPECIES OF BREAD AND WINE,—AND ALTHOUGH IT WAS RECEIVED UNDER BOTH THE SPECIES IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH,—nevertheless, in order to avoid certain dangers and scandals, it was AFTERWARDS received by the *administrators* under both species, and BY THE LAITY ONLY UNDER THE SPECIES OF BREAD, as it is to be most firmly believed, and in nowise to be doubted, that the whole body and blood of Christ are contained as well under the species of bread as under the species of wine. Wherefore, as this custom has been reasonably introduced by the Church and the holy fathers, and observed for a very long period (*diutissimé*), it is to be taken for the law, which must not be censured, nor changed without the Church's authority. Therefore, it should be held

* Pages 174, 175.

erroneous to say that the observance of this custom is unlawful or sacrilegious ; and those who pertinaciously assert the contrary to the premises shall be imprisoned as heretics, and heavily punished (*tanquam hæreticî arcendi sunt et graviter puniendi*), by the diocesans of the places, or their officials, or by the inquisitors of heretical pravity.”*

Thus, we have the distinct testimony of the Council of Constance itself that the Eucharist was received in *both the species of bread and wine in the primitive Church*. But afterwards they say that the laity received it only under the species of bread. It may be well to show *how long afterwards* it was before the old rule was done away, and the new change was introduced, which grew, by degrees, into a custom.

Beginning about the year 450, we find Pope Leo the Great severely censuring those who, being influenced by the error of the Manicheans, received the Bread of the Sacrament, but refused the wine, because flesh and wine were both forbidden by the discipline of those heretics. This, by the way, is another proof that the Bread was not then supposed to be *transubstantiated* into flesh, for otherwise they would have refused that also. The other point, however, is the only one which concerns our present subject. And here it is evident that the established rule of the Church was to give both the species to the laity, since the communicants whom the Pope reproves could not have been exposed to censure for refusing the wine, unless it had been offered to them.†

About the same time, viz., at the great Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, we have an interesting case of an

* Hard. Con., Tom. 8, p. 381. Concil. Constant., Sess. xiii.

† Leonis Op., p. 106. Sermon. xli.

accusation brought by three Presbyters of the Church at Edessa, against their Bishop, Ibas, in which the tenth charge was, "that wine was not furnished to distribute to the people at the sacrifice of the altar, except in very small quantity, bad and muddy, as if it had been fresh from the vintage ; that the clergy who were appointed to administer were obliged to bring from the tavern almost six measures, which did not suffice them, so that those to whom they gave the sacred body made signs and went out, because the blood was wanting."* This clearly shows that the people not only received the wine, but expected to be supplied well and liberally.

Again, in the Council of Bracara, held A. D. 675, we have this full instruction on the subject :—

" We have heard," saith this Council, " that certain men, influenced by a schismatical ambition, offer milk instead of wine in the divine sacrifices, contrary to the divine orders, and the institutions of the Apostles ; that others give the people a dipped Eucharist as the performance of the Communion ; that some even do not offer expressed wine in the sacrament of the dominical cup, but communicate the people with the grapes. But how contrary this is to the evangelical and apostolical doctrine, and to the custom of the Church, is easy to prove from that fountain of truth, from whom the mysteries of the sacraments have proceeded. For when the Master of truth commended the true sacrifice of our salvation to His disciples, we know that He blessed and gave to them not milk, but bread and the cup, in this sacrament. And as to those who in the performance of the Communion give a dipped Eucharist to the people, neither does this accord with the testimony taken from the Gospel,

* Hard. Con. Gen., Tom. 2, p. 519, Con. Chalcedon.

for our Lord delivered both His body and His blood to the Apostles, and the commendation of the body separately, and of the blood separately, is recorded. But that the people should communicate from the unexpressed grapes, is quite disorderly. For, according to the rule which every teacher sets forth, wine and water mixed together should be offered, because we see the people to be understood by the water, while the wine shows the blood of Christ. Therefore let no one hereafter offer in the divine sacrifices, except according to the sentence of the ancient Councils, bread only, and the cup of wine and water mixed ; and any who acts otherwise than it is commanded, shall cease from sacrificing, until, being corrected by the satisfaction of penitence, he may return to the office which he had lost.”*

Here we see, distinctly, that the primitive rule was insisted upon, until near the 8th century ; but there are other proofs that it continued much longer. For in the Council of Clermont, A. D. 1095, the 28th Canon reads as follows :

“ Let no one communicate at the altar, but in the body separately, and the blood in like manner, except it be from necessity and caution.”†

This brings us to the 11th century, and still we can carry the testimony yet later. Thus, in the constitutions of Richard Poore, Bishop of Salisbury, in A. D. 1217, we have this passage, addressed to his clergy :—

“ You ought, moreover, to instruct the laity how often they should communicate, that they may not doubt in any manner of the truth of Christ’s body and blood. For without doubt they receive, under the species of bread, that which hung for us upon the cross : *they receive from the cup*

* Hard. Con., Tom. 3, 1032–3, Concil. Bracarense, cap. 2.

† Ib., Tom. 6, p. 2, 1719, Concil. Claramont., Can. xxviii.

that which was effused from the side of Christ ; *they drink that*, believing, as said Augustine, which they had first shed in rage.”*

This was the period when Transubstantiation was fully established as the prevailing doctrine of the Church, and the danger of spilling any portion of what was now believed to be the actual blood of the Redeemer, gave rise to some new laws, of which the following is a specimen :—

“ We command,” saith the Constitution of Walter de Kirkham, Bishop of Durham, A. D. 1255, “ that if by negligence anything of the blood of Christ shall drop upon the ground, it shall be licked up with the tongue, the table shall be scraped on which it fell ; if there was no table, the place must not be trodden, but scraped and consumed in the fire and the ashes buried within the altar, and the priest shall do penance five days.”†

Thus we learn what the Council of Constance meant by “ certain dangers and scandals” having given rise to the custom of withdrawing the cup from the laity entirely. The danger and the scandal referred to the spilling of the supposed actual blood of Christ, which was chiefly to be apprehended in handing the wine to the people. The necessity imposed upon the priest in such a case, requiring him to lick up the consecrated wine from the ground, was a new and by no means an acceptable sort of discipline, and in order to avoid it, the custom was introduced, for a time, of sucking the wine through a tube. But, finally, the more complete remedy was adopted of giving only the bread to the laity, and thus the superstitious and idolatrous figment of Transubstantiation produced an inexcusable departure from the primitive doctrine and practice, in open despite of

* Hard. Con., Tom. 7, p. 99.

† Ib., Tom. 7, p. 493.

the institution of Christ, the authority of the Apostles, and the voice of the whole Catholic Church, for at least twelve centuries together.

Having thus proved, from your own witnesses, that this most serious depravation of the blessed Eucharist is a mere novelty, established without authority or excuse, in the very wantonness of power, I return to the argument of your favorite author, which is worthy of the cause and the advocate.

He begins by acknowledging—what it was impossible to deny—that our blessed Saviour instituted the Eucharist under both the species of bread and wine; “but it must be observed,” saith Dr. Milner, “that He then made it a *sacrifice* as well as a *sacrament*, and that He ordained His twelve Apostles as *priests*, to consecrate this sacrament and offer this sacrifice. Now for the latter purpose,” continues he, “namely, a sacrifice, it was requisite that a *victim should be really present*, and, at least, *mystically immolated*, which was then, and is still, performed in the Mass, by the *symbolical* disunion or separate consecration of the body and the blood. It was requisite, also, for the completion of the sacrifice, that *the priests who had immolated the victim, by mystically separating its body and its blood, should consummate it in both of these kinds*. Hence it is seen that the command of Christ, on which our opponents lay so much stress, *Drink ye all of this*, regards the Apostles, *as priests*, and not the laity, as communicants.”

The chief points in this statement which call for notice are: first, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist is a *sacrifice*; next, that a victim should *really be present*, and at least *mystically immolated*; and thirdly, that the Apostles were the priests who immolated the victim, and therefore were told to *Drink of the Cup*, AS PRIESTS, which of course

deprives the words of Christ of all application to the laity.

With respect to the first and second of these points, I grant that as the Eucharist was instituted in commemoration of our Lord's *death*, and as it is certain that His death was the *great sacrifice* for the sins of the world, therefore, the *showing* or representing of His death, must also be a *showing* or representing of the sacrifice. But it has been fully proved that as His death and sacrifice were consummated in *reality* on Calvary, so they could only be exhibited *figuratively* in the sacrament. And Dr. Milner himself is compelled to admit the fact, since, while he is obliged, of course, according to your novel doctrine of Transubstantiation, to contend that the *victim is really present*, yet he only asserts that this victim is *mystically* (that is, *allegorically* or *emblematically*) IMMOLATED. It is very obvious, however, that a *real host* (which word signifies a victim, from the Latin *hostia*) must require a *real immolation*, because a victim who is not really slain is a contradiction in terms. And hence, your doctrine of the corporal presence, after all, leaves you to the *commemorative* and *symbolical representation* of the very point for which the Eucharist was instituted, viz., the *showing the death of Christ until He come*, in the words of the Apostle. For although you insist that the Saviour is *really present*, in His body, blood, soul and divinity, yet you do not pretend that He is really sacrificed or offered up to His Father, except in the mystical, figurative, or symbolical interpretation, which refers of necessity to His sacrifice upon the cross. And hence, notwithstanding your imaginary Transubstantiation of the elements, your sacramental theory claims no more reality in the *sacrifice* of Christ, or the offering of His death by the priest, than our own.

The true doctrine of sacrifice, however, is that which St.

Augustine lays down so clearly in his Commentary on the 130th Psalm. "If thou wouldst have sacrifices," saith the Psalmist, "I would give it, but thou delightest not in burnt-offerings. Therefore it was superfluous to seek either rams, or bulls, or any similar victim, in order to please God. What means this, that God is not delighted with holocausts, that He does not accept sacrifice, and is propitiated without sacrifice? If there be no sacrifice, there is no priest. But we have a High Priest in heaven, who intercedes for us with the Father: (for He entered into the Holy of Holies, within the veil, where the High Priest in figure entered once a year, as the Lord has been offered, once for all time. HE OFFERED HIMSELF, HE IS THE PRIEST, HE IS THE VICTIM, and He has entered in the most holy place once, and dieth no more, nor has death any more dominion over Him.) We are secure that we have this High Priest, and there let us offer also our victim. And let us see what sacrifice we ought to offer, since our God is not delighted with holocausts, as you hear in the Psalm. But there He showed what He would offer. *The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, God does not despise.*"* And again, saith the same great teacher, "What wilt thou offer for thyself? Offer thyself. What does the Lord ask of thee, unless thyself?"† "For we ourselves are the best and most eminent sacrifice."‡

This, therefore, is the *sacrifice* which we offer in the Eucharist. We *commemorate* the atoning sacrifice of Christ, once made for all, by the appointed symbols of His death and passion, and we *actually offer ourselves*, saying, in the true spirit of the primitive and Catholic Church: "And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves,

* S. Aug. Op., Tom. 4, p. 1094.

† Ib., Tom. 5, p. 288.

‡ Ib., 7, p. 431.

our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto Thee.”*

The third point of your favorite Milner's statement, viz., that the Apostles were told to drink of the cup, *as priests*, is easily shown to be a mere specimen of sophistry, by his own testimony. For he is careful to inform his readers, in a note, that “*neither priests nor Bishops receive under more than one kind, when they do not offer up the holy sacrifice;*” that is to say, there is no one, except the officiating minister, who does receive the mystical blood of Christ; and all the rest, though they be priests, or even Bishops, are placed *in the same category as the laity*. How, then, does the argument apply, that our Saviour's language, *Drink ye all of this*, regarded the Apostles *as priests*, and not as *laymen*, when the Church of Rome herself makes no difference between the priests and the laity in the act of communing, and withholds the cup equally from both? He insinuates, indeed, that the Apostles “*immolated the victim;*” but this, whether in the Romish sense or in any other, is in the face of the Scripture. For it is undeniable that our Lord Himself was the sole officiating priest on the occasion: moreover, the institution was perfectly new to the Apostles, and they could have been nothing more than receiving communicants: in addition to which, it is obvious that the idea of *twelve* persons uniting in the act of consecrating the elements, is at total variance with your own doctrine, as well as with the universal practice of the Church, since there can be only *One* who acts as priest, in the celebration of the Eucharist, and all the other communicants receive alike, without distinction. Thus, then, it is plain that our Saviour's command, *Drink ye all of this*, could not possibly

* See the Prayer after the Consecration, in the American Liturgy.

have referred to the Apostles *as priests*. And were it otherwise, it is equally plain that your Church would sin against Milner's interpretation by not giving the cup to the priests and Bishops who communicate, any more than to the laity.

The next argument presented by this writer appears in the assertion that the scriptural phrase, "Breaking of Bread," implies the communicating with bread alone. And assuredly I cannot but marvel at its boldness and impiety. For if such be the meaning of this expression, it must result that the Apostles undertook to celebrate the Eucharist WITHOUT THE WINE! And yet it is certain, by your own doctrine as well as ours, that this would be an impossibility, *for there can be no Eucharist, unless the blood accompanies the body, by the consecration of both the elements.*

Your author does, indeed, assert that St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Chrysostom, were in favor of his opinion. But I am sorry to say that such a statement will hardly pass for evidence, in the total absence of any reference to their writings, especially when I have detected, in so many passages, the unscrupulous liberty which he took in misrepresenting the fathers. He claims support, likewise, from the text of St. Luke,* where it is said that our Lord took bread, and *blssed and brake and gave it* to Cleophas and the other disciple, whose guest he was at Emmaus. It is perfectly manifest, however, that this act was in no respect of a sacramental character. For in the miracle by which the Saviour fed the multitudes with a few loaves and fishes, the language is the very same. "*He blessed, and brake, and gave the loaves* to His disciples," saith St. Matthew;† and St. Mark‡ and St. Luke§ record the act in precisely a

* Ch. xxiv., 30.

† Ch. vi., 41.

‡ Ch. xiv., 19.

§ Ch. ix., 13.

similar way. And here, no one pretends that there was any celebration of the Eucharist. Doubtless it was the mode which our Lord pursued on all occasions when He gave bread to His disciples, and therefore it was this, in part, most probably, that *opened the eyes* of Cleophas and his companion, because they had often seen Him do the same thing before. Whereas, they were not present when He administered the Eucharist, and could not have recognized Him by an act of which, as yet, they knew nothing.

It is true, however, that the phrase, "Breaking of Bread," which subsequently occurs in the Book of the Acts, and which your author sets forth as a proof that the Apostles "were accustomed, sometimes, at least, to give the sacrament *under one kind alone, though Bishop Porteus has not the candor to confess it,*" has usually been admitted to allude, in a brief way of speaking, to the Eucharist; but it never was supposed, by any theologian of any school, to be *a description of the mode in which the Eucharist was celebrated*; and if Bishop Porteus had confessed that it was, so that the sacrament might be celebrated without the wine, his confession would have been, as Dr. Milner well knew, not an act of *candor*, but an act of *heresy*. His reference to such a text for such a purpose is an exact parallel with the course of Priestley, the English Socinian, who, in order to get rid of the acknowledgment of the blessed Trinity in the Sacrament of Baptism, thought fit to rest upon another passage in the same Book of the Acts,* where it is said that St. Paul had certain disciples "*baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.*" This conduct of the Socinian was a perfect absurdity, because he took the brief language of the historical narrative, in which the *mode* of administering the Sacrament

* Ch. xix., 5.

was not intended to be described, and made it control and virtually nullify the *positive command of the Saviour's institution*. Yet, absurd as it was, Dr. Milner's argument is precisely the same. For look, I pray you, at the closeness of the correspondence. Baptism is mentioned in the Book of the Acts, as performed IN THE NAME OF THE LORD JESUS; therefore, says Priestley, as there is nothing here which refers to the Trinity, the Apostles *were accustomed, sometimes at least, to give baptism in the name of Christ alone*. The Eucharist is mentioned in the same Book of the Acts, as THE BREAKING OF BREAD; therefore, says Milner, as there is nothing here which refers to the wine, the Apostles "*were accustomed, sometimes at least, to give the sacrament under one kind only!*" A beautiful harmony of sentiment, assuredly, between Priestley and Milner, in which the Socinian gets rid of Christian Baptism on the one hand, by the very same logic which your favorite employs to mutilate the Christian Eucharist upon the other!

But there was one great difference between these distinguished men, notwithstanding, which *candor* obliges me to confess. The Socinian was *honest* in his error, because he actually made it the basis of the form in which he administered baptism. While Dr. Milner only intended to mystify his simple Protestant readers, and knew that he was imputing a heresy to the blessed Apostles, in the understanding of ninety-nine out of a hundred, who would never dream of the subtle distinction which lurked under his employment of the word GIVE instead of the word ADMINISTER. He only wanted to impress them with the doctrine of the Council of Constance, that the *receiver* of the Eucharist was just as well provided for by taking the symbolic body of our Lord without the blood, as with it. And provided he could succeed in this, and so bring them blindfold into the Church

of Rome, there would be time enough to clear the fog from their intellect afterwards, by showing them that he did not say the Apostles *administered* the sacrament with bread alone, but that they *gave* the sacrament under the form of bread alone, the wine being offered and received, of course, by the priest or the Apostle who officiated.

This is another specimen of the miserable juggling which marks your order of Jesuits, where words are artfully used on purpose to *convey* a lie, although they do not actually *declare it*. And yet it is most evident that the texts quoted are perfectly incapable of the only sense which your adroit and unscrupulous advocate could maintain consistently with your Church's doctrine. They merely state that the disciples came together to *break bread*, and do not intimate, directly or indirectly, anything further. A single act is therefore mentioned, the *breaking of bread*; and that single act being an essential part of consecration, must have included the *whole administration* of the sacrament. Yea, if there be any difference, it is against the limitation which Dr. Milner would maintain. Because the act of consecration, which could not be performed without the wine, was the very act which required the office of a priest or an Apostle; while the mere *giving* or distributing of the consecrated elements might be as well committed to the deacons.

Your favorite author next proceeds to repeat his charge against the rendering of *and* instead of *or*, in St. Paul's 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, which I have treated in its proper place, and shall not further notice, except by observing that the text has not the slightest bearing on the present question. The language of the Apostle is: that *Whoever shall eat this bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord*. Most manifest it is that if these words be taken to authorize the

reception of the bread without the cup, they must be equally taken to authorize the reception of the cup without the bread. And this last, being an absurdity for which no man ever contended, proves that the idea of Dr. Milner could not possibly have been in the mind of the inspired writer.

We are next told that the Catholic Church, from the time of the Apostles, regarded it as a mere matter of discipline whether the sacrament was to be administered under the species of bread or wine ; that the primitive custom in the time of Tertullian, and during some centuries afterwards, was to allow the Sacrament, under the form of bread, to be taken home to the houses of the communicants, and eaten in private ; while infants, on the other hand, received the Eucharist by giving them a drop of wine.

All of this, however, in the construction for which Dr. Milner contends, I deny confidently. The acts which he alludes to are, indeed, mentioned by some of the fathers, incidentally, but never stated to be the custom of the Church at large, or a *Catholic* custom. On the contrary, they rather appear to have been cases of local and special allowance, and hence they are never found in any Canon of a Council, never recognized in connection with any ancient Liturgy, and never sanctioned by the authority of the Church. If it were otherwise, I ask how it has happened that the *unchangeable* Church of Rome has not retained them any more than ourselves ? “Because it was a mere *matter of discipline*,” saith your author. And this answer, as I shall now proceed to show, is neither true in fact, nor, if it were true, is it, in any proper sense, satisfactory.

That it is not true in fact, is sufficiently obvious from the simple statement of Dr. Milner himself, who rests his whole argument on DOCTRINE. “The Catholic Church,” saith he, “from the time of the Apostles down to the present, EVER

FIRMLY BELIEVING that the whole body, blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ equally subsist under each of the species or appearances of bread and wine, regarded it as a mere matter of discipline which of them was to be received in the holy Sacrament." Here we have the direct avowal that the question of *discipline* was made to depend solely on the question of *faith*, and therefore the change of the discipline, in truth, was neither more nor less than the practical result of the change of doctrine.

For how else did this new discipline, which deprives the laity of the cup, originate? There is no intimation of it in Scripture. There is no consistency in it with the institution nor the command of Christ, who expressly said, *Take, eat, this is my Body. Drink ye ALL of this, for this is my Blood.* There is no declaration resembling it in the primitive fathers. There is not the slightest trace of it in the Councils of the Catholic Church. In point of historical fact, it came in subsequently to your modern heresy of Transubstantiation, which I have proved to have been entirely unknown before the eighth century, when the Councils ceased to be Catholic, and which was not fully established before the twelfth, after the condemnation of Berenger. To this day, all the Oriental Churches repudiate your modern practice, for none of them presumes to deprive the laity of the cup. Indeed, the whole evidence upon the subject demonstrates that your new discipline is essentially connected with your new doctrine. Neither the one nor the other were ever *Catholic*, but *ROMAN*. They grew up in the darkest ages of the Church's history, and bear no more relation to the true faith of Christ than the poison-vine, which is sometimes seen to overtop the branches of the spreading oak, can be said to bear towards the noble trunk that withers under its noxious vigor.

In marked contradistinction from both, therefore, the apostolic system delivered to the Church in the beginning was that which the Church of England restored at the time of the Reformation, viz., that the consecrated Bread was the appointed symbol or figure of the Body, and the consecrated wine, of the Blood of our Lord; and this it was which gave them the sacramental character, since a sacrament is "an outward and visible *sign* of an inward and spiritual grace." The question of discipline, as Dr. Milner calls it, corresponded with this doctrine, because the design of our Lord was, that His Church should commemorate His death for the sins of the world; and hence St. Paul saith so expressly, that *as often as ye eat of this bread and drink of this cup ye do SHOW (or REPRESENT) the Lord's death till He come*. Therefore, the sacrament required the emblem of the body to be broken, and the emblem of the blood to be poured out, because these acts were proper figures of His flesh pierced, and His blood shed upon the Cross. By necessary consequence, the Eucharist could never have been intended to exhibit His blessed body, blood, soul and divinity, *united together, as in life*, since death, for the time, dissolves the union. And in the case of the Saviour, this separation is specially noted, for it is recorded that He *gave up the ghost*, that is, His soul left the body, and went into the place of departed spirits, according to the Creed.

Thus, the novel doctrine of Transubstantiation brought in a contradiction to the fundamental design of the sacrament, and, with perfect consistency, Romanism, after having destroyed the sublime simplicity of the Eucharistic feast, next destroyed the original *mode of administration*, by taking away from all but the officiating priest the emblem of the shed blood of Christ, without which His death is not properly *shown* by the receivers at all. Yet, St. Paul ad-

dressed his language to the whole body of the communicants :—" *As often as YE eat of this bread and drink of this cup, YE do show the Lord's death till He come.*" Why did he not say, *As often as THE OFFICIATING PRIEST EATS OF THIS BREAD AND DRINKS OF THIS CUP, ye do show the Lord's death till He come?* Because it was the gracious will of the Saviour that *all* His people should unite in the same memorial of His passion, since all had the same interest in its celestial benefits. And hence the Church was bound to preserve the *discipline* as well as the *doctrine*, and did, in fact, preserve it until the doctrine was changed.

Thus, then, I prove that Dr. Milner misrepresented the case most seriously in saying, that whether the laity receive the sacrament in one kind or in both kinds, is a *mere matter of changeable discipline*. For this phrase can never be properly applied except to those things which are indifferent in themselves, and in which the Church is left free to use her own discretion. But here the word of Christ *commands*, the word of the Apostle *repeats*, the primitive Church *establishes*, one and the same doctrine and practice. And the modern priesthood of Rome, therefore, by this inexcusable novelty of communion in one kind, through which all their laity are deprived of the power of receiving the Eucharist according to the appointment of the Saviour, stand chargeable with a direct departure from true Catholic principle, and a wanton and tyrannical invasion of the most sacred rights of the people committed to their care.

Your favorite author concludes his 39th letter on this subject by an ingenious but perfectly idle argument, derived from the fact, that Calvin and the English Parliament allowed of communion without the wine, in case of *necessity*. He favors his readers also with one of his choice quotations from Luther, with which, whether it be true or false,

I have no concern. But so far as it respects the English Church, I maintain that the principle of necessity is a lawful excuse in every duty, because the Lord asks no man to do impossibilities. Hence the primitive Church never denied the salvation of those who died in the faith without Baptism, believing that they were to be considered as baptized *in voto*, though death overtook them before they could receive the Sacrament. And the principle assumed the most positive form in the case of the martyrs, many of whom were unbaptized, for all allowed that they were to be considered as baptized in their own blood. But Rome maintains, as well as we do, that a baptism with blood instead of water is *no true Baptism*. And therefore the act of martyrdom could only have been held *equivalent to a true baptism*, on the very ground of that necessity, which your unscrupulous author affects to deride as a plea of no validity.

And this is the argument which he considers quite sufficient to place us in a dilemma! He even confounds the allowance of an occasional *exemption, from necessity*, with the principle of a changeable *discipline*: or, in other words, he denies the difference between the *rule* and the *exception*! He might as well have told his readers that the promise of Christ to the penitent thief upon the Cross, *This day shalt thou be with me in paradise*, was an allowance of a changeable discipline in the law established by Himself, that *Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God*. Baptism was the RULE; the case of the penitent thief, like that of the martyrs, was an EXCEPTION, *from necessity*. And did Dr. Milner really expect such weak sophistry as this to impose upon his readers? Doubtless he did, or he would not have employed it. And his book is full of proofs which show the same contempt for the

intellectual faculties of other men—the same deliberate effort to delude the mind of the unsuspecting inquirer with fallacies which he knew to be worthless, while he trusted that they might prevail.

But where is the resemblance which he affects to show between the course of the Churches of Rome and England? Let me remind you again, Most Reverend Sir, of the Council of Clermont, already quoted in the commencement of this letter,* whose 28th Canon is in these words :—

“Let no one communicate at the altar but in the Body separately, and the Blood in like manner, *except it be from necessity and caution.*”

What was the RULE which this great Council here affirmed in the year 1095? Was it not the very same with that of the primitive Church Catholic, and the Reformed Church of England?

And what was the new RULE laid down by the Council of Constance, A. D. 1415, but a flat contradiction, *without any pretence of necessity*? as indeed no such necessity could exist for refusing, henceforth, to give the cup to the laity, which had been their undoubted privilege for twelve centuries together.

But the Council of Clermont was a Council in which Pope Urban II. presided, and your Church, even so late as the eleventh century, was orthodox and right in the old Catholic mode of giving the cup to the laity. And hence, Rome herself, of an earlier day, condemns the Rome of the fifteenth century, and justifies the Reformed Church of England, both in the rule and the exception. The maxim, in all other matters, is, that the *exception proves the rule.*

But your modern Church has changed the exception into the rule, and the rule into the exception. True, indeed, the Council of Constance refers to certain dangers and scandals, as a reason for the innovation. And yet it is hard to imagine that the laity could not be made to observe as much propriety in the year 1415, as they had for twelve centuries together. This, therefore, was an excuse too weak for their justification, and hence they must stand condemned for presumptuously contradicting Popes and Councils, Fathers and Apostles, and even Christ Himself, in the exercise of their proud prerogative to change the original law at their own mere will and pleasure.

This brings me to the end of your favorite author's letter. But I may not conclude without adverting to two other monstrous innovations and corruptions of modern Romanism connected with the subject, which he very wisely passed by, namely, your solitary Masses, where the priest administers the Eucharist to himself alone, and your exacting payment for the Sacrament; the first being directly in the face of the Saviour's institution, and the second as plainly against His precept to the Apostles: "Freely ye have received, freely give," while both are condemned repeatedly by the Canons of the Councils.

Thus, in the Capitular of Theodulf, the Bishop of Aurelia, A. D. 797, we find the following plain testimony against solitary Masses:—

"The priest should by no means celebrate the Mass alone; because, as it cannot be celebrated without the salutation of the priest, with the response of the people, so it ought not to be celebrated by one. For there must be those around him, whom he may salute, and by whom the response may be given to him, and he must remember the saying of our

Lord: *Wherever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.*"*

Again, in a Council held by order of Charlemagne, A. D. 813, Canon xliii., we read these words :—

"No presbyter, in our judgment, can rightly perform the Mass alone. For how shall he say, *The Lord be with you*, or how shall he give the admonition, *Lift up your hearts*, and many others similar to these, when there is no other person present with him?"†

Again, in another collection of Canons, we have the following :—

"It is decreed that none of the presbyters shall presume to celebrate Mass alone: because neither the words of our Lord and Saviour, nor the writings of the Apostle Paul, declare it, nor is it found in the Acts of the Apostles, that it ought to be so done in anywise. This custom, therefore, so contrary to Apostolic and ecclesiastical authority, must be eradicated, and thoroughly extirpated by the priests of the Lord; and if any one shall hereafter presume to do this thing, he shall be liable to degradation."‡

And again, in the 6th Council of Paris, held by the Bishops of all the Provinces, A. D. 829, the 48th Canon repeats the same prohibition, decreeing, "that none of the presbyters shall presume to celebrate the Mass alone; and if any should transgress this rule, he should be subject to canonical correction."§

A multitude of similar proofs might be added, to demonstrate that solitary Masses were held to be absurd and unlawful by the Church of Rome herself for at least nine centuries. And yet, in the face of Scripture, reason and au-

* Hard. Con., Tom. 4, p. 914.

† Ib., p. 1208.

‡ Ib., p. 1015.

§ Ib., p. 1324.

thority, your last great Council of Trent passed the following decree, in A. D. 1562 :—*

“ If any one shall say that Masses, in which the priest alone communicates sacramentally, are unlawful and ought to be abolished, LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.”

So that here we have your *unchangeable* Church pronouncing her solemn curse upon the very doctrine which she publicly maintained so late as the ninth century! Is not this, most Reverend Sir, another evidence of the candor with which your writers boast of your unity? Are the “variations of Protestantism” more extraordinary than the *variations of Rome*? If your deluded but honest-minded laity knew the history of their own Church, how soon would they insist upon a thorough reformation, and abandon that figment of infallibility which, when it is analyzed, resolves itself into a set of *dissolving views*, shifted at the dictate of expediency!

I proceed, lastly, to the evidence of former ages, which proves that the clergy were forbidden to take money for the administration of the Sacrament. Thus, the 7th Canon of the Council of Clermont enacted,

“That no one should sell the Eucharist, or Unction, or Chrism, or Burial, to any one.”†

Again, the 12th Canon of the 3d Council of Rome, under Urban II., decreed as follows :—

“This also we command, that for Confirmation, Baptism, and Burial, nothing shall be exacted.”‡

Again, in the Council of Toledo, A. D. 1119, the 9th Canon sets forth the same prohibition.§

* Hard. Con., Tom. 10, p. 129.

† Hard. Con., Tom. 6, P. 2, p. 1739.

‡ Ib., 1760.

§ Ib., 1979.

The same appears again, in the 4th Canon of the Council of Rheims, held about the same year.*

And in the Council of London, held A. D. 1125, the second Canon reads as follows :—

“ We command that no price whatever be exacted for Confirmation, for Unction, for Baptism, for Penance, for the Visitation of the Sick, for the Communion of the body of Christ, or for Burial.”†

The same injunction is repeated again in another Council of London, A. D. 1138, in the first Canon.‡ And we meet it again in the second Canon of the Second General Council of Lateran, A. D. 1138, where the practice is called simoniacal ; and the giver, as well as the receiver, is included in the censure.§

The Council of Trent likewise added its prohibition, in A. D. 1562,|| saying that “ all conditions of reward, of any kind, all agreements, and whatever is given for the celebrating of new Masses, as likewise all importunate and illiberal exactions, rather than requests, which are not far removed from the sin of simony, should be entirely prohibited.”

And yet, in the face of all this, it is notorious that your priests universally hold Masses to be of prime necessity, to liberate the souls of your people from purgatory, and that they never perform those Masses without the payment in money of a stipulated sum ! That even the poorest persons in your communion cannot enjoy this melancholy privilege, which they are taught to regard as a most sacred

* Hard. Con., Tom. 6, P. 2, p. 1984.

† Ib., p. 1125.

‡ Ib., p. 1204.

§ Ib., p. 1208.

The pages of the last three are numbered erroneously in the volume.

|| Hard. Con., Tom. 10, p. 130.

duty to the dead, without the cash : and hence we have seen that one of the modern institutions in Ireland is that of *Purgatorian Societies*, to raise the funds required for the Eucharistic sacrifices which your own Church, in former ages, so expressly required to be performed without money and without price.

Whether you have any fixed tariff for such services, I know not. But I know that I was applied to, many years ago, by a poor Irishman, who pleaded hard to be employed, and to have a month's wages in advance ; and when I told him that I did not need his labor, turned away with a look of such distress, that I called him back, and inquired what was the matter. He told me that his wife was dead, and he wanted just ten dollars to pay the priest, for saying Mass to take her soul out of purgatory. Surprised at the amount, I asked him if the priest knew that he was a poor man, and why he was not willing to do this service for nothing ? And the answer made a deep impression on me. He said the priest knew well enough that he was as poor as he could be, and that his reverence would willingly say the Mass for nothing, only that *if it was not paid for, it would do no good !*

How far this single case was to be taken as a fair specimen of the average, I have never tried to ascertain. But I was well assured that the priest alluded to was a man of more than ordinary standing for talents and respectability, because I knew his character some years before. And I have had several cases since then, in which I have been applied to for Baptism, by your people from Canada, for no other reason, as they said, than their inability to pay the price which the priest insisted on, before he would administer that sacrament to their children.

Thus, then, it is, that your *united, unchangeable, and well-*

ordered Church, tolerates the breach of her own professed rule of giving the sacraments without money, and allows her priests to make merchandise of the offering which the poor man is taught to believe indispensable for the peace of the departed parent, wife, or child. Thus the custom of solitary Masses, which your former Church reprobated, as an impious absurdity, is legalized by your modern Council of Trent, sooner than give up such a profitable branch of superstition, without which there would be small profit from your imaginary purgatory. And thus, again, I claim for the Reformed Church of England a true conformity to the REALLY CATHOLIC RULES, which regard the Eucharist as a *Communion*, not to be administered without three at the least, besides the officiating priest, and command the sacraments to be given, *without money and without price*, to all who are otherwise qualified to receive them.

LETTER XXXVII.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE topic to which your favorite Milner next leads the way is the Mass, which he considers as the Sacrifice of the New Law. He begins by saying that Bishop Porteus is *brief* on this subject, and *evidently embarrassed*. I do not think that you will find me either the one or the other, since there is abundance of testimony, and the result is so clear, that the advocate of truth finds nothing to *embarrass* his course, except the difficulty of making a topic, rather dry in itself, interesting to the reader.

Your author presents the Mass, which is the Roman word for the celebration of the Eucharist, under the aspect of a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice, offered by the priest for the living and the dead. And the Church of England, in our 31st Article, calls this "a blasphemous fable, and a dangerous deceit." We shall see, in due time, why this strong language is employed, and, if I am not greatly mistaken, it will be found none too strong for the occasion.

He commences by defining a sacrifice as "an *offering up and immolation of a living animal or other sensible thing to God*, in testimony that He is the Master of life and death, the Lord of us and all things." And here, in the very beginning, is a most false and perilous definition, because it is perfectly destitute of every mark of a Christian faith, and at open war with the Bible. According to the true and con-

stant doctrine of the Church, animal sacrifices were appointed by the divine command after the fall, *to typify Christ*, that promised "Seed of the woman" who should bruise the serpent's head, and restore our ruined race to the happiness which the sin of our first parents had forfeited. Hence it was BY FAITH, as St. Paul expressly saith, that *Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain*. Because Abel, believing in the promised Seed, brought the appointed firstlings of his flock, the commanded sacrifice which typified the *Lamb slain from the foundation of the world*. While Cain, in proud unbelief, refused to unite in the act, and brought only the fruits of the ground. Yet there is no reason to doubt that Cain was willing to acknowledge God as "the Master of life and death, the Lord of us and all things," in the words of Dr. Milner ; because the very fact of making his offering imported his belief in God ; and his subsequent language to the Almighty is the language of fear and submission. In other words, Cain was a Deist, while Abel was a Christian in his heart. The first rejected the promised Saviour, and therefore would not bring the appointed memorial of Him. The other embraced the hope set before him with sincerity, and offered his lamb *in faith*. In totally omitting this essential connection of animal sacrifice with Christ, therefore, Dr. Milner has put forth, not a Christian, but a *deistical* definition.

But this is not his only error. For although the term sacrifice is properly applicable to the immolating of a living animal or other sensible thing to God, yet he had no right to confine the term to this, because it is also applicable to many other offerings, some of a lower, and some of a far more precious character, as the Scriptures abundantly testify. A few of the proofs shall be given from your own Douay Bible to substantiate this assertion. Thus :—

- Lev. vii. 9. And every *sacrifice* of flour that is baked in the oven, and whatsoever is dressed on the griddle or in the frying-pan, shall be the priest's that offereth it. Whether they be tempered with oil or dry, all the sons of Aaron shall have one as much another. This is the law of the *sacrifice* of peace-offering to the Lord.
- “ “ 13. Moreover, loaves of leavened bread with the *sacrifice* of thanks, which is offered for peace-offerings.
- Psalm iv. 6. Offer up the *sacrifice* of justice.
- “ xxvi. 6. I have offered up in His tabernacle a *sacrifice* of jubilation.
- “ l. 19. A *sacrifice* to God is an afflicted spirit.
- “ cvi. 22. Let them *sacrifice the sacrifices* of praise. Also, Psalm cxv. 16.
- “ cxl. 2. Let the lifting up of my hands be as an evening *sacrifice*.
- Amos, iv. 5. Offer a *sacrifice* of praise with leaven.
- Rom. xii. 1. I beseech you, brethren, by the mercy of God, that ye present your bodies a living *sacrifice*, holy, pleasing to God, your reasonable service.
- Phil. ii. 17. Yea, and if I be made a victim upon the *sacrifice* and service of your faith.
- “ iv. 18. I am filled, having received from Epaphroditus the things you sent, an odor of sweetness, an acceptable *sacrifice*, well pleasing to God.
- Heb. xiii. 15. Let us offer the *sacrifice* of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips confessing His name.
- “ xiii. 16. And do not forget to do good and to impart, for by such *sacrifices* God's favor is obtained.
- 1 Pet., ii. 5. Be you also as living stones, built up, a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual *sacrifices*, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

Now here it is abundantly evident that the term *sacrifice* is applied to *every offering of faith* to God. Not only to the *offering up and immolation of a living animal or other sensible thing*, according to Dr. Milner's definition, but to the offering of *insensible things*, such as the flour baked in the

oven, and the other peace-offerings, under the Mosaic dispensation, to the offering of thanks, of justice, of joy, of contrition, of praise, of prayer, of ourselves, of the gifts of Christian charity, and of all holy devotion. The whole basis, therefore, of your author's reasoning is overthrown by the plain evidence of Scripture. For if we grant that there is in the Eucharist, or the Mass, a sacrifice, and a true sacrifice, it does not follow that it is an *animal sacrifice*, or a *propitiatory sacrifice*, or the sacrifice of a *sensible thing*: but it may be, and, as I shall show in due time, it actually is, a *spiritual* sacrifice of ourselves, our souls and bodies, in faith and praise, and thanks, and holy obedience.

Your favorite author next proceeds to show that the prophecy of Malachi has been truly verified in the primitive Catholic Church. And we grant, most fully, his statement that God has not left His people destitute of sacrifice under the New Law. No true Christian ever doubted it. For Christ, to whom all the typical animal sacrifices of the Old Law pointed, has fulfilled them by His great sacrifice once for all upon the Cross. And His Church commemorates that blessed offering in the Eucharist, according to His own command, *Do this in remembrance of me*, and accompanies the sacramental memorial of that only *propitiatory sacrifice* by all the other spiritual sacrifices of praise, gratitude, and self-dedication, which are acceptable to God through faith in the great Redeemer. "*From the rising of the sun,*" therefore, as saith the Lord by the Prophet Malachi, "*even to the going down thereof, my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to my name a clean oblation.*"* But all this is plainly as applicable to our doctrine as to the system of

Romanism, and far more so, by the testimony of Scripture, and by the judgment of the truly Catholic Church, the fathers being witness.

To them, therefore, I willingly appeal, not by assertion, but *by proof*; and here you will find, most Reverend Sir, that the Church, not of Rome, but of England, is faithful to the really Catholic interpretation of Malachi, and all the other Scriptures.

Beginning with Tertullian, we have a very express testimony on the point before us. For this father, quoting the very passage of the prophet to which Dr. Milner refers, saith as follows :—

*“I will not receive sacrifice from your hands, for from the rising of the sun even to the going down thereof, my name is made great in all nations, saith the Omnipotent Lord. And in every place clean sacrifices are offered to My name. * * * For that God is not appeased by earthly, but by spiritual sacrifices, we thus read as it is written : A contrite and an humble heart is a sacrifice to God. And elsewhere : Sacrifice to God the sacrifice of praise, and render your vows to the Most High. Thus, therefore, the spiritual sacrifices of praise are indicated, and a broken heart is shown to be the acceptable sacrifice to God.”** Again, this eminent teacher, in another treatise, refers to the same text of Malachi. “In every place,” saith He, “sacrifice is offered to My name, and a clean sacrifice, to wit, SIMPLE PRAYER FROM A PURE CONSCIENCE.”†

Clement of Alexandria gives us the same doctrine, as follows :—

“Therefore,” saith he, “we must offer to God, not sumptuous and splendid sacrifices, but those which are pious and

* Tertul. adv. Judæos, p. 187–8.

† Tertul. adv. Marcion., L. 4, p. 414.

acceptable to Him, * * * * * with a pure mind, a just and true system of life, and the prayer of righteousness from holy works.”*

Thus, too, Augustine saith, “What sacrifices can you offer to Him? That you are not unmindful of His benefits, is a sacrifice with which He is pleased. Bless the Lord, O my soul! The sacrifice of praise shall glorify me. — Immolate to God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High. God wills Himself to be praised, and that in order that you may be profited, not that He may be exalted.”†

Again, “I have within,” saith Augustine, “the victim which I immolate; within, I have the incense which I offer; within, I have the sacrifice by which I shall move my God. *The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit.*”‡

There is a very beautiful sermon of this pre-eminent father addressed to the youth, on Easter day, which, though it makes a long quotation for a work like this, I cannot doubt will reward the reader for the time spent in the perusal:—

“I am mindful,” saith Augustine, “of my promise. I promised to you, who have been baptized, a sermon, in which I should expound the Sacrament of the Lord’s table, which now you behold, and of which you were yesternight made the partakers. You ought to know what you have received, what you are about to receive, and what you ought to receive daily. This bread which you see upon the altar, sanctified by the word of God, is the body of Christ. This cup, or rather what the cup contains, sanctified by the word of God, is the blood of Christ. By these our Lord Christ

* Clem. Alex. Strom., Lib. 7, p. 719.

† S. Augustin. Op., Tom. 4, p. 835, E.

‡ Ib., 272, § 17.

commends His body and His blood, which for us He shed in remission of sins. If you have received rightly, YOU ARE WHAT YOU HAVE RECEIVED. For the Apostle saith, *We being many, are one bread and one body.* Thus he expounds the Sacrament of the Lord's table : *We being many, are one bread and one body.* He commends to you in this bread how you ought to love unity. For was this bread made from one grain ? Were there not many grains of wheat ? But before they became bread, they were separate : by water they were joined together, and after a certain bruising. For unless the wheat is ground, and sprinkled with water, it cannot take the form which is called bread. Thus also you were after a manner ground by the humiliation of fasting and the sacrament of exorcism. Then came baptism and water ; you were as if sprinkled, and you came to the form of bread. But bread cannot yet be without fire. What, therefore, signifies the fire ? That is chrism. For the oil of our fire is the Sacrament of the Holy Spirit. Take notice of this in the Acts of the Apostles, when it is read. For now this book begins to be read. This day begins the book which is called the Acts of the Apostles. Whoever wishes to make progress, has it from thence. When you come to the Church, *put away vain fables, and be intent upon the Scriptures.* We are your books. Attend, therefore, and see that the Holy Spirit is coming at Pentecost. And thus He will come : He shows Himself in tongues of fire. For He inspires love with which we burn towards God, and despise the world, and our stubble is burnt up, and our heart is purged like gold. Thus the Holy Spirit comes, the fire after the water, and *you become bread, which is the body of Christ.* And so unity is signified in a certain manner. You hold the Sacraments according to their order. First, after prayer, you are admonished to *lift*

up your hearts. This becomes you as the members of Christ. For if you are made the members of Christ, where is your HEAD? The members have a head. If the head does not precede, the members do not follow. Whither has your Head gone? What have you answered in the Creed? *On the third day He rose from the dead, He ascended into heaven, He sits at the right hand of the Father.* Therefore OUR HEAD IS IN HEAVEN. So when it is said, *Lift up your hearts,* you answer, *We have, to the Lord.* And this itself, that you have the heart lifted up to the Lord, you may not attribute to your own powers, your own merits, your own labors, because it is the gift of God to have the heart lifted up, therefore the Bishop or the Presbyter who offers, follows, and says, when the people have answered, *We have the heart lifted up to the Lord:* LET US GIVE THANKS TO OUR LORD GOD, that we have the heart lifted up. Let us give thanks, because, unless He had granted it, we should have our heart in earthly things. And you bear your testimony, saying, *It is just and right* that we should give thanks to Him who makes us to have our heart lifted up to our Head. Then, after the consecration of the sacrifice of God, because *He wills us to be His sacrifice*—which was demonstrated where that point was placed first, that the sacrifice of God is also ourselves, that is, *the sign of the thing which we are*—behold, when the consecration is completed, we say the Lord's Prayer, which you have received and offered. After this it is said, *Peace be with you,* and the Christians salute each other with a holy kiss. This is the sign of peace; as the lips show, so it should be done in the conscience. That is, in like manner as your lips approach the lips of your brother, so your heart may not depart from him. Great, therefore, are the sacraments, and very great. Would you know how they are com-

mended? The Apostle saith, "*Whosoever eateth the body of Christ, or drinketh the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.*" What is it to receive unworthily? To receive scoffingly, to receive disdainfully. Let not that which you see, seem vile to you. What you see passes away; but *what is invisibly signified, does not pass away, but remains.* Behold, it is received, it is eaten, it is consumed. But IS THE BODY OF CHRIST CONSUMED? IS THE CHURCH OF CHRIST CONSUMED? ARE THE MEMBERS OF CHRIST CONSUMED? God forbid! Here they are cleansed: there they are crowned. What is *signified*, therefore, *will remain eternally*, although it may seem to pass away. Thus, then, do you receive, that you may think of yourselves, that you may have unity in your heart, that you may have your heart lifted up always. Let your hope be not in earth, but in heaven: let your faith be firm in God; let it be acceptable to God. For that which here you believe, though you see it not, you shall see there, where you shall rejoice forever."*

In this most interesting relic of the Church in the fourth century, we have not only a valuable proof of the form and order of the Liturgy, but a copious amount of instruction on the Eucharist, which is totally irreconcilable with the modern hypothesis of Romanism. I have translated the whole discourse as closely as I could, that it might suffer no mutilation. And it is as clear as the light, that no man could have preached such a sermon, who believed in any transubstantiation of the elements, or any sacrifice of Christ Himself, as a real victim upon the altar. The bread and the wine are treated as *figures, emblems, or representations* only. Christ Himself is in heaven, and therefore the heart

* S. Augustin. Op., Tom. 5, Sermo. 227, p. 667.

is *lifted up to Him*, THE HEAD. The *real sacrifice* is the body of communicants. Nor is there any inconsistency between the view which regards the consecrated bread as a symbol of the body of Christ, broken upon the cross for us, and that which considers it as a symbol of His collected body, the Church, according to the foregoing sermon of Augustine, because both are so closely connected that the one necessarily suggests the other, since it was for the sake of His body, the Church, that He gave Himself to be crucified, and it is for the sake of His atoning sacrifice that His Church receives the blessed privilege of being accounted His members. Both these significations, therefore, are sanctioned by Augustine, and most of the early fathers. Both are agreeable to Scripture. But both of them are symbolical, and neither of them accords with the modern doctrine of Rome, to which this sermon of Augustine does not make the slightest allusion.

Let us next look at the definition of sacrifice given by Augustine in the great work of his most mature age, *The City of God*, where he treats it as follows :—

“True sacrifice,” saith he, “is *every work which is done, in order that we may inhere in God by a holy association, having relation to that end of good, by which we may become truly happy. Therefore, man himself, consecrated by the name of God, and devoted to God, in so far as he dies to the world that he may live to God, is a sacrifice. Our body also, when we chasten it by temperance, in order that we may not exhibit our members as arms for the sin of iniquity, but as the arms of righteousness to God, is a sacrifice. If therefore the body, which the soul uses as an inferior servant, or instrument, when its good and right use is referred to God, is a sacrifice : how much more does the soul itself—when it refers itself to God, in order that, being*

inflamed with the fire of His love, it may cast away the form of worldly concupiscence—*become a sacrifice*? Hence, as the *true sacrifices* are the works of mercy, either to ourselves or to others, which are referred to God; it results that the *whole redeemed City*, that is, the congregation and society of the saints, *is offered as a universal sacrifice to God*, through that Great High Priest, who also offered Himself in His suffering for us, that we might be the body of such a Head, according to the form of a servant. For this form He took upon Him, in this He was offered, according to this He is our Mediator, in this He is our priest, in this He is a sacrifice. And therefore the Apostle exhorts us that we render our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service—that *we are ourselves a well-pleasing, and perfect, and entire sacrifice*. THIS IS THE SACRIFICE OF CHRISTIANS. Which also the Church celebrates in that sacrament of the altar known to the faithful, as it shows to her, that IN THE THING WHICH SHE OFFERS, SHE HERSELF IS OFFERED.”*

And thus Augustine, in places almost without number, speaks of the Eucharist as a *memorial* of the One true Sacrifice of Christ Himself upon the Cross. “Wherefore,” saith he, “in the oblation and participation of the body and blood of Christ, Christians celebrate the MEMORIAL OF HIS FINISHED SACRIFICE;”† and when he refers to the sacrifice *actually* offered in the sacrament, it is in consistency with the foregoing, as when he saith that the Church “*immolates to God the sacrifice of praise* in the body of Christ.”‡ But the modern notion of your Church, that *the priest* in the Mass immolates Christ as a *true, proper, and propitiatory*

* S. Augustin. Op., Tom. 7, De Civ. Dei., Lib. x., cap. vi., p. 185.

† Ib., Tom. 8, p. 245, F.

‡ Ib., Tom. 8, p. 404.

sacrifice, has no countenance whatever from this eminent doctor, nor can it be doubted that he would have regarded it as a gross impiety.

From Augustine, I proceed to Jerome, who applies the term sacrifice in the same way. The *true worshipper*, according to this eminent father, “finds what *he immolates to God*, that is, PRAISE. Hence he saith, I will *immolate in His tabernacle the sacrifice of shouting*.”* Indeed, it was plainly impossible that Jerome should have held the notion of a *propitiatory* sacrifice in the Eucharist, when he so distinctly opposed the Romish sense of the real presence, and maintained the true primitive doctrine, that the consecrated elements were only *types of the body and the blood*.†

But not to detain the reader by a needless multiplication of special quotations from the fathers, I shall pass finally to Isidore of Seville, who belongs to the early part of the seventh century, and whose writings show the transition state of the Church, in several particulars. This author, with many others, applies the word sacrifice to the Eucharist, but in such terms as agree with us, and are quite irreconcilable with your modern doctrine. I shall give his language on the point, so as to prove this clearly :—

“The sacrifice,” saith Isidore, “which is offered by Christians to God, was first instituted by our Lord and Master Christ, when He commended His body and blood to the Apostles before He was betrayed : as it is read in the Gospel, *Jesus took bread and the cup, and blessing, gave to them*. Which sacrament truly Melchizedec, the King of Salem, first offered figuratively, as a type of the body and blood of Christ, and first expressed the same mystery of such a sacrifice in imagination (*imaginarié*), exhibiting the *similitude*

* S. Hieron., Tom. 8, p. 31.

† See quotation on p. 146.

of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the eternal priest, according to the order of Melchizedec. This sacrifice, therefore, it is commanded that Christians should celebrate, the Jewish sacrifices being finished and abandoned, which were ordered to be offered in the servitude of the ancient people."

"And the bread which we break is the body of Christ, who said, *I am the bread of life, &c.* And the wine is His blood, for this is what is written, *I am the true vine.* But the bread is therefore called the body of Christ, because it strengthens the body: and the wine, because it produces blood in the flesh, is referred to the blood of Christ. And these two are visible; nevertheless, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, they pass into the *Sacrament*" (i. e., *the sign*, according to Isidore and all the fathers), "of the divine body. And for this reason, as holy Cyprian saith, the cup of the Lord is offered of wine mixed with water, because we see that *by the water the people are UNDERSTOOD*, and by the wine is SHOWN the blood of Christ. And when water is mixed with wine in the cup, *the people are made one with Christ, and the multitude of believers is incorporated and joined with Him in whom they believe.* Which copulation and conjunction of the water and the wine is so mixed in the cup of the Lord, that the mixture cannot be separated, *as the Church cannot be divided from Christ.* But as the cup of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be water alone nor wine alone, unless they are mixed together, so neither can the body of the Lord be flour alone nor water alone, unless each of these be joined together and united, and the bread be thus made one solid mass. By which sacrament" (or sign) "also, *our people is shown to be united*, for in like manner as many grains, collected in one, and ground and mixed together, make one bread, so in Christ, who is the heavenly bread, we know

that there is *one body to which our number is conjoined and united.*"*

Thus, then, we see a plain and consistent testimony, proving that even so late as the seventh century, there was no such idea in the Church as the *true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice of Christ Himself*, in the Mass, notwithstanding the apparent confidence with which your favorite author claims the fathers as witnesses. Indeed, the passages which he sets down in a note from Justin, Irenæus, and Cyprian, are nothing to the purpose, for they only assert that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, which no one denies. WHAT KIND OF SACRIFICE, is the question. Whether it be a *true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice of Christ Himself, by the act of the priest*: or a sacramental, symbolical, and commemorative sacrifice, according to our Lord's appointment. Whether it be an *actual, present sacrifice of the Son of God*: or an actual, present sacrifice of His BODY, THE CHURCH, who are bound to offer themselves to the Most High, as a holy, living, and acceptable sacrifice. Whether the hearts of the communicants are to be fixed upon the *transubstantiated wafer, in the hands of the priest, adoring it as the real body, blood, soul and divinity of the Redeemer*: or whether they are to be LIFTED UP (*sursum corda*), according to St. Augustine, to contemplate Him as seated at the right hand of the eternal throne. And we may confidently defy the ingenuity of man to justify the modern system of Rome by the fathers, if their whole testimony be honestly taken together; or to disprove, by that testimony, the soundness and consistency of the doctrine laid down by the Church of England.

But even the very name which you have chosen to adopt for this solemn sacrament, is another innovation, which your

* S. Isidor. Hispal., De Off., Lib. 1, Cap. xviii., p. 394-5.

own writers cannot trace to a period earlier than the latter part of the fourth, or, more properly, the fifth century. The word *Mass* is derived from the dismissal of the catechumens or the unbaptized, together with all the rest of the congregation except the communicants, when the Liturgy appointed for the Eucharist was about to be commenced. The deacons proclaimed aloud, *Ite, missa est*, that is, Depart ye, it is dismissed: meaning that the mixed assembly of the Church (*Ecclesia*) was *dismissed*. The popular sense, however, converting the participle of the verb into a noun, conceived the term *Missa* to signify the Eucharist itself, and your Church, in due time, adopted the novelty with her usual facility, and thus has arisen this unseemly epithet, instead of the really primitive phrases, of *the Lord's Supper, the Eucharist, &c.* Therefore this term *Missa*, or the Mass, is not to be found in St. Augustine, St. Jerome, or the fathers who preceded them. It is very old, I admit, but the Church of Christ is more than four centuries older. And hence, our English Reformers laid this, too, aside, and restored, with perfect propriety, the original, correct, and expressive appellation.

I proceed now to the assertion of Dr. Milner, that "all the Christians in the world, except the comparative few who inhabit the North of Europe, hold the same doctrine, as the Greeks, the Armenians, the Muscovites, the Eutychians, the Christians of St. Thomas in Africa, the Copts and Abyssinians in Africa, notwithstanding they have been totally separated from the Church of Rome, some of them eight hundred, and some fourteen hundred years."

To this I answer, first, that the assertion is more easy than the proof. We are not by any means furnished with accurate or reliable information concerning the peculiarities of those various Churches. The accounts given to us by

the Romish missionaries, who have been, for the most part, Jesuits, are not trustworthy, by the repeated acknowledgments of their own brethren. And Protestant missionaries have not yet supplied the deficiency. But we know enough to prove that Dr. Milner's statement affords no proper evidence upon the question, for the following indisputable reasons :—

1st. Because those Churches have never withdrawn the cup from the laity. Would your favorite author allow this fact to prove that Rome is in the wrong ?

2dly. Because they deny the authority, and deride the assumed infallibility, of the Church of Rome. Would he admit this to be an evidence against her ?

3dly. Because some of their Patriarchs, as Fleury relates, have excommunicated her. Does this prove that the excommunication was lawful ?

4th. Because the Roman missionaries have had hardly any success in proselyting them. Does this look like agreement in their doctrines ?

5th. Because the corruption of the Church had proceeded to a considerable length before the great schism of the ninth century, and most of these separated Churches had their share in it previous to the separation, which was chiefly produced by the overweening ambition of the Papacy. What is the evidence worth, therefore, even if they were found to agree ?

6th. Because the test of truth to which Dr. Milner would here seem to appeal, is no test at all, upon his own principles. For the rule which Rome herself professes to acknowledge is the *Catholic rule* of Vincent of Lerins, what has been believed *always, everywhere, and by all*. And hence she acknowledges, in theory at least, that every question must be decided by the Scriptures and the fathers.

7th. Because it is preposterous to extract evidence from Churches which Rome does not allow to be witnesses at all. These Oriental Christians are *excommunicated heretics*, according to the Roman system, and hence she holds their testimony to be inadmissible. By what rule of justice or of law, therefore, can Dr. Milner ask us to hear them on the one side, while he refuses to hear them on the other ?

Your favorite author next presents to his readers what he calls "the inconsistencies of the Church of England respecting this point. She has *priests*, but no *sacrifice* ! She has *altars*, but no *victim* ! She has an *essential consecration* of the sacramental elements, *without any the least effect upon them* !" To this flourish, which is certainly a good specimen of the *ad captandum* style, I make the following reply, which will be sufficient to show, to any intelligent mind, that the inconsistencies are on the side of Rome, and not on that of England.

For, in the first place, the term *priest* has no necessary relation to the offering of *sacrifice*, in the *Romish sense of the term*. I have proved at large, by your own version of the Scriptures, and by the fathers, that sacrifice includes *every offering of faith and piety* made to God, and that the best of them all is the living sacrifice of ourselves to His service, in the words of St. Augustine. I have also shown that the Eucharistic oblation may be considered as a sacrifice, according to the fathers ; not in your sense of a *true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice*, but in the figurative, symbolical, and commemorative acceptation. Moreover, Melchizedec is called a priest, although he offered no sacrifice but bread and wine. It is, therefore, a mere absurdity to limit the term priest to the person who "*immolates a living animal or other sensible thing to God*," or to confine the word *sacrifice* to the thing so immolated. And hence, in this assumption, Rome is incon-

sistent with the Scriptures, with the fathers, and with the true sense of the language which Dr. Milner employs in his proposition.

In addition to this, however, many of our writers insist that the word *priest* is used in a double sense in Scripture: the Greek *ιερεύς* and the Latin *sacerdos*, being applied to the priesthood of the Mosaic dispensation, whereas the Greek *πρεσβύτερος*, and the Latin *presbyter*, are employed, when we read of the corresponding ministry of the Gospel system. From the Latin *presbyter* came the old French *prestre*, and from that is derived our English word *priest*. Hence, as this one English term is employed to signify *both the terms* in the Greek and the Latin, it does not necessarily import the function of *animal sacrifice*, which belonged to the Levitical priesthood, but is rather to be held in the New Testament sense of the *Elder* or *Presbyter*; and several of our most esteemed authors consider this as its only proper meaning.

I state this, however, merely in deference to the opinions of my brethren, who have adopted this view. For myself, I do not consider it at all required to meet the supposed difficulty. 1st, Because it is certain that the fathers, universally, employ the word *sacerdos*, without scruple, when speaking of the Christian priesthood. 2dly, Because the true meaning of the term *sacrifice*, when properly understood, renders the distinction quite unnecessary. 3dly, Because the word *sacerdotium*, considered etymologically, signifies no more than the office exercised by special *gift* concerning *holy things*, being compounded of *dos*, a *GIFT*, and *sacer*, *HOLY*. And 4th, Because, although we do not possess the *noun* in English, yet we retain the true enlarged meaning, established firmly, in the adjective *sacerdotal*. Doubtless, the fact stated with respect to our English term

priest being derived from the Latin *presbyter*, through the French *prestre* (now modernized into *prêtre* by dropping the letter *s*), is perfectly true and indisputable. But I do not use it in the present argument, believing that the real merits of the question are more satisfactorily settled without it, according to the genuine sense of antiquity.

I proceed, therefore, to the next alleged inconsistency, viz., that the Church of England “has *altars*, but no *victim*.” And here Dr. Milner has entirely overshot his mark, although, to an uninformed or unreflecting mind, he may seem to have hit it with singular precision. It will not be a difficult task, however, to expose the fallacy. But I must bespeak your attention, Most Reverend Sir, to the remarks which I shall offer, because I hold the point before us to involve a most instructive example of theological juggling.

When Dr. Milner reproaches us with having *altars*, but *no victim*, he assumes, of course, that an altar must needs be a place for the offering up of a victim, according to the sacrificial theory, which I have already examined and disproved. But this is a plain and manifest error, in the very face of the Word of God, according to your own Douay Bible. For there we read* of “*the altars of incense*,” where no other sacrifice was offered. Again, we read,† that the children of Reuben, of Gad, and Manasses, when they returned from the wars of Canaan, “built *an altar* immensely great near the Jordan.” And this altar was “not for holocausts, nor to offer victims, but for a testimony.”‡ Hence, they “called the altar which they had built, Our testimony, that the Lord is God.”§ Again, in the Apocalypse,|| the Apos-

* Exod. xxx. 27.

+ Josh. xxii. 10.

† See v. 26-7.

‡ Verse 34.

|| Chap. vi. 9.

the John saith, "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held." And your own commentators, in the note, say that "Christ, as man, is this altar, under which the souls of the martyrs live in heaven, as their bodies are here deposited under our altars." In the same book,* we read further, that "another angel came and stood before the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer of the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which is before the throne of God. And again,† we read as follows:—"I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is before the eyes of God."

Here, then, we see that the word *altar* does not necessarily import a place to offer animal sacrifice, or to immolate a sensible victim, since the Scriptures speak of an altar for offering incense, an altar erected for a memorial or testimony, an altar as a symbol of Christ in reference to the souls of the martyrs, and an altar at which the prayers of the saints were offered by the angel before the throne of God, &c.

And in like manner, Augustine saith, that "we can receive the altar spiritually in the inward temple of God (that is, our heart), by receiving the faith itself, *of which the visible altar is the sign.*"‡

So, Jerome, in his Commentary on the text in the 50th Psalm, "*Then shall they place young calves upon thy altar,*" saith, "THE ALTAR IS FAITH, because whatever thou offerest, thou oughtest to offer through faith. The *calves* are

* Rev. viii. 3.

† Ib. ix. 13.

‡ S. August., Tom. 3, p. 126, Pars. 2. And see, De Civit Dei, L. 10, cap. iii.

praises, or thoughts, or victims, to wit, that I should offer myself as a living sacrifice, well pleasing to thee.”*

And Isidore of Seville, defining the two words *Ara* and *Altare*, both of which we translate *Altar*, saith, that “*Ara* is said by some to be so named, because the *incense* of the victim is burned there, while others say that it is so called from the *prayers* which the Greeks call *ἄρας*.” “*Altare*,” he adds, “is so called from its height, as if we should say, *alta ara*.”†

Thus, therefore, Dr. Milner’s Romish notion that there can be no *altar* unless there be the *immolation of an animal or some sensible thing*, is shown to be perfectly inconsistent with your own Scriptures, and the fathers. And hence, though the Church of England “has *altars*, and no *victim*,” yet she is sustained by the highest authority to which you profess to make your appeal. The altar of the pure faith is there, the altar of the spiritual incense of prayer and praise, the altar before which we devote ourselves, as a holy, living sacrifice, acceptable to God, and along with these, the altar of memorial or testimony, at which we offer the figurative or symbolical body and blood of the blessed Redeemer.

But what shall I say of the gross inconsistency with which Dr. Milner claims a superiority for your Church, on the ground that your *altars* have a *victim*, when it is certain that your own doctrine stands opposed to the idle boast, and shows it to be a pure delusion? For although you tell us that by virtue of your dogma of Transubstantiation, the consecrated bread and wine are changed into the actual Christ, body, blood, soul and divinity, yet Dr. Milner knew, and

* S. Hieron., Tom. 8, p. 61, B., Com. in Psal. 4.

† Isid. Hispal. Originum, Lib. 15, c. 4, p. 131.

you know, Most Reverend Sir, that your Council of Trent did not presume to assert that the Saviour is *actually immolated* in the Mass, but only *mystically*, that is, figuratively, symbolically, or sacramentally. Read, I pray you, the words of your Council, that in the last Supper, our Lord and Saviour "left a visible sacrifice to His Church, by which that bloody sacrifice once to be perfected upon the CROSS MIGHT BE REPRESENTED, and its memory might remain to the end of the world." *Relinqueret sacrificium visibile, quo cruentum illud semel in cruce peragendum REPRÆSENTARETUR, ejusque memoria in finem usque sæculi permaneret.** And again, "He instituted the new Pasch, that He Himself should be *immolated* by the Church through her priests UNDER VISIBLE SIGNS, in memory of His departure from this world to His Father." *Novum instituit Pascha, seipsum ab Ecclesia per sacerdotes SUB SIGNIS VISIBILIBUS IMMOLANDUM, in memoriam transitus sui ex hoc mundo ad Patrem.†*

It was in accordance with this that Dr. Milner, in his statement, used the language quoted on page 190. "For this purpose, namely, a sacrifice," saith he, "it was requisite that *a victim should be really present*, and at least *mystically immolated*, which was then, and still is, performed in the Mass." That is to say, the *immolation*, in the language of the Council of Trent, is *represented, under visible signs*. But this is not having a *real victim*. You would not, surely, so mock the common sense of mankind as to contend that there can be a *real victim* without a *real immolation*, because it is the immolation which makes the victim. Hence, as the immolation is only *represented under visible signs*, there is only a *representative or symbolical victim*. And therefore,

* Hard. Con., Tom. 10, Con. Trident., Sess. xxii., cap. 1, p. 126.

† Ib

even if your doctrine of Transubstantiation were true, and Christ were *really* present, yet it would be perfectly absurd to say, as Dr. Milner does, that *a victim is really present*, when there is no *real victim* at all.

Thus, then, it is manifest, that when he reproaches us with having *altars*, but *no victim*, he makes a charge which rebounds upon his own Church, if he means a *real victim*. And if he means the *symbol or sacramental sign of a victim*, he asserts what is simply untrue, because the consecrated elements, being the representative body and blood of Christ, are the *sacramental and visible signs of the real victim* as truly with us as with you. And therefore the inconsistency is not in the Church of England, but in the Church of Rome. Because we maintain that the proper meaning of *altar* agrees perfectly well with our commemorative sacrifice of the appointed symbols, together with our real sacrifice of prayer and praise, and of ourselves, according to the fathers. Whereas Dr. Milner restricts the term *altar* to the immolation of a *real victim*, while he is obliged to admit that the sacrifice of that victim is only *mystical*, or, in the words of your Council of Trent, merely *represented*, under *visible signs*, or emblems. A grosser inconsistency than this can hardly be found in the whole range of theology, and yet it passes current with your most approved masters in Israel.

The last rebuke of your favorite author, on the score of our alleged inconsistencies, is founded upon the accusation that *the Church of England has an essential consecration of the sacramental elements, without any the least effect upon them*.

If he had said, *without any change in their material substance*, he would have stated the truth. But as he represents the matter, he has averred, first, what is false ; secondly, what is absurd ; and thirdly, what implicates his own

Church to the same extent, in other parts of her doctrine. Permit me, Most Reverend Sir, to demonstrate the correctness of this assertion.

Before the elements are consecrated, they are *common bread and wine*. After they are consecrated, we hold them to have become, by our Lord's appointment, the *symbolical images or symbols of His body and blood*, and by virtue of this, that the *faithful receivers* are made, in the act of their reception, the *partakers of His blessed sacrifice in a heavenly and spiritual manner*. Is there no effect here? Are not the common bread and wine converted into a solemn sacrament, and made the *outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace*? Thus, then, I prove the *falsehood* of the allegation.

Its absurdity is equally manifest. For if there were no effect produced, why should they be consecrated? What could be more absurd than to change them from a common to a holy use, to change their names by a new and sacred appellation, and to change their application from the ordinary purpose of nourishing the body, to the religious end of strengthening and refreshing the soul, through the grace attached to their faithful reception, and yet, notwithstanding all this, to maintain that *no change at all has resulted from the act of consecration*? Thus it is perfectly obvious that Dr. Milner has charged us, not only with what is false, but also with what imports a complete absurdity.

And thirdly, I have said that his accusation implicates his own Church to the same extent, in other parts of her doctrine. For tell me, I pray you, whether you would venture to say that when you consecrate the Holy Water, or the Chrism in Confirmation, *there is not any the least effect produced upon them*? You know that you hold consecration to be *essential*, in both these cases. And yet you do not

pretend that the *material substance* of the water or the oil undergoes any physical change. But you maintain that notwithstanding this, they are changed by virtue of their consecration, in their names, their uses, and their qualities, so as to be effective instruments for spiritual purposes, which they could not have been without it. With what face, then, could Dr. Milner accuse the Church of England of inconsistency, for holding consecration to be *essential* to the Eucharistic elements, although there is *not any the least effect produced upon them* in their material substance, when your own Church holds the very same doctrine with respect to two of her most cherished rites and usages? I have already proved that some of the ancient fathers compared the change of the elements in the Eucharist to this very change of the consecrated Chrism; for the use of Chrism, being derived from the Jewish law, was introduced into the Church as early as the time of Tertullian, in the latter part of the second century, although it can lay no claim to Apostolic sanction. As to your Holy Water, however, I do not find it mentioned by the fathers, nor is it easy to discover any better paternity for it than the lustral water of Pagan Rome.

And now, having noticed all the material allegations of your favorite author, on the Sacrifice of the Mass, and proved that there is not the slightest warrant for your doctrine in the Scriptures, or the primitive Church, I conclude by showing the justice of the declaration in our Articles, that it is a *blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit*.

It is *blasphemous*, first, because it is injurious to the majesty of the Son of God to assert that He can be offered up as a propitiation for the living and the dead, at the will of an earthly priest, since that blessed offering is the sole work of His own divine mercy. Thus He declares in ref-

erence to His actual sacrifice :* *No man taketh my life from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.* Yet here is a class of clergy who claim the power to hold in their hands the body, blood, soul and divinity of the infinitely glorious and Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth, and offer Him, in the guise of a consecrated wafer, as a *true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice*, on ten thousand altars every day ! Truly, it seems impossible to imagine a more stupendous piece of blasphemous presumption.

It is blasphemous, secondly, because it arrogates the express authority of God Himself for this act of profanity, in direct opposition to His declaration : I WILL NOT GIVE MY GLORY TO ANOTHER. For how does the glory of God display itself most pre-eminently to our fallen race, but in the marvellous act of His divine mercy in offering His only begotten Son as a sacrifice for the sins of the world ? Did not the angels, at the birth of Christ, proclaim on this account, GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST ? Yet Rome pretends to invest her priesthood with a similar majesty, giving them authority to offer up the same Redeemer, in a *true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice*, and to apply this sacrifice, at their pleasure, to the living and the dead ! And they dare to assume this awful power, in the name of the Almighty !

It is blasphemous, thirdly, because it subjects the glorious Saviour of the world to the control of the priests, who are only His servants. For they undertake to offer him up as a *true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice*. But it is impossible to sacrifice anything which God has not placed in our control, and made our special property. All the sacrifices

* John x. 18.

of which we read, were thus subject to the will of the sacrificer. The lambs, the cattle, the doves, the flour, the oil, which were offered to God in the Old Testament, were in this way the *property* of those who brought them in sacrifice. The sacrifices of praise, of contrition, of obedience of heart and life, were also under the control of the sacrificer, and hence it is a perfect absurdity to say that any man can sacrifice what is not given to him as his own, so that it is strictly subject to his individual will and disposition. Therefore, if your priests have power to offer Christ in sacrifice, it results of necessity, that Christ is subject to them, and that they exercise dominion over the Son of God ! And how can we conceive a more awful blasphemy !

In these three respects, then, the denunciation of the Church of England is fully justified. Your popular doctrine she holds to be a BLASPHEMOUS FABLE, because it degrades the majesty of Christ, because it usurps the authority of God, because it treats the Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth as if he were the property of His own servants. And yet, we pronounce no curse upon you, notwithstanding. It is YOUR CHURCH, who, in her Council of Trent, commits a further blasphemy by cursing, over and over again, in her solemn *Anathemas*, ourselves, and all who hold, with us, the pure truth of the Holy Scriptures, and the doctrine of the primitive fathers ; thus daring to assume another divine prerogative—yea, overruling the Word of the Most High, and proclaiming their insane decree as the infallible standard for the divine judgment !

But I have not yet done with this painful topic. The Church of England pronounces your doctrine to be not only a blasphemous fable, but a DANGEROUS DECEIT. I proceed, therefore, to this charge, as a task of duty.

First, then, it is a *deceit*, because your Council evades

the error of declaring that Christ is *actually* immolated in sacrifice by the priests, and admits that His *real sacrifice* is only *represented under visible signs*, while, nevertheless, they maintain that He is offered as a *real victim, in the Mass*, which is therefore a *true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice* for the living and the dead. But what is this fine distinction worth, in the general apprehension of your deluded people? What more could you say of the awful atonement on the Cross of Calvary, than that it was a *true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice* for the living and the dead? And is there, in the history of human sophistry, a greater *deceit* than this, which, while it carefully avoids declaring a *direct* falsehood on the one hand, claims boldly the whole practical effect of the falsehood on the other?

Secondly, it is a *dangerous deceit*, because it chains your priests to the continual maintenance of an awful imposture, most perilous to their own souls; because it deludes the great majority of your people to a vain confidence in a false assumption; because it leads them to trust to your imaginary prerogative, far more than to the true sacrifice of their own hearts and lives to the service of the Redeemer; because it tempts them to feel safe in the purchase of Masses, instead of striving to work out their salvation by the fruits of holiness; in a word, because it virtually puts the priest in the place of Christ, by making his sacerdotal will the effectual arbiter of their eternal destiny.

I have now closed, Most Reverend Sir, this tedious examination of the grievous errors and corruptions of your modern Church, connected with your dogma of *Transubstantiation*, and your *Sacrifice of the Mass*. Doubtless you will think my language severe, and sadly deficient in courtesy. But I hope you will remember that I am engaged in the work of defending the doctrines of divine truth, against a

writer whose whole book is a constant, unsparing, and bitter libel upon the Reformed Church of England, and upon ourselves, who are her offspring. I hope you will remember that I am vindicating the genuine principles of the Gospel, against a Church which gives us curses instead of courtesy, and which, when she had the power, tortured our forefathers in the dungeon, and burned them alive in the flames. I hope you will remember that I make no attack upon individual character, though Dr. Milner has assailed our martyred reformers with the strongest and coarsest invectives ; that on the contrary, I have allowed the virtue and piety of a portion amongst the members and priesthood of your Church, even in the darkest times of her acknowledged licentiousness, and that I feel no other sentiment towards them all, at this day, than that of the kindest personal good-will. My sole motive, in my humble work, is to *contend earnestly for the truth once delivered to the saints*, not only according to the precept, but in the spirit, of the Apostle ; determined to do it thoroughly, that there might be no loop-hole through which error might escape exposure ; and yet, I trust, with a constant recollection that for all that I have written, as well as for the temper in which I write, I have a solemn account to render to the Searcher of Hearts, when you and I shall stand before His great tribunal. Let it only be read in the same temper, and I ask no more.

LETTER XXXVIII.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE doctrine of your Church in reference to your priestly absolution, enforced by means of the private confessional, forms the subject of your favorite author's forty-first letter ; and here we have his usual ingenuity in the quotations of the Scriptures, the reference to the fathers, and the claiming of the Church and writers of England as being substantially on his side, while there is, of course, a careful suppression of the true history of the matter, and a strong statement of the great advantages and comforts derived from this part of your discipline.

The clearest method of explaining the controversy betwixt our respective Churches in relation to this important point, will be to show, first, the common ground in which we agree, and then the contrasted particulars in which we differ. After this will come the history of your Church's innovations, with the proofs, and a few remarks on the alleged superiority of her system. The result will exhibit another example of the antagonism of Rome, and the fidelity of England, to the true scriptural and primitive rule.

Both Churches, in common with all the other Churches in the world, agree in the necessity of repentance of sin, confession of sin, and absolution from sin, without which (the case of infants alone excepted) there can be no salvation.

But Rome has erected upon these what she calls the *Sacrament of Penance*, and this, from the Catechism of the Council of Trent, prepared for the instruction of your parish priests, I shall now proceed to explain.

Penance includes, in the first place, repentance, according to the ordinary scriptural and correct meaning, about which there is no controversy. But we utterly deny the authority of Rome to change the scriptural term of *Repentance into Penance*, because on that change she has engrafted various corruptions of doctrine, which could not have succeeded so readily in deluding mankind, if the true term had been retained. Thus, for example, when our Saviour saith, "*Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,*" your Douay Bible represents Him as saying: "Do PENANCE, *for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.*" The perversion of meaning is obvious here, at a glance, and your Bible repeats it in every place, where the structure of the sentence made it possible.

But from penance, considered as *repentance*, and which is rightly treated as an internal virtue of the soul, because it is a godly sorrow for sin, attended by the resolution to forsake it, I pass on to what your Church, in her Catechism, terms external penance, which constitutes her *Sacrament of Penance*, and consists of certain sensible things significant of that which passes in the soul. And its integral parts are contrition, confession, and satisfaction.

Contrition is well defined as "a sorrow and detestation of past sin, with a purpose of sinning no more." But your Trentine Catechism, though it allows that contrition blots out sin, yet asserts that "few reach the degree of ardor and intensity which is necessary to make it effectual." And hence, the aid is required which is furnished by the power of the priest, through which absolution may be obtained,

when the sinner “does not bring with him that contrition which may be sufficient of itself to secure his pardon.”

Confession is next defined to be a “sacramental accusation of one’s self, made to obtain pardon by virtue of the keys,” that is, by virtue of the power of remitting sins with which the priest is supposed to be invested. In the tribunal of penance, therefore, the priest is the judge who examines the cause, in order to determine the condition of the sinner. And “the voice of the priest,” saith your Catechism of Trent, “is to be heard as that of Christ Himself, who said to the lame man, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.”

The age at which confession of sins to the priest should begin, is “as soon as children are able to discern good from evil, and are capable of malice.” And the times of confession are at least once a year.

All mortal sins must be revealed to the priest, although buried in the darkest secrecy, and also sins of desire only, together with all the accompanying circumstances. And so important is this integrity to confession, that “if the penitent wilfully neglects to accuse himself, or suppresses anything that he ought to reveal, he not only fails to obtain the pardon of his sins, but involves himself in deeper guilt.”

“Secrecy must be strictly observed as well by the penitent as by the priest, and therefore no one can, on any account, confess by messenger or letter.”

The third part of your sacrament of penance is *satisfaction*. And this word signifies “*the compensation made by man to God, by doing something in atonement for the sins which he has committed.*”

It is granted in your Catechism that the first degree of satisfaction, which stands pre-eminently above the rest, is that for which we are indebted to Christ alone. But that

which constitutes a part of the *Sacrament of Penance* "must be imposed by the priest, and be accompanied with a deliberate and firm purpose to avoid sin for the future."

Every species of this last kind of satisfaction is included under the three heads of prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds.

And God has granted to our frailty, saith your Catechism, "*the privilege that one may satisfy for another.*"

If the penitent has been guilty of injuring his neighbor in property or character, the priest should insist, before giving absolution, that he make restitution or reparation for the injury. And in imposing penances, the confessor must be guided by justice, prudence, and piety.

The power of the priests "is not simply to declare that sins are forgiven, but, as the ministers of God, *really to absolve from sin* : a power which God Himself exercises through their ministry."

"Humbled in spirit, the sincere penitent casts himself down at the feet of the priest. In the minister of God, who sits in the tribunal of penance as his legitimate judge, he *venerates the power and person of our Lord Jesus Christ*, for, in the administration of this, as in that of the other sacraments, the priest *represents the character and discharges the functions of Jesus Christ.*"

"To penance belongs, in so special a manner, the efficacy of remitting actual guilt, that without its intervention," saith your Catechism, "*we cannot obtain or even hope for pardon.*"

These statements are taken direct from your Catechism of Trent, and I shall only add to them the 21st Canon of your fourth Council of Lateran, which established your modern system in A. D. 1215, in these words :—

"Every believer of either sex, after coming to years of discretion, *shall faithfully confess all his sins alone, at least once a year, to his own priest*, and shall endeavor, to the ut-

most of his power, to fulfil the penance enjoined, receiving reverently, at least at Easter, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, unless, perhaps, through the counsel of his own priest, for some reasonable cause, he should conclude to abstain at that time from its reception: *otherwise let him be prohibited from entering the Church while living, and dying, be deprived of Christian burial.* Wherefore, let this salutary law be *frequently published in the Churches*, lest any one may assume the veil of excuse from the blindness of ignorance.”*

It was soon after this that the form of absolution was changed from the ancient prayer, “*May the Omnipotent God grant to thee absolution and remission,*” to your modern form, “I ABSOLVE THEE.” This is admitted by all your really learned and candid theologians, Morinus, Menard, &c. And Thomas Aquinas himself, although he defends the change as right and proper, does not deny that it was an innovation.

This may suffice to show what is the point of controversy. It is not about the duty of confessing our sins to God, continually, and beseeching Him, who alone has power, to forgive us for the sake of His Son Jesus Christ. Neither is it about the duty of genuine repentance and contrition for our offences. Nor is it about the duty of confessing our sins to any of our brethren whom we may have offended, and making all the reparation in our power. These things are admitted by all Christians, and there is no dispute about their obligation.

Nor does the controversy involve any question as to the power of remitting sins granted by our Lord to the Apostolic office, and always believed to be an essential part of

* Hard. Con. Gen., Tom. 7, p. 35.

the *inward and invisible grace* attached to the faithful reception of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist.

But the controversy turns on your modern act of priestly despotism, in erecting a *private tribunal of compulsory judgment*, before which all believers of either sex, in order to obtain absolution from their sins, are *forced to come, once a year*, and accuse themselves at the feet of the priest, and submit their conscience to be questioned about every act and even every thought of mortal sin, according to the priest's good pleasure, and receive his mandate as to the works of penance which he shall think fit to impose, as if it were the voice of Christ Himself, under the awful penalty of being *excluded from the Church and the Sacraments while living*, and *deprived of Christian burial when dead*. And all this, too, is done in *secrecy*, so that every priest is trusted as if he were an *infallible judge*, and there is no remedy against his mistakes, his ignorance, his licentiousness, or his presumption, although the whole arrangement is such as to expose him to the strongest temptations which can be held out to human infirmity.

In addition to which, we charge your modern Church with error in making Penance *a sacrament*; in changing the ancient form of simple prayer, that *God would mercifully absolve the penitent*, into the positive form of "I ABSOLVE THEE;" in the most superstitious and absurd doctrine, that *one man may perform satisfaction for the sins of another*; and in the utterly false and unscriptural notion, that the sinner may *render compensation to God by doing something in atonement for his sins*.

The difference between the Churches of Rome and England may therefore be stated as follows:—

1. Rome exalts Penance, including private confession and absolution to the priest, into a *sacrament, necessary to*

salvation. England allows repentance and faith to be thus necessary, which are states of the soul, and denies that Penance is a sacrament at all.

2. Rome exacts auricular confession and priestly absolution, as a distinct private preliminary to the reception of the Eucharist. England requires only the uniting in the confession and prayers of the Liturgy, submitting the sincerity of the communicant to God, who reads the heart.

3. Rome makes the neglect of her modern imposition liable to the punishment of *exclusion from the Church while the party is living, and from Christian burial when dead.* England abjures the whole of this, as a cruel act of priestly tyranny.

4. Rome imposes penance, as a satisfaction to the justice of God, at the private dictation of the priest in the secret tribunal. England gives no power to the priest to impose penance at all, and condemns the doctrine that the sinner can do anything to satisfy the divine justice, as an invasion of the sole office of Christ, and destructive to the genuine humility of the sinner.

5. Rome demands *secrecy, not only from the priest, but also from the penitent*; so that if the priest should err, the people have no remedy. England requires no secrecy from the penitent, and every error of the priest is open to the fullest detection.

6. Rome exacts a full confession to the priest of *every mortal sin, and even of the secret thoughts*, without which the penitent not only receives no absolution, but increases his guilt. England *exacts nothing*, but only *allows her priests* to hear what any one may seek to communicate, so far as his own voluntary desire and sense of propriety may incline him.

7. Rome begins her work of the confessional with *young*

children, before they are admitted to confirmation or communion. England limits her allowance to *communicants only*.

8. Rome, in her Council of Trent, teaches that “the *imperfect contrition* which is called ATTRITION, since it is commonly conceived either from the consideration of the infamy of sin, or from the fear of hell and punishment, if it excludes the intention of sinning, and has the hope of pardon,” suffices for absolution from the priest. England promises the pardon of sin, on the contrary, only to a *genuine contrition*, and holds the doctrine of Rome to be a dangerous delusion.

9. Rome commands the penitent to *cast himself down at the feet of the priest*, and to listen to his voice *as the voice of Christ Himself*. England condemns this abject slavery, and remembers the conduct of the Apostle Peter, saying to Cornelius, “*Stand up, for I also am a man.*”

10. Rome holds that *one man may satisfy God for the sins of another*. England condemns this, as a most false and perilous impiety. In a word, the Church of England *permits* any communicant who cannot have peace in his conscience by his own prayers and pious exercises, to consult his pastor, as his best and wisest friend and counsellor, and open his grief in private, so far as he thinks fit; and if he desires it, he may receive not only comfort and advice, but also the act of absolution, if his priest believes him to be truly contrite for his sin. And even this allowance, though only granted at the wish of the communicant himself, is limited in our American Church, which has properly taken away the Romish form of “I absolve thee,” and allows of no sentence of absolution except what is set forth in the public Liturgy in connection with the Eucharist. Whereas your modern Church lays upon all your people the yoke of

absolute bondage to the priest; forcing them all, without exception, to come up, whether willing or unwilling, and bare their inmost thoughts to his inspection; making him the unlimited master of husband and wife, parent and child, by his knowledge of their most secret faults, and even desires; delivering them, bound by the strongest kind of slavery, to his secret disposal, and thus virtually putting him into the place of God. And this, Most Reverend Sir, is *Rome's idea of Christian liberty*!

I have now shown, as I trust sufficiently, the amazing effrontery with which your favorite author mystifies the subject in his ingenious, but utterly uncandid, attempt to prove that the doctrine of Rome is substantially justified by the doctrine of England. And I shall next proceed to prove that your modern system is entirely repugnant to the Scriptures and the primitive Church, and is, like all the rest of your corruptions, a pure innovation upon the Apostolic rule.

With respect to the Scriptures, we acknowledge, of course, that our blessed Lord and Saviour, after His resurrection, "*breathed upon His Apostles, and said to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven to them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.*"* The question is, How did the Apostles exercise this heavenly gift? Was it only *in connection with the administration of the sacraments*? Or did they erect a distinct tribunal of private confession and absolution besides, and force every baptized man, woman, and child, to submit their secret thoughts to secret priestly inspection?

To this, every reader of the Acts, and other writings of the Apostles, can easily furnish a decisive reply. These inspired men required repentance towards God, and faith

* St. John, xx. 22-3.

towards our Lord Jesus Christ, and then administered Baptism *for the remission of sins*,* to those whom they judged to be truly penitent and believing. Then came the laying on of the Apostles' hands, or what is now called *confirmation*, with the invocation of the Holy Spirit,† and then the admission to the full fellowship of the holy Eucharist.‡ Having thus become invested with all the privileges of the members of Christ, they continued to enjoy them until death, unless they committed some gross offence against the rule of the Gospel precepts which called for discipline. In this case, they were put away from the communion of the Church,§ and not restored again until their repentance and reformation were satisfactory to their brethren.||

Now, it is certain that throughout the whole of this simple and beautiful system, the Apostles exercised their office of *remitting or retaining sins*. For the sins of those whom they judged fit were *remitted* in Baptism, while the sins of those whom they judged unfit were *retained*. The venial sins of daily infirmity were forgiven by Christ, through daily repentance, and confession, and prayer to Him. The gross or mortal sins which scandalized the Church were only those which called for discipline; and that discipline was administered by the judgment of the Apostles, who thus, again, *retained* the sin, by putting away the transgressor from the communion of the faithful. And when he had given satisfactory evidence of his grief and reformation, they *remitted* his sins again, by restoring him to the fellowship of the faithful. Thus, too, *they held the keys of the kingdom of heaven*, that is, the Church, according to our

* Acts, ii. 38.

† Acts, ii. 42.

‡ 2 Cor., ii. 7.

† Acts, viii. 17.

§ 1 Cor., v. 13.

Lord's promise to St. Peter ; *opening* the door of admission, and *closing* it again, as the case required. So that we have the clearest proof in the New Testament of the mode in which they exercised their sacerdotal power.

But all of this was open and public to the whole body of the faithful. The Apostles had no *private confessional*, no dark holes and corners, to conceal, in the deepest secrecy, the judgments which concerned each individual soul. On the contrary, St. Paul gives this charge to Timothy, the first Bishop of Ephesus, "Them that sin, *rebuke before all*, that others also may fear."* The assertion of Dr. Milner, therefore, that your modern Romish system is in accordance with the gift of Christ to the Apostles, is a libel on them and on the Scriptures. *They were inspired*, and could not have erred in their mode of performing their divine Master's commission. And the fourth Council of Lateran, which presumed, in the year 1215, to dispense, virtually, with the apostolic rule of public discipline, and establish, instead of it, the priestly bondage of the secret confessional, was guilty of an awful act of rebellious contumacy.

Your favorite author next undertakes to prove his doctrine by the testimony of the fathers ! forgetting, or choosing to ignore, the fact that the very decree of the Council of Lateran proves the establishment of a *compulsory private confessional for all persons* to have been a complete innovation, since it commands that this "salutary law should be *frequently published in the Churches*, lest any one may assume the veil of excuse from the blindness of ignorance."

The passages which Dr. Milner artfully quotes from the fathers may *seem*, to a careless or a shallow mind, to justify his assertion, but in truth they are nothing to the purpose. Thus he cites Tertullian, saying : "*If you withdraw from*

* 1 Tim., v. 20.

confession, think of hell-fire, which confession extinguishes." How, I pray you, Most Reverend Sir, does this show whether the confession was to God, or to the priest ; in public or in private ; voluntary or enforced ?

Again, he quotes Origen, inculcating the necessity of confessing our most private sins, even those of thought, and advising the sinner "to look carefully about him in choosing the person to whom he is to confess his sins." One would really suppose that Dr. Milner imagined his Salopian friends to be arrant fools, if they were to take these words as proof on his side, when they are plainly against him. For Origen evidently considers that the confession of sins to another was a question of expediency. "*Look carefully,*" saith he, "*in choosing the person.*" Why should he look carefully in *choosing*, if the Church had settled it according to the Lateran rule, that he could have *no choice at all* ? Why should he be advised to choose "*the person,*" if the Church had determined that he *must confess to his own priest* ? The passage proves, incontestably, therefore; the very reverse to the object of your author, because it shows that Origen held the confession of sins to an individual as a matter of voluntary discretion, and had never dreamed of your modern compulsory and priestly system.

Again, he quotes Basil, in the fourth century, saying : "It is necessary to disclose our sins to those to whom the dispensation of the divine mysteries is committed." But he forgot to inform his readers that this was a rule laid down to the *monks*, of whom Basil had instituted a special order, and had no relation whatever to the practice of the ordinary laity, nor to the Church at large. And even as respected the monks, there is not a word about *secrecy*, nor about the administering of *private absolution*, nor about *penance or satisfaction* dictated by a single priest alone

Again, he tells us that St. Ambrose used to "*weep over the penitents whose sins he heard, but never disclosed them to any but to God alone.*" Another proof of the effrontery with which Dr. Milner reckons on the weakness of his readers. For what does the passage testify to the points in controversy? Does it inform us whether the penitents who sought St. Ambrose, came of their own free will, or in obedience to a compulsory rule like that of your modern system? And would it have been worth while to mention that he *never disclosed their sins*, if the law of the Church had then been settled that he *dared not*? As to his weeping over the penitents, it only serves to show that they were gross and grievous sinners, and you will hardly say that your modern system has any similarity to the tender sympathy of Ambrose, either in precept or example.

And just as little has Dr. Milner's fourth and last quotation from St. Augustine to do with the true question. "*Our merciful God wills us to confess in this world, that we may not be confounded in the other.*" Who ever doubted that? Elsewhere, he says, *Let no one say to himself, I do penance to God in private. Is it, then, in vain that Christ has said, Whatsoever you loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven? Is it in vain that the keys have been given to the Church?*" Your favorite advocate forgot, again, to let his readers understand that St. Augustine was here speaking of *public penitence* and *public absolution*, which was, as I shall show presently, the established rule in his day, and for centuries afterwards. And this is intimated plainly in the very passage itself, where he saith, *Let no one say to himself, I do penance to God privately.* Private penance would not answer where public penance was required. But this of itself draws the line of broad distinction between modern Rome and the primitive system. For, under your present disci-

pline, the penance is enjoined by the priest *in private*. The sinner performs it *in private*. And the mantle of secrecy and deep concealment is imperatively commanded to rest over the whole.

After this display of impotent sophistry, which would be amusing if the subject were not of so serious a character, let me refresh your memory, Most Reverend Sir, since Dr. Milner is beyond my reach, with a few extracts from the fathers which *are* to the point, and from which any intelligent mind can see how faithfully the primitive Church preserved, for several centuries, the true Apostolic discipline.

Thus saith Tertullian : “ The penitence which the grace of God accords to Christians, and which recalls them to the Lord, *is allowed but once*, and ought not to be permitted after a repetition of the sin.”*

Again, saith the same father : “ The laver of baptism is the seal of faith, which faith begins from penitence. We are not washed in order that we *may* cease from sinning, but because we *have* ceased, since we are already cleansed in heart. *A second penitence is opened to us in the porch of the Church, but only once, because it is the second ; for oftener than once, it would be vain.*”†

Here we see that the Church, in the days of Tertullian, contemplated no acts of penitence, after baptism, except the *public penitence* attached to gross and serious sins, in which the party was separated from the communion, and only allowed to stand in the porch of the Church, until his brethren and his pastor were satisfied that his repentance was sincere. Then he was allowed to come into the Church, and hear a portion of the service, being obliged to depart, however, before they proceeded to administer the Eucharist.

* Tert. de Poenitentia, § 5, p. 123, B.

† Ib., § 6, and § 7.

And, in due time, he was received into communion again, with great solemnity. But this process could only be gone through once; for if he became a second time guilty of any transgression which required that he should be separated from the Communion, he could be restored no more. It is to this that Tertullian refers, when he saith that "*a second penitence is opened to us in the porch of the Church, BUT ONLY ONCE, because it is the second; for oftener than once, it would be vain.*"

The same author describes the severity of this public penitence in very graphic terms, saying, that the penitent should wear sackcloth, fast, groan and weep; and especially notes that he shall "*fall down before the Presbyters, and embrace the knees of those who are the beloved of God, beseeching all his brethren to intercede for him.*"* Thus we see that there was no secrecy, no private tribunal of the priest alone, no discipline which was not equally noted by all the faithful.

The other kind of penitence, which is the constant duty of every believer, is also frequently spoken of by the fathers, but in such a manner as perfectly to exclude the priest, because it was the exercise of the heart towards the Lord only. Thus Eusebius, the Bishop of Cæsarea, saith, in the latter part of the third century, "The beginning of good is to abandon the former evil by true penitence and confession, which leads to a good end, namely, to God. For if there is none good but God, the beginning of the best way leading to God must be confession. Therefore it is written, *It is good to confess to the Lord.* Moreover, *it is meet that we utter our confession, not to men, but to God, who searches the heart.*"†

* Tertul. de Poenit., § 9, p. 127.

† Euseb. Cæsar. Com. in Psal; p. 608, C.

In like manner, the famous Athanasius, about A. D. 340, in answer to the question, "*What law gives the pardon of all sins?*" gives this reply:—

"The law of the Lord, saying, *Judge not, and ye shall not be judged. And again, Forgive us our debts, like as we also forgive our debtors.* Hence it appears that not to judge our neighbor gives pardon for all sins. The same applies to the not remembering offences. *Forgive, saith he, and you shall be forgiven.*"*

And in answer to another question, viz., "*If a man shall have committed a very grievous sin, and repented, how shall we learn whether he has been forgiven by God or no?*" The same Athanasius replies as follows:—

"This truly is made plain to few men upon earth; nevertheless, even as it is between the master and the servant, so is it between the conscience of a man and God. Thus, as the servant who has offended may know, from the gestures and language of his master, that he is not in the same favor as he was before; in like manner the sinner loses the liberty of speaking which his conscience previously possessed in his prayers. *But when he has truly repented, God grants to him again the liberty of speaking with Him, which he had before his sin. And by this the man knows that God has pardoned his sin.*"† Here we see, distinctly, that there could have been nothing in the fourth century at all resembling your modern priestly confessional. When sin was known, so that it gave scandal to the Church, it could only be visited by public penitence, which was long and severe, and continued till the Church as well as her priests were satisfied. But when it was secret, the confession was

* Athan. Op., Tom. 2, p. 366, Quæstio 76.

† Ib., p. 367, Quæstio 77.

only made to God, and the sinner knew that he was forgiven, *not by the sentence of the priest, but by the liberty of prayer in his own conscience.*

I proceed next to the statement of the great Augustine, towards the end of the fourth century, which will clearly show how the matter was held in his day.

“There are three kinds of penitence which your Erudition recognizes as I do ; for they are familiar in the Church of God. One is that which travails with the new man, until, through saving baptism, the washing away of all past sins takes place ; so that, as when a child is born, the pains pass off by which the womb was urged to the birth, joy may follow sorrow.”*

“Another kind of penitence is that which is required in the perpetual humility of supplication, through the whole of this life which we pass in our fleshly tabernacle. Whence also, when we pray, we say what through our whole life we are bound to say, *Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.*”†

“The third kind of penitence is that which is to be performed for the sins committed against the laws contained in the Decalogue, and concerning which the Apostle saith : *For those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* Being bound, therefore, by the chains of those deadly sins—let him come to the presiding ministers, by whom the keys of the Church are applied—and let him accept the mode of his satisfaction from those who preside over the sacraments, so that, being devout and suppliant in offering the sacrifice of a sorrowful heart, he may do what shall not only be profitable to his own salvation, *but shall also serve for an example to others.* To this end, if his sin be

* S. Augustin. Op., Tom. 5, p. 942, § 2.

† Ib., p. 945, § 6.

not merely to his own grievous injury, but is likewise a cause of scandal to others, and if it shall seem expedient for the good of the Church, in the judgment of the Bishop, let him not refuse to exercise penitence *in the presence of many, or even of all the people* : let him not resist, nor, through shame, add inflammation to the mortal and deadly wound.”*

Augustine proceeds, in the following section, to another statement, which shows very plainly that the state of the Church in his days resembled precisely our own condition :—

“ Let no one think,” saith he, “ on account of these things, that he ought to despise the use of this salutary penitence, because he may, perhaps, observe and know that many come to the sacrament of the altar, of whose crimes he is not ignorant. For many are corrected, like Peter ; many are tolerated, like Judas ; many are unknown, until the coming of the Lord, who shall illuminate the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest the thoughts of the heart ; for most men are unwilling to accuse others, desiring to be excused by them. And many good Christians are silent, and suffer the sins of others which they know, because the testimonies are often wanting, and those things with which they are themselves acquainted cannot be proved to the ecclesiastical judges. For although certain things may indeed be true, yet they are not to be easily credited by the judge, unless they are substantiated by certain evidence. *But we cannot prohibit any one from the Communion (although this prohibition is not yet mortal, but medicinal), unless he be accused and convicted, either by his own voluntary confession, or by some secular or ecclesiastical judgment.* For

* S. Augustin. Op., Tom. 5, p. 945 and 947, § 9.

who would dare to take it upon himself, that he should act against any man both as accuser and judge ?”*

Here, therefore, we have the plain and irrefragable evidence of the primitive Church, Most Reverend Sir, in the very face of your whole modern system. There was no *compulsory private confessional*, in which every soul must pass under the *personal inquisition of the priest*, before he could come to the communion. There was no *secret despotism*, by which sin was to be estimated, and absolution conferred, and penance enjoined, once a year at least, in order to receive the common privilege of the Sacrament, to which every baptized and confirmed person was entitled. And there was no *evading of public penitence*, by the substitution of a *secret and concealed process*, which saved the offender from the necessity of being made an example to his brethren. On the contrary, although Augustine fairly acknowledges the already relaxed severity of the ancient system which Tertullian described, nearly three hundred years before, yet he saith : “ *We cannot prohibit any one from the Communion, unless he be accused and convicted, either by his own voluntary confession, or by some secular or ecclesiastical judgment.*”

One passage more may suffice to close this primitive testimony : “ These are not our only sins,” saith Augustine, “ which are called crimes, such as adulteries, fornications, sacrileges, thefts, robberies, false testimonies. To look upon anything which you ought not, is sin ; to hear willingly what ought not to be heard, is sin ; to think anything which you ought not, is sin.”†

“ Wherefore, on account of those sins which are human

* S. Augustin. Op., Tom. 5, p. 948, § 10.

† Ib., Tom. 7, De Civitate Dei., Lib. xx., c. x., p. 445.

and tolerable, and so much the more frequent as they are smaller, God has constituted in the Church, during the time of obtaining mercy, the DAILY MEDICINE OF PRAYER, that we may say: *Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors*; that our face being washed by these words, we may go to the altar; and our face being washed by these words, *we may communicate in the body and blood of Christ.*"*

Yet Rome, since the year 1215, suffers no one to go to the altar until he has passed through the secret priestly inquisition, and has received absolution from his father confessor, before whose feet he must prostrate himself, and whose voice he must listen to as to the voice of Christ Himself, saying, *Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee!* And Dr. Milner has the effrontery to tell his readers that all this is in accordance with the fathers!

But not to multiply this branch of evidence any farther, I proceed to the honest acknowledgment of your learned and usually faithful historian of the Church, Fleury. He expressly states the commencement of *compulsory confession* to have been the work of Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, in the year 763, who established the rule for his Canons residentiary, a sort of monastic institution, that confession should be made twice a year, either to himself or to a priest appointed by him. "*This is the first time,*" saith Fleury, "*that I find confession commanded.*"†

The same historian states that the earliest instance of giving absolution to penitents immediately after confession, without waiting until their penance was fulfilled, occurred in the rule established by Boniface, the famous Apostle of Germany, as he was called, and a martyr. This was A. D. 750.‡

* S. Augustin. Op., Tom. 5, p. 68. Sermo de Decem Chordis, A.

† Fleury, Hist. Ecc., Tom. ix., p. 390.

‡ Ib., p. 359.

In the ninth century, your historian states that the ancient Canons on the subject of penitence were abandoned in many places, and the priests began to introduce, instead of them, new and easy methods of obtaining absolution, by pilgrimages, by commutations and other modes. These innovations appeared in certain little books called Penitentials, which many of the Councils denounced strongly, but the course of error went onwards, notwithstanding. Still, however, we hear nothing of the *secrecy* of the confessional, which came in, along with other abuses, at a later day.

The Council of Worms, saith Fleury, A. D. 1022, undertook to legalize the commutation of penance for money : “ He that cannot fast,” say they, “ shall sing fifty psalms on his knees in the Church for one day of fasting, and shall feed one poor man for that day. One hundred genuflexions shall be accepted instead of the fifty psalms, AND THE RICH MAY REDEEM THEMSELVES FOR MONEY.”*

“ The Canonical penitences,” saith the same historian elsewhere, “ were still in force at the end of the eleventh century.” “ But they imagined, I know not on what ground, that each sin of the same kind merited its penitence ; that if, for example, a homicide ought to be expiated by a penance of ten years, it must require a hundred years for ten homicides, which rendered penitence impossible, and the Canons ridiculous.”†

“ After they rendered penitences impossible by thus multiplying them, they were obliged to come to compensations and estimations, such as we see in the decree of Bouchard, and in the writings of Peter Damian. These consisted of psalms, genuflexions, flagellations, alms, and pilgrimages ; all

* Fleury, Hist. Ecc., Tom. 12, p. 413.

† Ib., Tom. 13, Discours Preliminaire, p. xxxiv.

acts which men could perform without being converted. Penances rendered by proxy were much less allowable, and the castigation which a holy monk gave himself for the sake of a sinner, was not a medicinal penance for that sinner : for sin is not like a pecuniary debt, which any other person can pay in discharge of the debtor, and in any sort of money which is current, but it is a malady which must be cured in the person of the sick.”*

Here, by the way, your learned and honest historian, Romanist as he was, directly impeaches the doctrine of your Catechism of Trent, *that one may satisfy for another*. But to proceed with his testimony :—

“ Another abuse,” saith Fleury, “ was the *forced penances*. The Bishops, seeing many sinners who did not come to submit themselves to penance, complained to the Parliaments, and besought the princes to constrain them by the temporal power. But this showed a great ignorance of the nature of penitence, which consists in repentance, and in the conversion of the heart.”†

Finally, this candid author states, that the old canonical rules of penitence were utterly destroyed by the Crusades. “ While these Crusades continued,” saith he, “ they took the place of penitence, not only for those who assumed the Cross voluntarily, but for all great sinners, to whom the Bishops would give absolution only on condition that they would perform in person the service of the Holy Land during a certain time, or would maintain for that purpose a number of soldiers. It seemed, then, that after the end of the Crusades, they ought to have returned to the ancient penitences ; but the use of them was interrupted for two

* Fleury, Hist. Ecc., Tom. 13, Discours Preliminaire, p. xxxv

† Ib., p. xxxvi.

hundred years at least, and the penitences had become arbitrary. The Bishops scarcely any longer entered into the details of sacramental administration ; the Mendicant Friars were the most ordinary ministers of the sacraments, and these transient missionaries could not follow long enough the conduct of a penitent to examine the progress and solidity of his conversion, as the proper pastors had formerly done ; for these monks were obliged to dispatch sinners promptly, in order to pass to others."

These proofs clearly demonstrate the vast revolution which the lapse of ages of manifold and constantly growing corruption brought in upon the primitive system. The specious hypothesis of Dr. Milner, that your modern rule could never have been introduced if it had not been necessary from the beginning, is thus shown to be utterly false, because it is opposed to the whole testimony of history. He tells his readers, indeed, that "the pride of the human heart would at all times have revolted at the imposition of such a humiliation as that of confessing all its most secret sins, if Christians had not previously believed that this rite is of divine institution, and even necessary for the pardon of them." He further says that, even "supposing the clergy, at some period, had fascinated the laity, kings and emperors, as well as peasants, to submit to this yoke, it will still remain to be accounted for how they took it up themselves, for monks, priests, and Bishops, and the Pope himself, must equally confess their sins with the meanest of the people." He boasts of the assent of the Oriental Christians to this same discipline, which I simply repudiate, as being totally destitute of proof. And finally, he claims for the members of his Church the enjoyment of inconceivable transport, joy,

* Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.*, Tom. 18, Discours Prelim., p. xxxiv.

and comfort, in the persuasion that they possess such a blessing. A few words on the more plausible parts of this passage shall close this letter.

To assert that the pride of the human heart, or the strength of the human intellect, would never have admitted your present doctrine on this subject if it had not been established from the beginning, is simply absurd, because human pride and human reason have been the slaves of error, since the world began, in a thousand forms, and there is no protection against it, save the standard of the Word of God, and the illuminating grace of His Holy Spirit. The corruptions of your Church were gradual, and had the most complete field for the growth of superstition in all directions, because the middle ages of Europe were the darkest ages of ignorance; and the little knowledge that existed was confined to the priests, who had the best possible excuse, as well as the largest possible opportunity, for concentrating all power in their own order.

To understand this fully, it is only necessary to remember that ancient Rome was subverted by barbarians from every quarter, who were debased by heathenism, who despised learning, and knew nothing of arts or letters, but who were already prepared, by the habits of their minds, to believe anything wonderful or miraculous, and were accustomed, in the prerogatives exercised by their own Druids and pagan priests, to acknowledge many of those superior powers which the policy of the Christian priesthood found it expedient to apply to themselves. In laboring to convert those barbarians, which was a task of duty as well as of interest, it is perfectly conceivable that the priests of the Church might readily avail themselves of all the reverence and authority which their ignorant proselytes were willing to accord to them, and indulge their converts in every su-

perstitious notion and practice which could, in any way, be turned into the service of Christianity. And thus the whole history of those ages shows how the Church prevailed over heathenism, while a large infusion of heathenism was introduced into the Church.

Hence the adoption of heathen days and festivals, by giving them a Christian appellation; the ascription of the powers of the heathen deities to the Christian saints and martyrs; the despotic authority of the Druids transferred to the Christian priests; the superstitious fables of heathenism matched and exceeded by false miracles and impostures; the feudal system of the barbarians adopted by the clergy; their admiration of warriors, leading priests and Bishops to distinguish themselves in battle; the heathen ordeals of fire and water engrafted on the judgments of the Church; their veneration for celibacy made a law for priests and monastics; while all their monstrous tales of enchanters, necromancers, evil spirits, elves, fairies—their charms, and incantations, and amulets—remained in the bosom of the Church, with no other change than the associating them, as much as possible, with sacred days and seasons, Christmas, Halloween, &c.

I am very far, therefore, from imputing the corruption of the Church to a deliberate design to do evil on the part of the clergy. On the contrary, I doubt not that their intention was only to do the best they could under the difficult circumstances in which the universal ignorance and heathenism of those ages had placed them. I doubt not that they thought themselves excusable in accommodating the Gospel, as much as possible, to the characters with whom they had to deal, through a well-meant but perilous adaptation of St. Paul's rule, "*I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.*" Nor do I question that in the arrogating to

their own order as much power as possible, they thought themselves influenced by the purest motives of expediency. For who should govern the ignorant and debased multitudes but those who had the largest share of knowledge and of virtue? Who could harshly condemn the pious fraud which was only practised for the ultimate benefit of mankind? Who could blame the steadfast effort to concentrate all power in the hands of those who could alone exercise it wisely? And if the only weapons with which the sword of barbarian violence could be opposed were those of superstitious veneration for the priesthood, who could wonder that the priesthood were led to sanctify their natural love of supremacy, by the belief that they were bound to use the best instrument they had, in order to make the people, the nobles, and the kings themselves, bow their untamed necks to the obedience of the Gospel?

That this, which I hold to be the true historical view of the case, would operate, necessarily, upon the subject of penitential discipline, must be obvious to the slightest reflection. In the first ages of the Church, while, for three centuries, she was under persecution, the doctrine and practice of the pure apostolic system remained, in their original form, though with diminishing vigor. When persecution ceased, under Constantine, in the beginning of the fourth century, and the Church was called to honor and to wealth, while she was surrounded on all sides by the temptations of heathenism in its most refined forms, the association began to work, and the door was opened to many innovations. And when, afterwards, the irruptions of the barbarian hordes brought in another kind of heathenism, no worse in principle, but debased, ignorant, and ferocious, the Church was encompassed with dangers and difficulties, which tempted her priesthood more and more to the employment of a false,

though seemingly judicious, spirit of accommodation. Hence, as the cases of discipline multiplied, while the ancient faith and piety decreased, and professed Christians would no longer submit to the old public penitence, the priests gradually fell into the custom of indulging offenders with a private confession, made only to themselves, and the laity willingly adopted a substitute which relieved them from the disgrace of confessing before the brethren. Hence, for the same reason, the *public penance which was* required to satisfy the Church in the days of Tertullian, was gradually exchanged for the *private penance* imposed by the priesthood. Hence, though the early Councils, beginning with that of Eliberis, A. D. 313, passed many stringent canons to enforce the old rules, yet it was found so difficult to execute them faithfully, that they were evaded more and more in favor of the indulgent easiness of private priestly absolution, until at length they fell into universal disuse, and the priests came naturally into the whole exercise of Christian discipline, which they managed in the same accommodating spirit, taking one thing when they could not get another, and thinking that they did well when the duty of penitence was performed in any way which was practicable, however different from the ancient, pure, and apostolic system.

When, therefore, the fourth Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215, passed the new and stringent law which forced all Christians, whether they were penitents or not, to pass through the secret tribunal of priestly confession and absolution, it was not by any means a violent shock to the settled habits of the time, for the Church had long before been brought to the point of transacting the whole work of penance through the private dictates of the priesthood. And the pretext of expediency was not wanting, because the measure was professedly and really adopted as a necessary

safeguard against the spread of the heresies which were then, with but too much reason, threatening the Church in every quarter. Hence, there was no resistance to it, although it was a perfect novelty to *command that confession should be made to the priests periodically by all, without distinction*, as Fleury honestly acknowledges. The kings, nobles and people all knew, perfectly well, that the priests were as indulgent to their sins as they could possibly desire, so long as they were faithful subjects of the Church ; and therefore, though the law invested their spiritual guides with a new and despotic power, yet the laity had nothing to fear from its severity. And thus, as the thirteenth century was the palmy period of Papal and priestly supremacy, when the nations of Europe had no idea of any government but that of force, and the powers of the kings and the powers of the Popes were linked most lovingly together, the influence of *circumstances* and the argument of *expediency* again concurred to establish the perilous innovation.

And this, as it was the real motive for the establishment of your modern system, is still, Most Reverend Sir, the principle on which it is exercised. Not really, as a remedy for sin, but as a safeguard against the *one sin*, the leaving your Church for any other communion. The casuistry of your Jesuits, and the Provincial Letters of Pascal, together with the moral condition of the priesthood themselves, before the Reformation, have long proved that with respect to sin, as defined by the word of God, your confessional is no protection, but the contrary. But it is certainly well contrived to keep your people from straying into forbidden pastures, and to secure their subjection to yourselves. For that it was intended, and no one can deny that it answers, to a very great extent, the objects of its institution.

Before it is possible, indeed, to extend it into the ima-

ginary region of benefit, on the broad ground which your theory requires, we should ask for a little sober examination on the most favorable supposition of practical advantage to your people. Thus, you have, I believe, about 1,200 priests, and about 1,800,000 people in the United States, making an average of 1,500 persons to each priest, all of whom must confess and receive private absolution individually, a little before Easter, every year. How much time, at the rate of fifteen working hours each day, would it be necessary for each priest to devote to that single duty? I do not affect to inform you, of course, because you know the secret working of the confessional incomparably better than I do. But I do desire to set my other readers on the track of a fair consideration of your system.

Allow, then, only *one hour* to each person, in which the mortal sins of act, word, and even of thought, *during the whole year previous*, must be confessed with perfect sincerity and integrity. And suppose that each priest could devote fifteen hours every day to his flock of 1,500, which is the average, and it would require 100 days to go through the whole work, and then he must begin again, because the sins committed since he commenced have to be confessed and absolved before the party can be received to his Easter Communion! And yet I believe your practice is to get over the whole of this weighty business during Passion Week, in which your other duties do not allow of more than seven or eight hours instead of fifteen; and so a matter of nearly four months, at the rate of fifteen hours each day, and one hour to each confession, must be dispatched in *six days*, at the rate of seven or eight hours, or, in other words, 1,500 hours' work disposed of in forty-eight hours only!

But you may find fault with my statistics. You may say that no priest has 1,500 souls to examine. You may say

that more than half your population do not come to confession at all. You may tell me that the greater part of those who come, confess nothing beyond the mere words of the formula. I do not doubt it in the least. Let us, then, cut down our average, if you please, from 1,500 to 500. That, I presume, you will allow to be a very moderate calculation. And let us suppose that two weeks before Easter, instead of one, are devoted to the work, at the rate of ten hours a day : and still, allowing one hour for each confession, only one hundred and twenty out of the five hundred could be submitted to your personal examination ; and nearly two months, or fifty days, excluding Sundays, would be necessary to go over the whole.

Remember, I pray you, Most Reverend Sir, that I am discussing, not the opportunities which your priests may take through the rest of the year, and in which they do not pretend to have any advantage over other Churches : but this peculiar, special and admirable advantage, as Dr. Milner considers it, of the confession and absolution which are given as a necessary prerequisite for your Easter Sacrament. And I think I have demonstrated, by a very simple calculation, that *no priest can possibly perform the duty with any real knowledge of the state of his people*. He may devote a reasonable time to one, or two, or half a dozen special favorites. He may take great pains with a recent proselyte, in order to give him or her, as the case may be, a deep conviction of the comfort and superiority of the confessional. But he owes them no more duty than he owes to the meanest of his flock. Nay, he owes the most of his time and labor to the most ignorant ; the mass that cannot read, and are therefore dependent entirely upon his instructions ; the mass that cannot understand his Latin Liturgy, nor the portion of the Latin Scriptures, which, if they were in English,

might give them from Sunday to Sunday, as with us, some knowledge of the Word of God. But this mass of ignorance he is obliged to dismiss, in the most summary style which the brief formula of confession admits. Fifteen minutes, on an average, is all he can possibly allow them. And thus they go away, quite satisfied that they are forgiven a multitude of sins which they have never confessed. And the priest contents himself with absolving, one by one, a crowd of poor deluded souls, of whose real spiritual state he knows precisely nothing. Is this the Apostolic power of the keys? Or is it not, rather, a strange and mournful mockery?

But, although I have based my calculations upon the notion that an hour, at least, should be allowed for the practical administration of your system, I should be sorry to have you suppose that I consider that would be sufficient to make it admissible. I have shown that the duty is impossible to the priest, and I now proceed to show that it is equally impossible to the sinner. For your Catechism of Trent requires every one that undertakes this confession to acknowledge, not only *all the mortal sins*, but all the *wilful thoughts of mortal sins*, which have been indulged during the past year! What human being could do this? And if he could, would a week or a month suffice for the recital? It is no easy task for the best of men to recall, each night, the sins of the heart which the past day has witnessed. And therefore, what must be the practical result of such a system on the vast majority of your people, but the habit of trusting to the supposed power of the priest, instead of the real progress of the soul, feeling perfectly easy about those sins which they expect to be forgiven, although they cannot even recall them to their memory?

How infinitely superior is the system of the Church of

England, which requires neither her priests nor her people to perform impossibilities, nor claims for her ministry a power which belongs to the Searcher of Hearts alone ! Which gives her people, regularly, the teaching of the Scriptures and the Liturgy, and tells them always to *examine their own consciences, and that not lightly, and after the manner of dissemblers with God*. Which calls upon them solemnly to *judge themselves, that they be not judged of the Lord*. And which pronounces absolution only in the form of the declaration, that *GOD absolveth all those who truly repent and unfeignedly believe His holy Gospel* ; or, at the Communion, directs her priests to pray, in the words of the pure and primitive Church, “ *Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who, of His great mercy, hath promised forgiveness of sins to all those who, with hearty repentance and true faith, turn unto Him ; Have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.*”

Here, Most Reverend Sir, there is no false pretence, no impracticable law, no absurd and delusive assumption. We make no claim, indeed, to the rigorous severity of the ancient penitential system, which has passed away from all Christendom for seven hundred years. But we allow all communicants to approach, as did the Primitive Church, unless they be proved unworthy. We exercise the discipline of St. Paul by putting away from the Sacrament those whom we know to have offended ; and we receive them again, after we have sufficient proof that they have repented and reformed. We do it, too, like the Apostle, with the knowledge of our brethren ; and, in conformity with his precept to Timothy, we abjure the private and irresponsible judgment of a secret priestly tribunal. We venture not to lay upon the sinner any formal acts of *penance*, because, for

such an exercise of priestly authority, there is not the slightest warrant in Scripture. Neither do we flatter him with the impious illusion that he can perform a work of *satisfaction*, which your Trentine Catechism defines to be “*a compensation made by man to God, by doing something in atonement for the sins which he has committed.*” Neither do we presume to say, I ABSOLVE THEE, to men, of the reality of whose repentance we know and can know nothing. Neither do we dare to usurp the prerogatives of God, who ALONE FORGIVETH SIN ; nor do we take to ourselves the honor of Christ’s own Majesty, by humbling our brother at our feet ; nor do we tell him that he must receive our secret sentence as if he heard the word of the Saviour Himself saying to him, “*Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.*” But on the contrary, we say to him that he cannot have real pardon, except he seek it from the Lord, with a contrite heart, a true repentance, and a lively faith. And if he would know whether he is indeed forgiven, we do not lead him to rest on the perilous delusion of priestly absolution, but we direct him, like the holy Athanasius, to discover it in the fact that the cloud of divine displeasure has passed away from his conscience, and that he enjoys *the same liberty of addressing God in prayer which he had before.*

As to the *transport and excess of joy and comfort* which Dr. Milner, in a garbled extract from Chillingworth, arrogates to the private absolution of your confessional, I know no more of it than Athanasius or Augustine knew, and that is precisely nothing. But I know that as there may be a false faith, so there may be a false peace, a false joy, and a false consolation. And for myself, I would infinitely rather go down to the grave a mourning penitent, looking in humble hope to the pardoning mercy of Christ, than seek relief

in a baseless pretence of priestly power, or borrow transport itself from a delusive superstition.*

* For a fuller examination and detailed account of this whole subject, I must refer the reader to my book on *The History of the Confessional*.

LETTER XXXIX.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

YOUR favorite Milner devotes his forty-second letter to the subject of Indulgences, and occupies a considerable part of it in proving what an indulgence is *not*. Thus, he saith that it is not a *license to commit sin*, nor a *pardon for future sins*, nor a *pardon for any sin at all*, but only a remission of the *temporal punishments* annexed to sin. Neither are indulgences to be considered as exempting men from repentance. But especially he saith: "We hold that it would be a *sacrilegious crime* in any person whomsoever, to be concerned in buying or selling them."

The confidence due to these assertions will appear by and by. In the first place, however, I must remind you of the express statements of your own historian, Fleury, that the plenary indulgence was introduced by Pope Urban II., to encourage the Crusade, at the close of the eleventh century. He saith, moreover, that "the indulgence took the place of wages to the Crusaders."* That it was afterwards employed in the wars against the heretics, the Moors in Spain, and generally,† of which he gives numerous instances. It was also attached to the years of the Roman Jubilee: and, finally, to any work of piety in which the Popes took a special interest. That the last extensive and

* Fleury, Sixième Discours Preliminaire, § 2, Hist. Ecc., Tom. 18.

† Ib., § 6.

public issue of Indulgences was by Pope Leo X., in order to raise money for the completion of St. Peter's Church at Rome, is notorious. As is likewise the fact that they were a matter of *open bargain and sale* throughout all Europe, and that the scandal produced by them in this form gave the first impulse to the Reformation, through the bold and effective preaching of Luther in Germany.

Now, about all this Dr. Milner is as silent as the grave. It did not suit his object to tell his simple and ignorant Salopian correspondents that Rome had introduced this dangerous abuse in the eleventh century, and had practised it until the Reformation. He calls it a *sacrilegious crime* for any one to be concerned in buying and selling indulgences, but did not choose to inform his friends that of this very crime the Popes had substantially been guilty, with the knowledge and assent of all their Councils, Cardinals, and Bishops, for full four hundred years, until *expediency*—the main principle of Roman policy throughout—compelled them to modify the operation. He does not deny, indeed, that indulgences have been sold, but tells his readers of the selling of Christ by Judas, and of the advertising of benefices for sale in England! As if the single act of the traitor Judas, followed by suicide, had any relation to a *settled practice* of Rome for centuries together! Or as if the advertising of a benefice was anything more than a public notice that a certain parish was either vacant, or to be vacated, in order that some clergyman, properly qualified, might apply for the place, subject to the approbation of the Bishop, without whose consent he could not be inducted.

This is the quality, doubtless, for which you value Dr. Milner so highly, that he is not only a dexterous defender, evading, withholding, and suppressing all the truth which is inconvenient, but that he is, still more, a bold, unscrupu-

lous, and adroit assailant, always ready to strike at his antagonist, without caring whether the spot is vulnerable or otherwise. For his observation and experience had taught him that in the battle of the pen, and in the battle of the person, there is this great difference: In the contest of the body, the blow which does not *tell* is counted for nothing by the spectator, because he sees its failure at the time. While, on the contrary, in the contest of books, a blow which does not *tell* may pass for a very palpable hit, in the judgment of the reader, because he sees that it is *intended for a blow*, but does not understand the subject sufficiently to know whether it reaches the mark. Perfectly aware of this, a writer of conscience considers it his duty to give *both sides of the argument fairly*, and to use no reasoning which he does not himself believe to be just and applicable. But Dr. Milner, like a true Jesuit, seems to have given his conscience up to the single object of the triumph of Romanism, and therefore he never dreams of the duty of fairness to his absent adversaries, gives only so much of his own story as suits him, and invariably acts upon the maxim that *to strike at the Church of England is the surest method of defending the Church of Rome*.

I pass on next, however, to his account of what an Indulgence is. According to the doctrine of your Church, as Dr. Milner states it, "The essential guilt and eternal punishment of sin can only be expiated by the precious merits of our Redeemer Jesus Christ; but a certain temporal punishment God reserves for the penitent himself to endure, lest the easiness of his pardon should make him careless about falling back into sin. Hence, *satisfaction* for this temporal punishment has been instituted by Christ as a part of the Sacrament of Penance. Nevertheless, as the promise of Christ to the Apostles, and St. Peter in par-

ticular, and to their successors, is unlimited, *WHATSOEVER you shall loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven*, hence the Church believes and teaches that her jurisdiction extends to this very *satisfaction*, so as to be able to remit it wholly or partially, in certain circumstances, by what is called an *Indulgence*. St. Paul exercised this power in behalf of the incestuous Corinthian, at his conversion and the prayers of the faithful,* and the Church has claimed and exercised the same power ever since the time of the Apostles down to the present."

That this statement is entirely lame, insufficient, and delusive, is perfectly manifest to every man who knows the true doctrine of your Church upon the subject. Not one word does Dr. Milner utter about the real fact, that Indulgences are designed to remit to the sinner the *torments of purgatory*, after he shall have passed away from the Church on earth. Not one word does he say about the treasure from which the Popes pretend to dispense their power, namely, in the words of Cardinal Wiseman, *the infinite merits of Christ*, AND THE PENITENTIAL WORKS PERFORMED BY THE SAINTS BEYOND WHAT THEIR OWN SINS MIGHT EXACT, WHICH ARE AVAILABLE TO OTHER MEMBERS OF CHRIST'S MYSTICAL BODY. This is your doctrine of works of *supererogation*, by which you maintain, that as one drop of the blood of Christ was sufficient to redeem the world, and as the saints fulfilled a vast amount of suffering and voluntary pain, over and above what was required for their salvation, all the rest of that precious blood and those meritorious works compose an inexhaustible treasure, which is placed at the disposal of the Pope, to apply, by his *Indulgences*, to the wants of sinners ; so that, by this means, a true *satisfac-*

* 2 Cor., ii. 10.

tion may be rendered to the justice of God for the purgatorial punishment which they would otherwise be obliged to endure, and their souls may ascend immediately to heaven !

Who would not willingly pay a few shillings for such an advantage as this ! Or how could any one be so hard-hearted as to refuse purchasing such a happy release for the suffering soul of his deceased father or mother ! No wonder the Popes found this spiritual merchandise profitable. It helped to pay the armies of the Crusades. It helped to extirpate the Albigenses and Waldenses. It helped to enlist soldiers for many other wars of the Papacy. It helped to draw enormous gain from the years of Jubilee. It helped to complete the magnificent edifice of St. Peter's. It helped to enable the Popes to support a state of more than regal splendor, and to be the most munificent patrons of artists, sculptors, poets, and musicians, in the world. And finally, by the good providence of God, it helped to bring on the true Reformation of the sixteenth century, by creating such a scandal against your Church, that the Council of Trent was constrained to discourage the *public traffic*, although the doctrine itself, with all its other advantages, remained as before.

I shall not here stop to notice the preposterous attempt of Dr. Milner to make the restoration of the penitent Corinthian, of whom St. Paul speaks, a warrant for your system ; because the whole subject will come up again, in the examination of your doctrine of Purgatory. But I cannot pass over the conclusion of his 42d letter, in which he tries to escape from any further discussion of the matter, by aiming another blow against the Church of England, concerning what he calls "*their own Indulgences.*"

This is, truly, an amusing specimen of his characteristic effrontery. For he applies the term *indulgence* to one Canon

which prohibited the *commutation of penance*, unless for very weighty causes ; to another, which moderated certain indulgences *in the celebration of marriage* ; and to a third, which enacted that *no chancellor, commissary, or official, should commute any penance, without giving account to the Bishop, who shall see that all such moneys shall be disposed of for charitable and public uses according to law,—saving always to ecclesiastical officers their due and accustomable fees !*

And this is the parallel which your author presents to your Romish doctrine of Indulgences, notwithstanding there is hardly a single element in common between them ! These petty details, though never made a topic of controversy by any one, are here paraded with a flourish of ridiculous importance, as worthy to be placed in competition with a spiritual claim of Papal power which set all Europe in a flame !—which embraced the condition of every departed soul !—which asserted the dominion of the Pope over the application of Christ's blood and the superfluous good works of the saints, so as to relieve the sinner from Purgatory, and admit him at once to heaven !—which addressed itself to every heart and purse in Christendom, and undertook to arm warriors, and replenish exhausted treasuries, and, far beyond them all, to administer a false peace to the trembling consciences of millions !—which assumed a higher efficacy than all the appointed means of grace, and promised the sinner, for a few shillings or crowns, and by a single sweeping act of universal prerogative, a surer and speedier acceptance at the hand of God than he could gain by the ordinary faith and obedience of a lifetime !

We might well commiserate the understanding of any man who should gravely compare the humble silk-worm of our garden with the devouring anaconda of the East. And the puerile sophistry of your favorite author is about equally

respectable. I can only account for the fact that a writer of his talents could descend to such trifling as this, by calling to mind the associations of his priestly office, which led him so constantly to expect his own flock to believe a vast amount of marvellous absurdity, that even when addressing the public, notwithstanding his peculiar art and tact, he could not always preserve a decent regard for common sense and reason.

The best evidence which I can give my readers of the true character of an *Indulgence* will be from the bull of the Pope himself, published in A. D. 1825, for the Jubilee :—

“ During this year,” saith this bull, “ which we truly call the acceptable time, and time of salvation, &c., we have resolved, in virtue of the authority given to us by Heaven, fully to unlock that *sacred treasure, composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues of Christ our Lord, and His Virgin Mother, and of all the saints, which the Author of salvation has intrusted to our dispensation.* We proclaim that the year of atonement and pardon, of redemption and grace, of remission and indulgence, is arrived ; in which we know that those benefits which the old law, the messenger of things to come, brought every fiftieth year to the Jewish people, are renewed in a much more sacred manner by the accumulation of spiritual blessings through Him by whom came peace and truth. During which year of Jubilee, we mercifully give and grant, in the Lord, a *plenary Indulgence, remission, and pardon of all their sins*, to all the faithful of Christ, truly penitent, and confessing their sins, and receiving the Holy Communion, *who shall visit the churches of blessed Paul and Peter, &c., and shall pour forth their pious prayers to God for the exaltation of the Church, the extirpation of heresies, the concord of Catholic princes, and the safety and tranquillity of Christian people.*”

“But you, venerable brethren,” continues the Pope, in another part of the same bull, “Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, co-operate with these our cares and desires. To you it belongs to explain, with perspicuity, the *power of indulgences*; *what is their efficacy*, not only in the remission of canonical penances, but also the *temporal punishment due to divine justice for sin*; and what succor is afforded out of this heavenly treasure, from the merits of Christ and His saints, to such as have departed real penitents in God’s love, *yet before they had duly satisfied, by fruits worthy of penance, for sins of commission and omission, and are now purifying in the fires of purgatory, that an entrance may be opened for them into their eternal country, where nothing defiled is admitted.*”

Here we have the whole view of the matter plainly declared—the plenary Indulgence, remission, and pardon of all their sins—the remission of the temporal punishment due to divine Justice—the delivery of the souls of the departed faithful from the fires of purgatory, that an entrance may be opened to their eternal country, where nothing defiled is admitted, that is, to heaven. But this is not granted for nothing. It is necessary that they should *visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Rome*, besides offering certain prayers, &c. And the privilege, in this form, is confined to the year of Jubilee, which comes four times in each century, and always brings a crowd of pious believers in the Papal prerogative to receive the promised benefit, and to dispense a vast amount of *substantial* treasure in return for the spiritual gift supposed to be conferred.

But the liberality of the Pope does not end here, for it appears, from your book called *True Piety*, prepared expressly for your people in the United States, that a Plenary Indulgence may be obtained without travelling so far, on

the following days in every year :—" 1st, From Christmas Eve to Epiphany. 2d, From the first Sunday in Lent to the second, inclusive. 3d, From Palm Sunday to Low Sunday, inclusively, except Good-Friday and Holy Saturday. 4th, From Whit-Sunday to the end of the Octave of Corpus Christi. 5th, On the five great festivals of the Blessed Mary, with their Octaves. 6th, On the festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul, of St. Michael the Archangel, and within their Octaves."* Thus it appears that a plenary Indulgence, for any individual, or for the souls in Purgatory, may be had on nearly half the days in the year. And you know, Most Reverend Sir, that they cannot be had *without the money*. Neither promises nor credit will suffice. In the words of the merchant, "It is a cash transaction."

Yet Dr. Milner presumes to say, "we hold that it would be a *sacrilegious crime in any person whomsoever to be concerned in buying or selling them!*" How are we to understand this? Perhaps your people *give* the price, and the priest *gives* the indulgence; and so, as it is a *gift* on both sides, there is no buying or selling in the case at all! Certainly, that must be quite conclusive and satisfactory.

It is well known, however, that immense numbers of plenary indulgences are constantly exported to the Papal States of South America, and as we cannot doubt the perfect impartiality of your Popes in the matter, we must take it for granted that all the rest of your spiritual territories are equally well supplied. Still, the Council of Trent, says Milner, "used its utmost pains to prevent" the sale of indulgences. Was this really so? Let us look a moment at the record itself, and it will be easy to answer the question.

* True Piety, New-York Edition of 1826, p. 226.

“Decree concerning Indulgences.”

“As the power of conferring indulgences has been granted by Christ to the Church, and has been used from the most ancient times, this Holy Synod teaches and commands that it is to be retained in the Church, as highly salutary to Christian people, and approved by the authority of the holy Councils, and *condemns with anathema* those who either assert that they are useless, or deny that the Church has power to grant them. It desires, nevertheless, that moderation be observed in conferring them, according to the old and approved custom of the Church, lest ecclesiastical discipline be weakened by too much facility. And this Synod, desiring that the abuses which have broken in upon them, and by occasion of which the excellent name of Indulgences is blasphemed by heretics, should be amended and corrected, *ordains generally by this present decree*, that all those WICKED MERCHANDISINGS (*pravos quæstus*), in disposing of them, from which the cause of abuses has flowed in upon Christian people, be ALTOGETHER ABOLISHED. So that the privilege of Indulgences may be dispensed piously, holily, and uncorruptly to all the faithful.”*

And these are the words by which the Council of Trent, as Dr. Milner presumed to assert, “*used its utmost pains to prevent this detestable simony.*” And this is his authority for telling his readers that you hold it to be *a sacrilegious crime* in any person whomsoever to be “concerned in buying or selling indulgences.”

But did the Council say anything of the kind? Not at all. It only recommended the *old moderation*, and abolished the *wicked merchandisings* which had caused scandal against

* Hard. Con., Tom. 10, p. 190; Con. Trid., Sess. 25, A. D 1563 cap. 1.

the Church from the heretics, whom it condemned *with a curse*, according to its usual charity. And therefore, Most Reverend Sir, Indulgences are bought and sold as much as ever, only it is done *quietly and prudently*, with how much "piety, holiness and uncorruptness," is not for me to decide.

It may be said, indeed, that Leo X. erred in managing the work with so much publicity, not only dividing Europe into districts (which is done still), but appointing men like Tetzels, who cried up the value of the article in foolish sermons, and, by his extravagant commendations and impieties, brought the whole matter into general contempt. Your Church, however, was then triumphant. The followers of Wickliff had been imprisoned and burned alive in England. Wickliff's bones had been dug up and consumed, and the ashes scattered upon the water. Huss and Jerome had been martyred in Bohemia. What had the Pope to fear, that he should have used any special caution? How could he have foreseen that from this *little cloud, no larger than a man's hand*, should come forth a storm which shook Europe to its centre, and scattered the modern corruptions of Romanism to the four winds of heaven?

The Council of Trent, therefore, was hardly just in talking about *wicked merchandisings*. They could not have been esteemed very wicked, since I cannot find that any of the agents were punished for their faults. The scandal raised by Tetzels' folly began in 1517, with the opposition of Luther, and the Council enacted its decree in 1563, after forty-six years' experience of the consequences, when Saxony, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, part of France, Ireland, and the whole* of England and Scotland, had cast off their allegiance to the Papal crown. And doubtless, if the Providence of God had not raised up the men who were His instruments in opening the eyes of

Christendom to the crying corruptions of the Church, the *wicked merchandisings* of Indulgences would have passed off without any special notice, as many things far more wicked had done before.

Such, then, Most Reverend Sir, as you well know, is the true history and present state of your Indulgences. Such is the evidence on which Dr. Milner rested his strong and unqualified assertions. I leave it to your skill in Roman casuistry to defend the veracity of your favorite in the best way you can ; only regretting that the cause of your Church should require the services of an advocate who was so ready and dexterous a master in the school of misrepresentation.

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LETTER XL.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

IN the 43d letter of Dr. Milner, he presents your Church's doctrine of Purgatory, and Prayers for the dead, which, as is usual with all your writers, he considers so connected, that the allowance of the latter proves the former of necessity. This assumption, however, I shall plainly show to be quite unwarrantable. It is true that the doctrine of Purgatory includes prayers for the dead ; but it is perfectly untrue that prayers for the dead necessarily include the doctrine of Purgatory.

He also exhibits his usual skill in proving that there is an *intermediate state* assigned to the departed soul, the same which in the Apostles' Creed is called *Hell*, that is, the *invisible place*, or the place of *departed spirits*, as our Rubric explains it. But who, belonging to the Church of England, or to any other orthodox Church, doubts this ? And why does he take such pains to prove it, as if it were a point in controversy ? Was it in order to gain the advantage of mystifying his reader's mind, by leading him to take the evidence in favor of an intermediate state, as the evidence for the *peculiar kind* of intermediate state expressed by the term Purgatory ?

But as, in his previous letter, he took such excellent care *not* to inform his readers what an *Indulgence* really signified, so, in the present letter, he takes equally good care not to say what *Purgatory* signifies. He merely quotes the Coun-

cil of Trent, declaring that “ *there is a Purgatory, and the souls detained there are helped by the prayers of the faithful, and particularly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar.*” And this, he asserts, is all that is “ *necessary to be believed on the subject.*”

Truly, if a question of religious doctrine were not involved, this would be amusing. For when I ask, *what do you mean* when you profess that *there is a Purgatory*? neither the Council nor Dr. Milner condescends to give me any satisfaction. But would the Council of Trent have used this word without defining it, if it had not already been a well-known term in the Church, understood at that day by all men? And why did not your favorite author give his readers the advantage of the explanation, unless it were with the hope that inasmuch as many of them might be simple-minded Protestants, knowing little or nothing of the real system of Rome, they might be induced to believe that there was very little difference, if any, between their own faith in an intermediate state, and the doctrine of Purgatory?

The next specimen of your favorite author's disingenuousness appears in his assertion that the fathers taught your modern Roman doctrine, and that all the Oriental Churches hold the same. He says, indeed, that those Churches do not believe the souls in Purgatory are punished with *material fire*. And adds: “Neither does our Church require a belief of this opinion, and accordingly, she made a union with the Greeks in the Council of Florence, on their barely confessing and subscribing the aforesaid two Articles.”

Here, he uses a Jesuitical subterfuge by qualifying the word “fire,” with the adjective *material*, for it is incontrovertible that your Church holds the punishment of the souls in Purgatory by FIRE, although you do not say it is *material*

fire, because that would not be consistent with the condition of the soul, in its disembodied state. How far your favorite is reliable in his representation of the sentiments of the Fathers and of the Oriental Churches, will be shown presently.

Lastly, he winds up, as usual, by striking at the Church of England, Luther, Calvin, &c. Of his charges against others, I shall say nothing, because, as I have frequently stated, my object is confined to the vindication of my own communion. But with respect to his accusations against ourselves, they have no bearing on the points at issue. It is true, doubtless, that the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. contained a special prayer for the departed. But Cranmer became convinced of its inexpediency, and it was expunged. It is true, likewise, that many of our old divines have spoken favorably of such prayers, while they entirely condemned *your* doctrine of Purgatory. As to his other quotations from later writers, I do not conceive myself obliged to examine whether they are correctly made or not, since it is plain, on his own statement, that they have no proper relation to the points in controversy; and even if they had, I cannot allow the right of their authors to misrepresent their Church, or advance their private speculation as a part of her received doctrine.

His conclusion, that your purgatorial purification is conformable to the dictates of natural religion, and agreeable to the distinction which the mercy and justice of God will observe in *rendering to every man according to his deeds*, is a mere rhetorical flourish, which has nothing to do with the question. Our faith is to be regulated not by *natural*, but by *revealed* religion—not by the notions of “Plato, Virgil, or Mahomet,” but by the teaching of the Bible. And as to the distinction necessary to be supposed, in the future state,

between the various conditions of the redeemed, it is as fully provided for without Purgatory as with it.

Having thus noticed the general heads of your favorite's 43d letter, I shall proceed to examine his argument in detail ; but I must first supply his omissions by stating what is your Church's doctrine on the subject of Purgatory, as briefly and as fairly as I can.

You hold that after the penitent transgressor has received the pardon of his sins, through the atonement of Christ, and by the act of priestly absolution, there remains a debt of *temporal punishment due to the justice of God*, which must be strictly paid, either in this life, or in the intermediate state beyond the grave. That penance is imposed by the priest, in order to *satisfy the divine justice for this temporal penalty*. That nevertheless, none but the most eminent saints are able to satisfy it so completely as to escape a large amount of suffering which still remains to be accomplished, and therefore that all souls, except a very few, do certainly pass, at death, into a PURGATORY, where they are TORMENTED BY FIRE (not necessarily *material* fire, but fire notwithstanding), until the debt be paid. That out of this purgatorial torment, the departed souls can do nothing to relieve themselves, but that they may be relieved partly by the prayers of the Church on earth, especially by *Masses*, performed by the priests for that express purpose, and by the *plenary Indulgences* of the Popes, who can apply for their benefit the merits and sufferings of Christ, and the merits and sufferings of the Virgin and the saints, which they are supposed to have laid up, over and above what was required for their own salvation, and of which those Popes are supposed to be the sole dispensers. That this Purgatory must continue until the end of the world, and will only cease when Christ shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. That

its torture is intense beyond all bodily suffering. And finally, that all who pass through it, or who are relieved by the Masses of the priest or the Indulgence of the Pope, go straightway to heaven.

It is obvious, at the slightest glance, that this doctrine is the strongest basis of your priestly power over the fears of your people. It is the terror of Purgatory which exalts your imaginary dominion in the unseen world of departed spirits. It is the terror of Purgatory which invests your official sway with such tremendous influence. Yea, it is in Purgatory that the priests and the Pope can reign without control. In the present world, every one may see that your Masses and your Indulgences are far inferior in effect to the prayers of other Christians. But in the place of departed spirits, you may claim the privileges of God, without the danger of disproof, for no one can come from thence to contradict you.

It is equally obvious that the doctrine of Purgatory is of vast importance to your temporal support. Masses for the dead are of far more pecuniary value than Masses for the living. Indulgences, I grant, have sometimes been cheap enough ; but on the whole, their price is a serious item of the priestly and the papal income. And therefore, Most Reverend Sir, it must be granted that your writers have many cogent reasons for their zeal in defending your claims ; and it is to be feared that there are very few amongst you who refuse to sympathize with the Council of Trent, which so emphatically pronounced its hearty *anathema* upon the *heretics*, for daring to question their validity.

And now let me pay all due attention to your proofs, which you profess to derive, first, from Scripture, secondly, from the primitive fathers, and thirdly, from the ancient practice of praying for the dead.

Your favorite author begins his Biblical evidence with a passage from 2d Maccabees, which I have already demonstrated in my 17th letter to be no part of the admitted Canon of Scripture, since it was rejected by Origen, Jerome, Cyril, Epiphanius, Pope Gregory I., Pope Gelasius, the Council of Rome, the Council of Laodicea, the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the so-called Apostolic Canons. But let us see, nevertheless, what it is worth, in our present subject of controversy. The statement of the historian is the following, viz.: that Judas Maccabeus sent 12,000 drachmas of silver to Jerusalem for sacrifices, to be offered for his soldiers, slain in battle, on which he makes this observation: "*It is therefore,*" saith he, "*a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins.*"

Unfortunately, however, for the doctrine of Purgatory, this passage proves quite too much. For it appears that those soldiers who had perished in the battle were found to have had under their coats "some of the donaries of the idols of Jamnia, which the law forbiddeth to the Jews, so that all saw plainly that for this cause they were slain."* In other words, they were cut off for the crime of IDOLATRY, and died IN MORTAL SIN. But the Church of Rome holds such to be damned, beyond recovery; and, according to your own doctrine, it would be *utterly sacrilegious to pray for them at all*. The writer of the 2d Book of the Maccabees, therefore, whoever he was, shows himself to have been altogether at fault in the religious aspect of the matter. The probability seems to be, that Judas Maccabeus had, in his own mind, the case of the army of Israel, who were defeated at Ai on account of the sin of Achan,† and that the

* 2 Mac. xii. 40.

† Joshua, ch. vii.

money which he sent for the offering of sacrifices was not on behalf of the deceased idolaters, but on behalf of the living army, lest they should be involved in the sin of their companions. But be that as it may, the passage is perfectly worthless to your cause, since, if we adopt the statement of the historian, Judas committed a grievous mistake, according to the judgment of Rome herself, by having sacrifices offered for men who were, so far as human knowledge could ascertain, utterly excluded from all hope of salvation.

Your author's next attempt to borrow authority from Scripture is equally unfortunate. "That the Jews," saith he, "were in the habit of practising some religious rites for the relief of the departed at the beginning of Christianity, is clear from St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, who mentions them, without any censure." And in the note, he quotes the passage, "*Else what shall they do who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for them?*"* But this text, properly understood, has no relation to the subject. I suppose he would hardly contend for the interpretation of the Marcionite heretics, which Chrysostom describes in his 40th Homily, and treats it with derision as an impious mockery. For those heretics, when one of their catechumens died without baptism, administered the sacrament to the senseless corpse, a living man being hid under the bed, and making the responses of the baptismal office in the name of the departed. Chrysostom himself, however, rightly explains the passage as referring to the connection of Baptism with the fundamental doctrine, that *as in Adam all died, even so, in Christ, shall all be made alive*. Hence, all who come to Baptism, are obliged to PROFESS THEIR FAITH IN THE RESURRECTION.

* 1 Cor., xv. 29.

Why, therefore, argues the Apostle, *are they baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all?* That is, Why do they, who are dead under the sentence of the law, receive Baptism, if there be no Resurrection—no remedy for death, secured in the Gospel? Why are we, who are dead in sin, baptized in order that we may rise again with Christ, if the dead rise not at all? * The same exposition is given, Most Reverend Sir, by your own annotator upon Tertullian, who, in his Treatise on the Resurrection, likewise condemned this vicarious administration of Baptism, saying, that *the soul is sanctified, not by the washing, but by the answer* (of faith.) † But, above all, your own Douay Bible furnishes a commentary, in which there are no less than *three* different meanings assigned to the text, plainly proving how your own doctors differ, while not one of the whole three is sustained by the *fathers*, to whose exposition the Council of Trent professes to confine you! And yet Dr. Milner, with his usual confidence, saith that the case is “*clear*” from a passage the true sense of which you refuse to learn from your canonized Chrysostom, although you have not settled upon any other sense among yourselves!

He next asserts that the Jews, to this day, “continue to pray for their deceased brethren;” as if the practice of the Jews, unsustained by their own Scriptures, were a rule to the Church of Christ! It is a pity, however, since he thought fit to refer to them at all, that he did not tell his readers the whole story, by honestly stating, that although the Jews pray for the dead, yet they reject, as an utter abomination, your doctrine of Purgatory. This, at least would have been fair, and would have gone far, of itself, to

* S. Chrysostomi Hom. xl. in Ep. ad Corin., cap. 15.

† Tertul., p. 355, with the note.

show that there is no necessary connection between the offering of prayer for the departed, and the belief in your purgatorial torture.

The next two passages which Dr. Milner cites from the New Testament are not liable to any objection, as he does not pretend to infer from them anything more than the doctrine of an intermediate state for the disembodied spirits of the just, which we hold in the same sense as the fathers. But his quotation from St. Luke* is altogether irrelevant. The passage, as given in your own Bible, reads as follows :

“When thou goest with thine adversary to the prince, whilst thou art in the way, endeavor to be delivered from him, lest perhaps he draw thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the exactor, and the exactor cast thee into prison. I say to thee, *thou shalt not go out thence, till thou payest the very last mite.*”

He undertakes to assure his readers that the fathers interpreted the *prison*, here mentioned, to be the place of departed spirits. But he must have been aware that the fashion which Origen introduced, of looking for mystical and allegorical senses in every text, is no ground for any positive article of doctrine. On the face of the passage, it is plain that our Lord was not speaking of the state of the departed at all ; His object being merely to enforce the same precept of peace and non-resistance, which He laid down in His sermon on the Mount.† And it is equally evident that if the words were applicable to your Purgatory, it is so far from being favorable, that it is rather a decisive proof against you. For the Saviour saith, *Thou shalt not go out thence, till THOU HAST PAID THE VERY LAST MITE* : while you make it a point of faith, Most Reverend Sir, that the

* Chap. xii., 59.

† St. Mat., v. 25, 39, &c.

poor soul in Purgatory *cannot possibly pay anything* ! His debt to the *temporal justice* of God must all be paid by *others for him*, viz., by the priest, and the Pope, and the friends whom he has left in the Church on earth. So that here, as in many other places, the attempt of your unscrupulous advocate to make the word of Christ speak according to your system, only serves to furnish a new testimony against your error.

The main text, however, which Dr. Milner affects to rely on, is in St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians,* where he saith, "*The day of the Lord shall be revealed by fire, and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abide, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work be burnt, he shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire.*"

And here, again, the Scripture quoted is directly opposed to your whole doctrine. For the *day of the Lord is the day of Judgment*, the constant sense which the phrase bears in the writings of the Apostle. Whereas *Purgatory* is supposed to be the period of the intermediate state, comprising thousands of years, and ending when the day of Judgment begins. By what kind of transubstantiation do you convert what St. Paul saith about the final Judgment, into what you teach concerning a *previous state, which must be closed before* ?

Again, the Apostle, in treating of the Judgment, speaks of the great sentence to be delivered *after the Resurrection*, when the whole man, body and soul, stands before the tribunal of Christ. But your Purgatory supposes the condition of the soul in its *separate state*, and has no relation whatever to the body !

* Chap. iii., 13-15.

Again, St. Paul, when he speaks of *the fire* (as he elsewhere saith,* *Our God is a consuming fire*), applies it to the *works* of believers. But Purgatory applies its fire to the *soul itself*, and has no relation to *the works* at all.

And again, the Apostle declares, that the believer, even though his work be burnt, and therefore he himself shall suffer loss, by missing the rewards of an active faith, shall nevertheless be saved, yet *so as by* (or through) fire. The language plainly imports that the believer will thus be saved *with extreme difficulty*, or, as it is elsewhere expressed, he shall be *plucked as a brand from the burning*. But how does this agree with your doctrine of Purgatory? For you do not pretend that the fire of Purgatory *saves any one*. You hold, on the contrary, that every one who enters Purgatory has already had his sins forgiven, and *must undoubtedly be saved at last*. And the only use of your intermediate fire is to provide a state of torture for the soul, out of which the priest and the Pope can deliver him, so as to shorten his term of suffering. But it is one thing to *save* the sinner. And it is quite a different thing to *alleviate the previous chastisement* which his sins have deserved. In addition to which, the language of St. Paul opposes your doctrine in this, that he saith, *so as by fire*, while your doctrine leaves out the words *so as*, importing a comparison or similitude, and makes your Purgatory consist of *fire itself*. Thus, there is not a single item of the whole text which will serve the purpose for which your favorite author advances it so confidently. And I shall presently show that an authority no less than that of Augustine himself entirely condemns your modern interpretation.

There is yet another passage, however, which Dr. Milner,

* Heb, xii. 29.

in common with most of your theologians, cites from St. Mat. xii. 32, where our Saviour, speaking of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, saith that this sin *shall not be forgiven either in this world or in the world to come*. "These words," saith your author, "clearly imply that *some sins* are forgiven in the world to come." To which I answer that they imply no such thing, but, on the contrary, state most emphatically that this especial sin shall never be forgiven. For were it otherwise, the blessed Redeemer would have stated what *your own Church* holds to be a gross error. You know, Most Reverend Sir, that your Purgatory is set forth, not as a place in which *sin* can be forgiven, but only as a place in which the *temporal punishment* due to the *divine justice* may be remitted, *after the sin has been fully pardoned by the absolution of the priest in the tribunal of penance*. What a strait you must be in for scriptural authority, when your writers are not only obliged to put a false sense upon the words of the Apostle, but even to force what you hold to be heretical doctrine on the Saviour Himself!

I conclude the scriptural branch of the argument by recurring to the passages which Dr. Milner cited in the former letter on the subject of Indulgences, where the same abortive effort is made to sustain your modern fallacies by texts which have nothing to do with your Church's doctrine.

Thus he saith, with admirable complacency: "I suppose that no person who is versed in the Bible will deny that many instances occur there of God's remitting the *essential guilt of sin*, and the *eternal punishment due to it*, and yet leaving a *temporary punishment* to be endured by the penitent sinner. Thus, for example, the sentence of spiritual death and everlasting torments was remitted to our first father, upon his repentance, but not that of corporal death. Thus, also, when God reversed His severe sentence against the

idolatrous Israelites, he added, *Nevertheless, in the day when I visit, I will visit their sin upon them.** Thus, again, when the inspired Nathan said to the model of penitents, David, *The Lord hath put away thy sin*, he added, *Nevertheless, the child that is born unto thee shall die.*† Finally, when David's heart smote him, after he had numbered the people, the Lord, in pardoning him, offered him by his prophet, Gad, the choice of three temporal punishments—war, famine, and pestilence.”

Here is the whole list of texts, which Dr. Milner claims as a justification of your doctrine that the Almighty exacts, in every case, a debt of *temporal punishment* proportioned to the sins which He has forgiven ; that this temporal punishment must be strictly paid, either by penance in this world, or by sufferings in the terrible fire of Purgatory ; and that the Church on earth, through the Masses of the priest, or the indulgence of the Popes, possesses the sole prerogative of remitting the debt, and freeing the departed spirit from its rigid exaction !

But how do these passages prove a single article of your modern doctrine ? Adam, if he repented, was doubtless forgiven, and yet he suffered the sentence of the fall, *Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return*, because the promised Gospel was never intended to *supersede* that sentence, but to give man *life from the dead*. What has this fact to do with Purgatory and Indulgences ?

Israel, on the intercession of Moses, was pardoned with respect to the sin of idolatry in worshipping the golden calf, yet the Lord said that when their other sins should provoke His correction, He would chastise them for this among the rest. What had this to do with purgatorial fire in the fu-

* Exod., xxxii. 34.

† 2 Kings, xii. 14.

ture world, and the power of priests and Popes to deliver them from the divine decree?

David, on his deep and sincere compunction of soul, under the faithful rebuke of the Prophet Nathan, was forgiven, yet he was chastened by the death of his child. Does this prove that God *exact*ed a debt of temporal punishment proportioned to the enormity of the monarch's sins of adultery and murder? Or can it be inferred from it that David would otherwise have been obliged to pass, after his own death, into purgatorial flames?

Once more, the same David sinned by indulging the pride of his heart in the increase of his people, and ordered a census to be taken in opposition to the divine law. And the Lord rebuked him, by the Prophet Gad, and decreed a chastisement which should be as public as the sin, only giving him his choice whether it should be war, pestilence, or famine. The penitent king immediately acknowledged his offence, and chose pestilence, because he would rather fall into the hands of the Lord, than into the hands of men, and knew that God was very pitiful and of tender mercy. How does this prove your doctrine of purgatorial agony beyond the grave? Or what possible bearing has it on the power of priests and Popes to remit it?

But Dr. Milner tells us that "St. Paul exercised this power in behalf of the incestuous Corinthian, at his conversion and the prayers of the faithful.* And the Church has claimed the same power ever since the time of the Apostles down to the present." I would to God that the Church had been content to exercise the power of the Apostle, since about that there never was, and never could be, one word of controversy. But what did St. Paul on that occasion?

* 2 Cor., ii. 10.

Precisely what we all do to this day. He directed the incestuous Corinthian, in his first Epistle, to be put away from the communion of the faithful ; and afterwards, when it was ascertained that his repentance was sincere, and that "*the rebuke was sufficient*," the Apostle, in his second Epistle, tells the Corinthian Church that they should now "*forgive him, and comfort him, lest perhaps he be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow*."* And this restoration of the repentant and reformed sinner is taken as an authority for the PAPAL INDULGENCE ! Where, I pray you, Most Reverend Sir, is the resemblance between them ? St. Paul gives directions concerning a single penitent, of whose case he was fully informed. The Pope issues millions of pardons to people of whom he knows nothing. St. Paul recommends the restoration of the reformed sinner to the communion of the Church. The Pope issues his *Indulgences* to those who are in communion already. St. Paul says not one word about *Indulgence*, but evidently rests his advice on the Christian duty of charity and reason, because the end of discipline had been fully attained, and it was contrary to the law of love that the Corinthians should suffer their penitent brother *to be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow*. The Pope *unlocks his special treasure* of his own grace, and connects it, not with the just claims of fraternal affection and pity, but with the Crusades, or the war against the Turks, or the extirpation of heretics by fire and sword, or the completion of St. Peter's, or the supplying of his own coffers. St. Paul limits his authority to the Church on earth. The Pope extends his sceptre over the place of departed spirits. St. Paul desires to free the penitent from the suspension of his regular Christian privileges. The Pope undertakes to free millions from the torments of Pur-

* 2 Cor., ii. 6, 7.

gatory. St. Paul seeks only to restore a single reformed transgressor to the feast of the Christian Eucharist. The Pope sends unknown multitudes straight to heaven ! St. Paul gives his judgment without money and without price. The Pope grants his Indulgence for " a consideration."

And yet you claim the act of the Apostle as a scriptural warrant for the Papal prerogative ! Which shall we most admire, the outrageous absurdity, or the cool effrontery of such an argument ; which yet, by dint of priestly management, united to the policy of princes, and operating on the ignorance of your deluded people, has gained so extensive a mastery over the sense and reason of mankind !

But now, having exhausted his *Biblical evidence*, Dr. Milner turns to the fathers, "*on which head*," he has the confidence to say that we are "*so unwise as to challenge*" the priesthood of Rome. Yet it will be easy to show that there are few points in our controversy where the challenge may be made with a greater certainty of victory for the truth. And in order that my readers may be able to anticipate, as it were, the true state of this sort of evidence, I shall premise the candid acknowledgment of your own celebrated men, the Benedictine editors of the works of St. Ambrose.

"It is not surprising," say they, "that Ambrose should have written as he has about the state of departed souls, but it seems to be almost incredible how *uncertain and how various* the holy fathers have been upon the same question, from the very times of the Apostles to the Pontificate of Gregory XI., and the Council of Florence, that is, the period of almost fourteen hundred years. *For not only does one father differ from another*, as, in questions not yet defined by the Church, was likely to happen, *but they are not even found to be consistent with themselves.*"*

* S. Ambros. Op., Tom. I, p. 385, *Admonitio ad lectorem*.

Here, then, is an honest confession, forced by the necessity of the case from those eminent scholars who are perhaps the best qualified, among your whole body of divines, to deliver a decisive judgment on the question. For I need not tell you, Most Reverend Sir, that the Benedictines have earned themselves a reputation beyond all others, in this very field of patristic learning. Their editions of the fathers are the most prized, for their accuracy, their critical discrimination, and the admirable fulness and fairness of the copious index which invariably accompanies each volume. And here you have the plain expression of their unhesitating opinion, that *the fathers cannot be taken as a guide by your Church, upon the state of departed souls*, and that your doctrine in relation to the matter was *not settled by yourselves until the Council of Florence, in the fifteenth century!*

There is no escape from this admission. It puts an end to the absurd pretence that your Purgatorial system can be founded on the Scriptures, on the tradition of the Apostles, or on the faith of the primitive Church. You have, indeed, been so long repeating the idle boast that the Christianity of Rome has always been the same from the beginning (since this only could be truly CATHOLIC), that your writers labor, hard and ingeniously, to sustain the delusion, lest the world should lose confidence in your infallibility. But the learned amongst you know that this is all moonshine. And when they speak their real sentiments, they are compelled to abandon the absurd claim, and rest their faith (if *faith* it may be called) either upon the doctrine of *Development*, or upon the supposed *authority of the Councils* to establish such articles of belief, from time to time, as they may find it expedient to sanction. In either form, you make the Church an Autocrat. The Bible has long ceased to be your guide. The fathers have ceased to be your oracles. You cannot

help, of course, the profession of the highest reverence for both, and you give them their old titles of honor, for titles of honor cost you nothing, when the ties of obedience are broken. But your RULE OF FAITH is the *modern Church*, and the appeal to the Scriptures and the fathers is only kept up for the sake of the *multitude*.

Nevertheless, as I have undertaken the task of following your favorite champion, Dr. Milner, through the whole of his pretended proofs and specious sophistry, I shall proceed to consider the evidence which he adduces from the fathers in support of your Purgatorial system.

He begins by quoting Chrysostom, who properly belongs rather to the fifth than the fourth century, as he died A. D. 407. "It was not without good reason," saith this father, "ORDAINED BY THE APOSTLES, that mention should be made of the dead in the tremendous mysteries, because they knew that these would receive great benefit from it." But if Dr. Milner had gone on a little farther, to see how Chrysostom defends his assertion, he would have given his readers a much fairer view of the testimony. Let me supply the deficiency.

"For in that time," continues Chrysostom, "when the whole people stand, with hands stretched out, with the company of priests, and that sacrifice, impressed with horror full of veneration, how can we do otherwise than please God by praying for the departed? But this truly concerns those who have died in the faith. For the Catechumens are not worthy of this consolation, but are destitute of all help except one. And what is this? *It is lawful to give alms to the poor for them, and from this they receive some refreshment.* For God wills that we should give help to each other. Why else has He commanded that we should pray for peace, and for the welfare of the world? That we should pray

for all men? Amongst all these, there are thieves, sacrilegious persons, robbers, and others scattering six hundred evils, and yet we pray for them all; because there may be perhaps some conversion of them. Since, therefore, *we pray for the living, who differ in no respect from dead carcases, it is lawful to pray for these also.***

Here, then, we see that Chrysostom says not one word about your imaginary *oral tradition*, delivered by the Apostles, but infers his doctrine from the scriptural command to *pray for all men*. Moreover, he gives it as his opinion that the *Catechumens* (that is, the persons who were preparing, by a course of instruction, to receive Baptism, but who had died unbaptized) might derive *some refreshment* from the charity of those who should give alms on their account to the poor. But this your Church would hardly venture to endorse as sound doctrine. The passage, on the whole, however, proves nothing more than this: that it was lawful and acceptable to God to pray for the departed saints, and to give alms for the deceased Catechumens, and that such acts of piety were believed, by Chrysostom, and doubtless many others, towards the close of the fourth century, to give consolation and refreshment to the disembodied souls.

On this opinion of the fathers, which I have no wish to disguise, I must commend to your attention, Most Reverend Sir, two remarks, as altogether necessary to a proper estimate of the evidence.

First, that the Liturgies, which were published in the fifth century, and have been quoted at large in my 31st letter, p. 83-4, *include the Virgin Mary, Apostles and martyrs*, with all the rest of the departed faithful, *in these prayers*

* S. Chrysostomi Op., Tom, 6, Homil. iii. in Epist. ad Philip., cap. 1, p. 33.

which were offered at the altar. Take special notice of that unquestionable fact, I beseech you, and tell me whether it was then supposed, by any Christian man, that these eminent saints were suffering *the pains of Purgatory*, or that those prayers were offered, under the idea that they *needed them in order to be relieved from any sufferings whatever?*

And if it be asked, What, then, did Chrysostom mean by saying that the departed would receive benefit, consolation, or refreshment from such prayers, the answer is ready; and I think that, to any reflecting mind, it will be satisfactory.

In the second place, then, I would observe, that next to the supreme love which the Christian owes to God, the love of the brethren is enjoined as the highest duty. St. John even makes this the test of our spiritual character: "*We know,*" saith he, "*that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.*"* But if this feeling of spiritual love begins in the Church on earth, we are assured that it will not end there. On the contrary, we believe that it is a heavenly affection, which abides throughout eternity, and will even reach its highest point in the realms of celestial glory.

Hence, when the saint passes away from his mortal state, and is thus separated from the eyes of his brethren, no one supposes that he is therefore to be separated from their memory or their feelings. He has only gone before, where they are soon to follow. He is only separated from them for a time, in order that he may be united to them forever. Do they not, therefore, desire that *he may remember them*, when he joins the blessed assembly of the spirits of the just made perfect? Do they not hope that the privilege of his prayers to God, on their behalf, may still be continued to them, now

* 1 John, iii. 14.

that he is removed so much nearer to the fountain of all grace and heavenly benediction? And does not he also desire that *his brethren may remember him*,—that the assembled Church in which he was so long permitted to stand, as a burning and a shining light, when they come together to celebrate the feast of love, may still give him the tribute of their prayers and their affections? And does not the thought that the departed saints are thus employed in praying for their brethren here, give *strength and comfort* to the Christian heart on earth? And would not the knowledge, that the Church, in her most precious and solemn service, offered her memorials and her prayers for the departed saint, give to the loving spirit of that saint a sweet sense of *refreshment and joy*, in his peaceful paradise of pure felicity?

So simple, yet so strong, is the basis for this practice of the Primitive Church, that even the yearnings of the natural heart are compelled to do it homage. For we know how powerfully it operates on the worldly mind itself. Can any one fail to see that the longing for posthumous veneration forms one of the highest incentives to the acquisition of fame? Can any one doubt that the patriots of the Revolution, for example, derived a true and intense satisfaction from the knowledge that when the people, in after ages, should come together to celebrate their national independence, their names would be commemorated with grateful triumph, and thanks and praises in their honor would be uttered from the lips of thousands of orators in every quarter of the land for which they toiled and bled? And has not the same feeling animated the breasts and nerved the efforts of heroes and sages in all ages, since the world began?

Nay, is there a man, however humble his sphere—how-

ever limited his circle—that does not desire to be remembered by his family and friends, after he has passed away? Does it not cast a deeper gloom over the hour of departure, when death overtakes us among strangers and alone? And would it not add a sharp pang to the last agony, to be told, by those we loved on earth, that in a little space we should be entirely forgotten?

Thus loudly does nature herself plead in behalf of this universal feeling. It is the instinct of love. It is the witness of immortality, written on the heart, and no effort of false philosophy can overcome it altogether. But the Christian faith explains it, sanctifies it, ennobles it, and gives it the only true and proper elevation. For here we learn that death is no real separation to the children of God. Here we imbibe the spiritual love that lasts forever. Here we enter into the grand society which shall be united before the eternal throne. Why should the departed saint be supposed to forget that Church, for which he toiled, and prayed, and in which were formed, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, the principles and the character of holiness? Why should the Church on earth be supposed to forget him, who is an everlasting member of their own body? And therefore, when they meet together, they *take comfort* in knowing that he is still united to them in soul. And he *takes comfort* in knowing that they never fail to commemorate him in those precious words: “*And we also bless Thy holy name, for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear; beseeching Thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them, we may be partakers of Thy heavenly kingdom.*”

Surely, then, we have here a rational foundation for the custom of the primitive Christians, and the sentiments of the early fathers, without being in any sense obliged to con-

nect the consolation taken by the departed with the horrible idea of Purgatory. The notion which your Church long afterwards adopted, that we should only pray for the deceased because they were in torment, is utterly at war with Scripture, with primitive practice, and with reason itself. And this I shall prove, conclusively, by authorities which are indisputable, on the manifest ground that the motives which induce us to pray for the dead must be the same as those which govern us in prayer for the living.

Thus St. Paul saith :* “ Brethren, pray for us, that the Word of God may run and be glorified, even as among you.”

Again,† the same Apostle saith . “ Pray for us ; for we trust that we have a good conscience.”

Again,‡ “ Brethren, pray for us.”

Again,§ “ I make mention of you always in my prayers.”

Again,|| “ I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you.”

Again,¶ “ Strive with me in your prayers to God for me.”

A multitude of other texts might be cited to prove that the duty and privilege of prayer were not confined to the idea that the subject of the prayer must be in a state of suffering, much less of torment, at the time. And when it is remembered that the blessing and guardian care of God are equally necessary for the happy and for the miserable, equally essential to the joy of the most eminent saint, and to the relief of the most dejected sinner, it must be manifest that if there be a duty which is strictly universal, under all states and all circumstances, that duty is prayer ; because it is in prayer that we acknowledge our dependence on Christ, and

* 2 Thes. iii. 1.

† 1 Thes. v. 25.

|| Philem. 22.

† Heb. xiii. 18.

§ Rom. i. 9.

¶ Rom. xv. 30.

confess that we, and all His people, are only safe in His protection.

That your system of connecting the prayers of the Church for the departed with the doctrine of Purgatory is at war with the whole primitive practice, I have already shown by the fact, that the earlier Liturgies offered these prayers for the Virgin, the Apostles, and even the martyrs themselves, though there was no doubt that their souls were in the paradise of joy and peace, instead of being in a state of fiery torment.

And that your modern principle is equally at war with the reason of mankind, is manifest. For what Christian parent would be satisfied to pray for his children, or what Christian child would pray for his parents, *only* when they were in a state of agony or suffering? Prayer, at such times, may be more intense, on account of the excitement of the feelings, but it is equally felt to be a duty at all times, for the plain reason that we are always equally in need of the divine care and blessing.

With these remarks on the primitive opinion and practice, I recur to the other testimonies of Dr. Milner, the next of which is a quotation from Tertullian, who, speaking of a Christian widow, saith: "She prays for the soul of her husband, and begs refreshment for him." There is evidently nothing in this, beyond the general custom of prayer for the dead, which I have fully explained.

After this, however, he gives his readers a passage from Cyprian, which he claims as a direct proof of Purgatory. "It is one thing," saith this father, "to stand for pardon (*ad veniam stare*), another to attain to glory; one thing to be sent to prison, not to go thence till the last farthing is paid, another to immediately receive the reward of faith and virtue; one thing to suffer lengthened torments for sin, and to

be cleansed and purged a long time in the fire (*emundari et purgari diu igne*), another to have cleansed away all sins by suffering, namely, by martyrdom." Here, Milner undertakes to decide that Cyprian was speaking of "*the difference between some souls, which are admitted into heaven, and others which are detained in Purgatory.*" But the fact is, that he was treating of quite a different matter.

In order to understand the case aright, it must be observed that Cyprian lived at a period when the ancient discipline of public penance—a long and very severe process—was exposed to a dangerous relaxation. A pernicious custom had come in, which gave him serious trouble. For, under the Emperor Decius, a furious persecution had arisen and many Christians were in prison, because they openly confessed the truth, and refused to burn incense before the idols of Paganism. These faithful men, being condemned to death, and considered as martyrs already, were induced to give letters of intercession to many of the weaker brethren, who had yielded to temptation, requesting that their act of outward compliance with the heathen might be forgiven, and that they might be again admitted to communion without the public penance which their sin deserved. And the veneration entertained for these prospective martyrs induced the priests to comply, so that the rules of Church discipline were in danger of being quite overthrown by this novel kind of intercession.

Now, the passage which Dr. Milner quotes occurs in connection with this, and both from what precedes and what follows, it is manifest that the language of Cyprian could have no application to the subject of Purgatory. The apostates who claimed the right to be received to the Communion in this summary way, did it by the favor of the martyrs; and therefore Cyprian argues that there was a vast

difference between the privileges of a martyr and theirs. "It is one thing," saith he, "to stand" (as they should do according to the ancient rule of penance, in the outward porch of the Church, of which Tertullian speaks), "in order to obtain their pardon, and another thing to obtain the glory of a martyr. One thing to be placed in the prison (of penitence), and remain there until the last farthing was paid (by undergoing its full infliction), and another thing to secure by martyrdom the immediate rewards of faith; one thing to suffer a lengthened torment for their sin, and to be cleansed and purged in the fire (of penance), and another thing to have all their sins cleansed away by a martyr's sufferings."

That such is the only rational interpretation of the passage, is further proved, first, by the fact that your own historian, Fleury, who gives a condensed translation of the epistle in which it occurs, at great length,* does not notice this sentence at all, which he certainly would have done if he supposed that it gave any support to your system. And secondly, by the perfectly conclusive testimony which Cyprian himself elsewhere bears against your purgatorial doctrine.

For thus speaks this eminent martyr and Bishop: "When we depart hence, *there is no more place for penitence, no more effect of satisfaction*; here, life is either lost or gained; here, provision is made for eternal salvation by the worship of God, and the fruits of faith. Let no one be kept back from securing salvation, either by his sins or by his years. To him who is still remaining in this world, penitence is never too late. Thou mayest ask pardon for thy sins, even although it be in the last hour of thy temporal life, and thou mayest implore the only and true God, in confession, and in

* Fleury, Hist. Ecc., Tom. 2, pp. 255-8.

the faith of his acceptance. Pardon is given to him who confesses his sin, and the saving indulgence is granted to the believer, by the divine goodness, and he passes, in death itself, to immortality. This grace Christ imparts, this gift of His mercy He bestows by the trophy of His Cross which overcame death, redeeming the believer by the price of His blood, reconciling man to God the Father, giving life to the mortal by celestial regeneration. Let us all (if possible) follow Him, let us be valued by His sign and sacrament. Here, He opens to us the way of life; here, He brings us back to paradise; here, He leads us to the kingdom of heaven. With Him we shall always live, being made by Him the sons of God. With Him we shall always exult, being healed by His blood. We shall be Christians, glorious together with Christ, blessed by God the Father, always rejoicing in perpetual pleasure in the sight of God, and always giving thanks to Him. For it is not possible that he should be otherwise than always grateful and joyful, who, although he was once subject to death, is made secure of immortality.”*

The real sentiments of Cyprian, Most Reverend Sir, are set forth in this eloquent passage, with the utmost clearness, showing, beyond cavil, that he knew nothing of your purgatorial system. No contradiction of that monstrous doctrine could be more positive. For Purgatory is the very place, according to the modern teaching of Rome, for completing the measure of penitence and satisfaction which are due to the temporal justice of God, after the present life is ended. But Cyprian saith expressly, that “*When we depart hence, there is no more place for penitence, no more effect of satisfaction.*” And the same sentiment occurs again,

* Cypriani Ep. ad Demetrianum, p. 240.

where he urges the duty of public penance upon those Christians who had *lapsed*, or fallen away in the persecution. "Let each one confess his crime, beloved brethren," saith he, "*while he who has sinned is in this present life, while his confession may be admitted, while the satisfaction and remission made through the priests is acceptable to the Lord.* Let us be turned to the Lord with our whole mind, and expressing our penitence for the crime with real sufferings, let us invoke the mercy of God. Let the soul prostrate itself to Him, to Him let sorrow be satisfactory, on Him let all our hope rely. And how we ought to supplicate, He tells us: *Return to me*, saith he, *with all your heart, and with fasting and weeping and mourning, and rend your hearts and not your garments,*" &c.* Thus we see how emphatically the whole work of penance and satisfaction is limited by Cyprian to this life, and nothing is left which your Purgatory professes to accomplish, in the life to come.

The only authority which Dr. Milner specifies particularly after Cyprian, is Augustine, and here he states, truly enough, that Augustine's mother, Monica, entreated that her soul might be remembered at the altar, and that he performed this duty, and prayed that God would pardon her sins. But your favorite does not tell his readers that in the whole long account which this eminent father left on record concerning the matter, in his Confessions, *there is not the slightest hint of Purgatory.* He prayed for his mother after she was dead, precisely as any Christian would have prayed for her, while she was living. And there is not a single expression in the minute and interesting statement, which can be twisted into a proof that the Church had yet adopted your modern doctrine.† Indeed, it is apparent that the con-

* Cyp. de Lapsis, p. 203.

† S. Augustini Op., Tom. 1, Confes. Lib. ix., cap. 27-37, p. 122-4.

duct of Augustine was the result of his feelings, rather than of his theology, in accordance with the view which I have already given, that Christian love was the real basis of the primitive custom, to remember the departed saints in prayer, and at the sacrament of the Eucharist.

Nevertheless, I freely admit that there are several passages in St. Augustine which prove the *beginning* of your present system. Thus, for example, he saith, in one place : " After the death of this body, truly, until the final day of damnation and reward, following the resurrection, if the souls of the departed are said to suffer this sort of fire in that interval of time, which those do not feel who have not built the wood, hay, and stubble of earthly morals and affections (upon the true foundation) in this life ; but which others feel who have carried with them this kind of building, whether this suffering is to be endured there only, or both here and there, or whether here, that it be not there, our worldly, although venial, sins, find a burning fire of transitory tribulation, all this I do not contradict, because, *PERHAPS, IT IS TRUE.*"* *Non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est.*

Here, it is evident enough that the existence of your purgatorial fire was favored by some, even in the fourth century ; and no wonder, because it had been long taught by the heathen poets and philosophers, many of whom had united with the Church of Christ, and, though believers in the established doctrines of the Creed, continued to hold their former opinions on a variety of questions which were not positively settled by the authority of Scripture. Augustine himself, in the same famous work *Of the City of God*, saith the followers of Plato, or the Platonists, held that all sins would be punished, either in the present life or in the life

* S. Augustini Op., Tom. 7, De Civitate Dei, Lib. xxi., c. 26, p. 490.

to come, but also held that such punishment was only for correction. And he quotes the well-known lines of Virgil, in the 6th Book of the *Æneid*, where the poet describes the torments of the infernal regions, remarking that "those who think thus, insist that there are no punishments after death except such as are purgatorial."* From the heathen philosophers, therefore, this, and many other doctrines, might be naturally derived, which after ages chose to attribute to the more respectable source of Apostolic tradition. But it is certain that your purgatorial system, though beginning to be broached in the days of Augustine, was far from being then acknowledged as *a Catholic truth*, by any one.

We may see this plainly by another passage, where the same father explains the text† on which Dr. Milner mainly relies, without the least hint of a purgatorial fire. "The fire," saith he, "of which St. Paul speaks in this place, ought to be so understood, that both may pass through it, viz., he who *builds upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones*, as well as he who *builds wood, hay, stubble*. Since the Apostle adds, that *the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If the work of any man abide, which he shall have built upon it, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work be burnt, he shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire*. The fire, therefore, will prove the work of both, and not of one only."‡ Here we have the interpretation of Augustine, cutting up by the root your main *scriptural* reliance, on the clearest evidence of the text itself. He then proceeds to explain the fire as being the tribulation of the present life, saying: "There is a certain fire,

* De Civitate Dei, Lib. xxi., cap. 13, p. 478-9.

† 1 Cor. iii. 13-15.

‡ S. Augustini Op., Tom. 6, p. 93-4, De Octo Dulcitii quaestionibus, § xi.

the trial of tribulation, of which it is plainly written in another place, *The furnace proves the vessels of the potter, and the trial of tribulation proves the just.** This fire, in the present life, performs what the Apostle saith, if it happens to two believing men : to the one, namely, who thinks of those things which are of God, how he shall please God, that is, building upon Christ, the foundation, gold, silver, precious stones ; and to the other, who thinks of those things which are of the world, how he shall please his wife, that is, building on the same foundation, wood, hay, stubble. The work of the first is not burnt, because he did not love those things by the loss of which he is afflicted ; but the work of the other is burnt, because THOSE THINGS DO NOT PERISH WITHOUT GRIEF, *which were possessed with the love of them.* Nevertheless, the alternative being proposed, since he would rather want them than Christ, and does not desert Christ from the fear of losing them, although he grieves at their loss, he is saved indeed, yet *so as by fire*, because his sorrow for those perishable things which he had loved, burns him, but does not consume nor subvert him, being fortified by the stability and incorruption of the foundation."

Such are the words of Augustine's own explanation. Yet, in the very next paragraph, he alludes to the purgatorial notion of others, as a possible thing, saying : "*It is not incredible that something of the same kind may take place also after this life ;* and whether it be so, may be matter of inquiry. That some of the faithful are saved through a certain purgatorial fire, more slowly or more speedily, according to their greater or less love for perishable goods, may be either found, or it may lie hidden."

It is thus manifest that the doctrine of your purgatorial fire

* Eccclus. xxvii. 6.

was not adopted by Augustine, nor regarded by him as a doctrine of the Church in his day, but merely as an idea which he would not condemn, because it was *not incredible*, and might, *perhaps*, be true. How vast the change which your modern system established, Most Reverend Sir, when Purgatory was not only recognized, with all its appendages, as a fixed point of faith, but your Council of Trent even fulminated its formal curse against all who refused to believe it!

I shall close the testimony of this eminent father with one quotation more, in which the precise statement is made of the practice and importance of the prayers and offerings for the faithful departed in his day:—

“It is not to be doubted,” saith he, “that the dead are aided by the prayers of the Holy Church, by the salutary sacrifice, and by alms-deeds offered for their souls, that the Lord may deal with them more mercifully than they have deserved. For this custom, delivered by the fathers, the whole Church observes, that for those who are deceased in the communion of the body and blood of Christ, when they are commemorated in their place at that Sacrament, prayer is made, and for them also the Sacrament is offered. It is therefore not to be disputed, that these things are profitable to the deceased, but only to those who have so lived before death, that such services can profit them after death. *For as to those who have departed this life without the faith which worketh by love, and its sacraments, these offices of piety are useless*; since, while living, they received not the grace of God, or received it in vain, and thus laid up for themselves wrath instead of mercy. HENCE NO NEW MERITS ARE PROVIDED FOR THE DEAD, WHEN THEIR GOOD BRETHREN PERFORM ANYTHING FOR THEM, but those things which are *consequent to their preceding lives* are rendered to them.

For nothing is effected, unless they had lived so that these services might profit them when they cease to live here. And thus WHOEVER FINISHES THIS LIFE, CAN HAVE NOTHING AFTER IT, EXCEPT WHAT HE MERITED IN IT.”*

Compare, now, I pray you, the language of the Pope with the words of Augustine. This eminent father saith, that *no new merits are provided for the departed soul, beyond those of his own life on earth.* The Pope, on the contrary, by his indulgence, “*unlocks the sacred treasure, composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues of Christ and his Virgin Mother, and of all the saints committed to his dispensation, and applies them to the full “remission of the temporal punishment due to divine justice for sin, on behalf of the souls PURIFYING IN THE FIRES OF PURGATORY, that an entrance may be opened for them into their eternal country, where nothing defiled is admitted.”†*

Here is a downright contradiction, which no subterfuge can reconcile. Augustine says not one word about the departed soul being in a state of suffering, not a word about Purgatory, much less of fires, nor yet about opening the entrance to heaven, when he speaks of the Catholic practice of prayer, and offerings for the dead; but he confines the whole benefit to what the deceased Christian had already *merited in his lifetime.* But the Pope undertakes to pay the whole debt of temporal punishment due to the divine justice for sin, on account of which he declares that the departed soul is *purifying in the fires of Purgatory!* And he does this by *unlocking the sacred treasure committed to his dispensation,* consisting of the merits and sufferings of Christ, the Virgin and the saints! And the effect is to be,

* S. Augustini Op., Tom. 5, p. 576, Sermo clxxii., § 2.

† See the Papal Bulls on p. 279-80.

the opening to the soul, in the anguish of this fiery torment,
AN ENTRANCE INTO HEAVEN! Yet Dr. Milner gravely assures his readers, that the modern doctrine of Rome is the same with the faith of Augustine!

I shall only add to this examination of those fathers which your favorite author himself has quoted, a few extracts from those who lived at an earlier period.

Thus Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, about A. D. 170, writes upon the state of the departed:—"Since the Lord himself obeyed the law of death, that He might be the first-born from the dead, and remained until the third day in the lower parts of the earth, and afterwards arose in the flesh, so that He showed the very marks of the nails to His disciples, and thus ascended to the Father; how should they not be confounded, who say that these lower regions are only this world, according to the present bodily state, but that the internal man, as soon as it leaves the body, ascends immediately to heaven? For even the Lord went into the midst of the shadow of death, where the souls of the dead were; and after His resurrection, ascended up to heaven. And, therefore, it is manifest that the souls of His disciples, for whom the Lord did these things, will likewise depart into the invisible place, appropriated to them by the Deity, and will there remain until the resurrection; expecting the hour when they shall receive their bodies again, and, rising in their perfect state, that is, corporeally, as the Lord Himself arose, will thus come to the vision of God."*

In like manner, Tertullian, about A. D. 200, speaks upon the same subject:—"Our lower regions," saith he, "are not a naked cavity, nor yet a certain drain of the world under the waters, but they are a profound and vast

* Iren. Cont. Hæres., Lib. 5, cap. 31, p. 331.

space, in the inmost bowels of the earth. Therefore we read that Christ was in the heart of the earth during the three days of His death, that is, in the internal recess, inclosed within its lower abysses. But if Christ, our God, because He was also man, being dead and buried according to the Scriptures, satisfied also this law of human death amongst these lower regions, and did not ascend to the highest heavens, until He had first descended to the lowest parts of the earth, in order that He might make the patriarchs and prophets His companions, you must needs believe that these regions are subterranean, and drive far from you those who proudly imagine that the souls of the faithful are not to enter these lower regions; thus placing the servants above their Lord, and the disciples above their Master, and despising the privilege of Abraham's bosom, where they might enjoy the privilege of looking forward to the resurrection. For not yet has the trump of the archangel been heard. Not yet has our Lord come to meet us in the air, along with those who shall first arise at His advent. Heaven is discovered to none as yet; the earth is still shut up, nor will the heavens be opened until the world passeth away.* "Into these lower regions, therefore," saith Tertullian, in another place, "all souls are taken. And there are both punishments and pleasures, as you read in the parable of the rich man and the beggar."†

In neither of these primitive witnesses, therefore, Most Reverend Sir, do we find the least trace of purgatorial fire, or purgatorial punishment. But their belief concerning the state of the departed is simply based upon the knowledge communicated by the Scriptures, especially in the narrative,

* Tertulliani De Anima Liber, p. 303, D., § lv.

† Ib., p. 306.

furnished by the Saviour himself, of Abraham's bosom, into which the soul of Lazarus was taken, being the same with the paradise which our Lord promised to the penitent thief upon the cross : separate from which, and across an impassable gulf, was the region of the lost, where we read, indeed, of torment and of flame, but with no indication whatever of an intermediate place of purgatorial punishment between them.

The language of the famous Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who was the instructor of Augustine, is equally hostile to your modern system. "Death," saith he, "is the separation of the soul and the body ; but this dissolution is not evil, because to be dissolved and be with Christ is far better. The Scripture calls death sleep, according to that passage : "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth ; I go that I may waken him." But sleep is good, because it is rest : as saith the Scripture, "I laid me down and took my rest ; I rose up, for the Lord sustained me." Sweet, therefore, is the sleep of death. But at length the Lord wakeus those who are thus resting, because the Lord is the Resurrection."*

Elsewhere, the same Ambrose speaks in the following strain :—"Let us fearlessly go to our Redeemer, Jesus ; fearlessly to the assembly of the patriarchs ; fearlessly let us depart to our father Abraham, when the day approaches ; fearlessly let us proceed to the congregation of the saints, to the convention of the righteous. For then we shall go to our fathers, we shall go to our instructors in the faith, and although our works may be deficient, yet faith will assist, that our inheritance may be preserved to us. We shall go where the holy Abraham opens his bosom, in order that he

* S. Ambros. Op., Tom. 1, p. 404. De bono Mortis, c. viii., §§ 33 and 34.

may receive the poor, even as he received Lazarus, in whose bosom they repose who in this life endured calamity and sorrow.”*

Much more of the same evidence might be added, if it were necessary, but these extracts must be abundantly sufficient to satisfy any candid mind, that the claim of Dr. Milner to the authority of the fathers is in the face of all historical truth and honesty.

The opinion of the heathen poets and philosophers, however, to which Augustine refers, that there was a purgatorial fire allotted to men beyond the grave, gradually increased in favor, along with all the rest of the superstitious additions to the pure and scriptural faith of the primitive Church. The priesthood were disposed to favor it, because it was a powerful argument in aid of penance and pious works, besides the encouragement which it administered to valuable legacies for religious uses. And it grew until, as we have seen in the extracts from your historian, Fleury,† it obtained the positive sanction of a dream from the monk Guetin, in the ninth century, followed by other marvellous revelations which your famous Bellarmine recounts, all of which were published far and wide, and believed with entire conviction. In due time, the schoolmen reduced your modern system of penance and satisfaction into regular shape; so that in the thirteenth century, the *Summa* of your celebrated *angelic doctor*, Thomas Aquinas, with its Supplement, exhibited the whole of your doctrine in its present form, and no change has since been made in it, notwithstanding the extremely moderate and vague terms in which Dr. Milner and many other of your controvertists express themselves.

* S. Ambros. Op., Tom. 1, p. 411, cap. xii., § 1.

† Letter v., vol. 1., p. 73.

As to the Council of Florence, to which your favorite refers, the definitive decree was drawn up with the intention of effecting a union with the Greek Church, the representatives of which, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Pope Eugenius, and his Bishops, assisted by the Greek Bessarion (who was made a Cardinal for his devotion to the Papal interests), resisted to the last the admission of a purgatorial fire. They consented, however, with one honest exception, Mark, the Bishop of Ephesus, to subscribe these words, on the point before us :—

“ If those who are truly penitent depart this life in the love of God, before they have satisfied for their sins of commission and of omission by fruits worthy of repentance, their souls are *purged* after death by *punishments* ; and in order that they may be relieved from these punishments, the suffrages of the faithful living profit them—viz., the sacrifices of Masses, prayers, and alms, and other offices of piety—which the faithful are accustomed to perform for other faithful persons, according to the established customs of the Church.”*

Here it is evident that there is nothing strictly defined. The souls are said to be purged by punishments (*pænis*), but by *what sort* of punishments, whether with fire or without it, is left undecided. Dr. Milner endeavors to mystify his readers by foisting in the word *material* before the word *fire*. But it is simply untrue that this word *material* was introduced into the controversy. The fact is, that the Romans insisted, for a long while, that the punishments of purgatory should be admitted to be by *fire*. And the Orientals steadily refused. Hence the decree of union was so drawn up as to leave the point undecided. Yet, even so, the

* Hard. Con., Tom. 9, p. 422.

Greeks, when they were called to account at home for their conduct, excused themselves for yielding to the claims of Rome by saying that they were *constrained* by the emperor, and deceived by the hope of aid, as well as by the fear of being deprived of the means of returning to their own country. The words of your own record are, "*Fatentur se coactos ab imperatore, et spe auxilii deceptos, et ne expensis redeundi in patriam privarentur, subscripsisse.*"*

The truth is, that the common artifice of your writers, in appealing to your Councils of Florence and Trent as containing all that you hold on this subject, is wholly inexcusable. Of course, you have a right to appeal to those Councils on every point which they *defined*. But who will say that your doctrine of Purgatory was really *defined* at Florence or at Trent? And as it is undeniable that the union patched up with the Greeks at Florence was repudiated by the Greeks themselves, as soon as they returned to their own country, and that they even charged the Pope and the Roman clergy with deception and fraud, and denounced their colleague Bessarion as a traitor, and in their Synod at Constantinople specified no less than twenty-five particulars in which they held the Church of Rome to be censurable,† I should really suppose that the less you say about the *definitions* of that Council, the better.

To conclude, then, Most Reverend Sir, I claim for the Church of England a faithful conformity with the teaching of the Scriptures and the substantial practice of the primitive Church, on the state of the departed; and charge your modern system with an extensive and dangerous innovation upon the *Catholic truth*, which was held from the beginning. Your present doctrine was not concocted until the thirteenth

* Hard. Con., Tom. 9, p. 1356.

† Ib., 1357, cap. 4.

century, the age of your most celebrated schoolmen. The primitive principle of commemorating the faithful dead, we have retained in the prayer for Christ's Church Militant, which forms a part of our Communion Office, in agreement with the earliest Liturgies. Beyond this simple commemoration, it has been judged expedient not to go, because of the superstitions which your Church unhappily connected with the subject. Enough is said to answer the purpose of Christian unity and affection, and anything beyond this is but a question of expediency. The same principle is observed in one of our prayers in the Burial Service ; and if individuals in private choose to add specific petitions in the manner of Tertullian and Augustine, as was the custom of Dr. Johnson for his departed wife, and has been probably the case of many others, our Church, like the primitive Church, though she does not either enjoin or recommend the practice, yet nowhere condemns it.

It ought, however, to be carefully remembered, that we have no right whatever to attach to such prayers the promise of any positive or specific effect upon the subject of them, for this is more than we can undertake by any act of supplication for others. We are commanded in Scripture to pray for all men. The Apostles prayed for their people, and charged the people to pray for them. But how far such prayers do really obtain their object, must be, in every case, a question which God alone can answer, and therefore we hold it to be a dangerous impiety to attach a positive result to any efforts in our power, with respect to the dead, when we never can be sure of any similar result with respect to the living. I have already admitted that it must yield a certain comfort and satisfaction to our Christian feelings to think that the departed saints pray for us in the spiritual world, and that it must give them comfort and

satisfaction to believe that we remember them with cordial affection. But to suppose that we may go farther, and make it a point of faith that we do certainly receive specific advantages from God through their prayers, or that they can receive specific benefits from ours, we altogether condemn, as an unauthorized and dangerous superstition.

Certain it is that Augustine, who advocates so strongly the offering of prayers, &c., for the departed, expressly declares that they receive no benefit from them beyond what they *merited* when living. And this is precisely equivalent to saying that they receive no benefit at all, except the satisfaction derived from the sympathy of Christian affection. For it cannot be supposed that God, who is infinitely just as well as merciful, would deprive the departed soul of any blessing which he *deserved to receive on his own account, through Christ*, merely because his friends on earth had neglected to ask for it. It is an absurdity to believe that the Lord would make *one* of his people suffer, after death, on account of the omission of others, who were yet living. And therefore, when we come to the *substantial* meaning of the primitive practice, we find that it is sufficiently preserved by the passages which I have quoted from our Communion and Burial Offices, while the testimony of the fathers is hostile, throughout, to your whole figment of purgatorial punishment, and there is not a shred of evidence to show that it was ever held as a Catholic doctrine.

I take leave to add, that although I have set forth the argument in favor of prayers for the departed, not only as a matter of justice to the primitive Church, but also as due to the first Prayer-Book of our Reformers, and to the known sentiments of many of our greatest divines, yet I do not mean to be reckoned among the advocates for the practice. Certain it is, that there is no injunction and no example of

it in the whole range of Scripture. On this point, therefore, the office of the primitive Church, as the best interpreter of Scripture, fails, for the very plain reason that there is *no Scripture to interpret*. And hence, while I cannot condemn the practice as a positive error, I fully approve the omission of such prayers from the subsequent Prayer-Book of our Mother Church and of our own, and should assuredly object to their re-introduction.

LETTER XLI.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE subject of Milner's 44th letter, Extreme Unction, is based upon the text in the Epistle of St. James,* and I have already answered all the *argument* which he adduces, in my 19th letter, vol. i., p. 362-4, to which I must refer my readers.

His 45th letter is devoted to a much more important question, Whether the Pope be Antichrist. And I might pass this question by altogether, because it is but a question of opinion, which the Church of England leaves entirely to the individual judgment of her priests and people. Hence it has no place in our Articles, Offices, or Liturgy. Hence, too, our own writers are at perfect liberty to speculate about it, along with many other questions of prophetic interpretation. And therefore, in strictness, it does not belong to the controversy between our respective Churches, which only embraces the points brought to a positive issue.

Nevertheless, as Dr. Milner labors so strenuously to cast ridicule on the opinion which certainly prevailed amongst the Reformers of our Church upon this interesting subject, and as I have no hesitation in avowing my own conviction that the character of Antichrist belongs pre-eminently to the Papacy, it becomes my duty to notice his track of argument, and to show why I consider it perfectly delusive and unsatisfactory.

* Chap. v., 14, 15.

He commences by asking at what period the grand apostacy took place, and shows how various the calculations of Protestant writers have been, in reference to that matter. But it is evident that this, like every other corruption in religion, could not have been otherwise than gradual and slow, because no sudden change would have been possible in a question which involved the assent of millions, scattered over the whole European continent. The main point is to determine the *fact*, whether an antichristian power *has arisen* in the Church of God, and this can never be evaded by showing how authors have differed about the *time when it first appeared*. Who ever applied the same sort of cavil to any other great truth of history? Take, for example, the undoubted fact that the languages of Italy, Spain, and Portugal were formed from the corruption of the Latin. Can this be disputed because the date cannot be agreed on when the corruption began? Take the undoubted fact that the irruption of the barbarians into the old Roman Empire produced the decay of the civil law, and established, instead of it, the customs of feudalism. Can this be denied, because it is impossible to fix the precise beginning or the successive steps of the important change? Indeed, the argument of Dr. Milner would be found an absurdity on any subject whatever. If a government be tyrannical, can the fact be impugned by a difference of opinion about the time when it first became so? If the body be diseased, can the fact be set aside by a dispute about the commencement of the symptoms? If darkness covers the heavens, must I doubt the fact because there may be various opinions about the exact moment when the light of day disappeared from the horizon?

The work of your favorite author, Right Reverend Sir, is full of this sort of paralogism, which deserves, in truth, no bet-

ter name than that of the baldest sophistry. It may impose upon the weak, but it is an insult to any intellect of fair capacity. Dr. Milner, however, took care to give his readers only the notions of certain *Protestant* interpreters. Why did he not tell them the calculations of his own school? Why, especially, did he not communicate the declaration of Pope Gregory the Great, who, addressing the Emperor Maurice, A. D. 595, against the ostentation of John, the Patriarch of Constantinople, expressly saith: "I assert confidently, that whoever calls himself the universal Bishop, or desires to be so called, *is the forerunner of Antichrist in his pride*, because he exalts himself proudly above others."* Why did he pass over the fact that Arnulphus, the Bishop of Orleans, when sitting as president of a Council, in the tenth century, applied the term *Antichrist* to the Pope of Rome? That Fluentius, Bishop of Florence, in the twelfth century, taught publicly that *Antichrist* was born and come into the world; that Joachim, the famous Abbot of Calabria, asserted the same fact, and added that *Antichrist would be exalted to the Poppedom*? That not only did the Waldenses hold it as a settled doctrine, but that the term was currently used all along in the Church of Rome itself, whenever Kings or Cardinals were roused to resist the Papal despotism? It was therefore no invention of the English Reformers, nor of any other reformers in the sixteenth century. On the contrary, it was familiar both in the Church of Rome, and amongst all her opponents, from an early period. And the only true question is the simple matter of fact, whether the system of your modern hierarchy, with the Pope at its head, deserves the title.

The next argument of your favorite is derived from the

* Greg. Mag. Op., Tom 2, p. 881, D., Ep. 33, Ad Mauricium Aug.

supposed absurdity of the notion that the "falling off," or, as some translate the word, "apostacy," which St. Paul declares to be the forerunner of Antichrist, could be asserted of the Church of Rome, when she maintains all the creeds and doctrines of the primitive faith unchanged. But it is evident that in this there is no inconsistency whatever. For the adulteress may continue to be the spouse of her husband, and does usually so continue, professing the old faith of her marriage covenant, long after she has "fallen off," or "apostatized" from her allegiance, by reason of her sin. And the Church of Israel, when the prophets called her by this very name, was still, by her profession, the Church of God, though she had become a harlot, through her idolatry. The Apostle intimates the same thing when he declares that Antichrist should "*sit in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.*"* And thus we see, distinctly, that this impious opposer is to be looked for in the Church itself, proving, beyond all honest doubt, that the *temple of God*, or the Church, was to be the very seat of Antichrist.

Dr. Milner next attempts to prove that the second character of St. Paul's description, viz., that Antichrist "opposeth and is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped,"† cannot apply to the Pope, because he has his private confessor, and confesses his sins in private, like any other member of your Church. This, however, is a mere subterfuge, since no one ever applied the term *Antichrist* to the Pope as a man, but as a tyrannical *Sovereign*; and it is only a trifling with the question to turn off the inquiry into the character of his *official acts*, by telling us about his *private practice* as an individual sinner.

* 2 Thes. ii.

† 2 Thes. ii. 4.

The only way to prove rationally that Popery is Antichristian, is to show its accordance with the description given by the Scriptures, and I freely grant that the burden of proof lies on those who make the charge. Thus, then, I establish it as a just and incontrovertible accusation.

First, the Apostle declares that there should be a "falling off," or an "apostacy." And I have shown, from the pages of Fleury, that this is clearly admitted by your own writers. Your historian states expressly that the purity of the Church passed away with the first six centuries, and the old fathers lament its growing corruption, long before. I have shown that the primitive Catholic faith drew all its Articles from the Scriptures, and that your modern system added new doctrines, unknown to the Apostolic ages, and founded on a false tradition; while licentiousness and ambition came into the Church like a flood, so that the Popes and the Kings, and the Councils themselves, were often afterwards forced to declare that the Bishops and the priests were bringing the world to ruin. Certainly here was an awful *falling off*, or *apostacy* from scriptural faith and Christian practice.

Secondly, the Apostle declares that after this *falling away* "the man of sin should be *revealed*," or made manifest. And the Papacy was in due time made notoriously manifest by the plain acts of its history.

Thirdly, St. Paul asserts that Antichrist "opposeth and is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God." And this I maintain to be precisely applicable to your modern system of Popery. For it opposes God, when it sets up another standard of faith besides His Word. It opposes all that is worshipped, when it establishes new objects of worship, and sets up a rivalry to Christ, in the power and grace attributed to the Virgin Mary,

telling the sinner that even when the Saviour and the Holy Spirit are indifferent to his prayers, yet Mary is still able and willing to save him. It lifts itself above God, when it contradicts His Word in the celibacy of priests, in the worship of images, in adding to His sacraments, in the assumed power of deciding upon the satisfaction required for sin, of declaring it to be forgiven by the act of the priest, and of freeing the departed soul from the punishment demanded by divine justice. It sits in the temple of God, because it is the ruling power in the Church, and because the new Pope is *actually seated upon the altar*, and adored by the Cardinals who have elected him. And it "shows itself as if it were God," when it makes its decrees the absolute and final source of all truth and authority, independent of, and often contrary to, the Bible.

Fourthly, the Apostle declares that the coming of Antichrist is "according to the working of Satan, in all power, and signs, and lying wonders." And your modern Papal system tallies with this throughout. It is "according to the working of Satan," because it is false, deceptive, and perilous to the souls of men, yet always cunningly disguised under the aspect of zeal for their welfare, as Satan promised our first parents an increase of knowledge and of privilege, from their act of disobedience, and still deceives them in the appearance of an angel of light. It is "in all power," because it succeeded in arrogating to itself the entire and despotic control of faith, and office, and honor, and liberty, and life itself, bringing kings before the Pope's footstool, and punishing all rebellion against its dictates by the dungeon and the stake. And it is displayed "in signs and lying wonders," because it deals in the assumption of continual miracles, by relics, and pictures, and images, and marvellous impostures, all directed to the increase of its own profit and dominion.

Fifthly, it "makes war with the saints," according to St. John. Because it has sacrificed hecatombs of Christian men, whose consciences refused to obey its dictates rather than the Bible ; and, during those long ages when it had the power, its constant remedy against all its opponents was the sword of exterminating slaughter, and the tortures of the inquisition.

Sixthly, it agrees with the mystic number of 666, stated in the Book of the Revelations, not by the "ingenious efforts of Protestant expounders" only, but by the express opinion of Irenæus, the Bishop of Lyons, in the year 170, who makes *Lateinos*, or LATIN, the exponent of that name. St. John wrote in Greek, and the letters forming this word, in that language, amount precisely to the number 666. But this corresponds most accurately with Popery, because it is Latin in its Roman origin, Latin in its language, Latin in its laws, Latin in its superstitions, Latin in its dress, Latin in its architecture, Latin in its imperial ambition, so that no one word could be chosen to express its name and character so comprehensively. Very true it is that the same number of 666 has been applied to other names, as your favorite author has stated, but there is not one amongst them all which corresponds like this with the other parts of the Apostolic prediction, and with all the facts of history.

Thus, then, Most Reverend Sir, I state the principal reasons for my own opinion, which agrees with the prevailing sentiment of the English reformers, that *Popery is the ANTICHRIST of Scripture*. It is not a topic which I should have chosen, of myself, to introduce into the discussion. But it has been forced upon me by your favorite author, and if it jars unpleasantly upon your feelings, you must ascribe it to the necessity dictated by his course, rather than by

mine. The topic of the Pope's supremacy comes next in order, and in this I shall endeavor to fulfil my promise of replying, though briefly, to your own elaborate work upon the same subject, in the full confidence that the truth is mighty, and will prevail.

LETTER XLII.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

IN answering the 46th letter of Milner, upon your doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, I shall endeavor to follow the track of his argument as usual, and show the irrelevancy of his proofs as I pass along. But as I have already devoted the 23d and 24th letters of this series to the same topic, I must refer my readers to these, for a large portion of the evidence, and content myself with noticing here those matters which have not been disposed of previously.

He commences by informing his Salopian correspondent what the faith of the Church is *not*. And here he expressly disclaims the idea that the Pope "has any CIVIL OR TEMPORAL SUPREMACY, by virtue of which he can depose princes, or take away the property of other persons out of his own domain." But in this, he artfully disguises the whole question, for no one, properly instructed, ever supposed that the Pope claimed a *civil jurisdiction* beyond the States of the Church. The right to depose princes, make war upon heretics, and confiscate their property, has always been treated as a branch of his *spiritual* prerogative "to feed and govern the whole Church" with full power, according to the Council of Florence. And therefore the oath of the English and Irish Romanists, which was so ingeniously worded to gull the British Parliament, is in reality no protection at all against the largest claims of Papal power, because that oath only denies his "*civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly,*

within the realm," and this is a kind of jurisdiction which was never demanded by the highest advocate of Ultramontanism.

Your dexterous advocate next defends the exercise of this deposing power, by representing the kingdoms, principalities, and States of Europe, as "a Christian Republic, of which the Pope was the accredited head." As "the duty of civil allegiance and submission," continues he, "cannot extend beyond a certain point, and they ought not to surrender their property, lives, and morality to be sported with by a Nero, or a Heliogabalus, instead of deciding the point for themselves, when resistance becomes lawful, they thought it right to be guided by their chief pastor. The kings and princes themselves acknowledged this right in the Pope, and frequently applied to him to make use of his indirect temporal power, as appears in numberless instances. In latter ages, however, since Christendom has been disturbed by a variety of religions, this power of the pontiff has been generally withdrawn." And then he quotes Sir Edward Sandys, saying, that "the Pope was the common father, adviser and conductor of Christians, to reconcile their enmities, and decide their differences."

Now this is a very pretty theory, Most Reverend Sir, and it is a pity that it is entirely irreconcilable, not only with historical fact, but even with the avowed principles of the Papal assumption. But this contrariety I shall show to the satisfaction of any candid reader.

In the first place, the notion of the whole Church being a Christian *republic*, of which the Pope was the accredited head, and that he only interfered upon the application of the people, is a perfect misrepresentation. The Church was a Christian republic in the primitive ages, and with us it is so still. But with you, since the twelfth century, there

has been nothing republican about it. The Pope claimed that his office invested him with the sovereignty of the world as the vicar of Christ by the divine decree, and not by the will of princes or people. Gregory VII. was the leader in the matter, and he rested his right to depose the Emperor of Germany on this ground alone, as the successor of the Apostles Peter and Paul. And the cause of the difficulty had nothing to do with any allegation of tyranny or despotism—nothing to do with the rights of the people—nothing to do with their morality, liberty, or lives—nothing to do with the case of a Nero or a Heliogabalus. It was simply a struggle between the Pope and the emperor for the right of investiture, in which the monks and the great body of the clergy took the Papal side, because they sympathized in the object, which they knew would result in a vast aggrandizement of the power of the priesthood. And so far were the Popes from being the friends of *republican* principle, that all of them, for centuries in succession, held the same doctrine that the *Papal* and the *kingly* powers were the two great lights of the world, to which all others should be in subjection.

That the kings and princes acknowledged the claims of the Pope, and frequently applied to him to exercise them, is another assertion which is far from being generally true. For history shows that they only applied to him when it suited their interest, and, for the most part, their wars and their politics were managed with no regard to his opinion, except as an ally or confederate on the one side or the other. Indeed, it will be found that there were few wars in Europe, after the power of the Pope became established, in which he was not a party. And hence, there is not a capital city on the whole of that large Continent, which has been so often taken and pillaged by Christian armies as

Rome itself, nor one from which the sovereigns have been so often expelled by Christian kings and princes.

The third statement of your favorite author is equally deceptive, viz., that "in latter ages, this power of the pontiff has been generally withdrawn." What he means by the *latter ages* must be explained by his own language, that the change has taken place "since Christendom has been disturbed by a variety of religions." As if Christendom had not been much more disturbed by the quarrels, the schisms and the wars, fomented by the Papacy during the ages before the Reformation! But to show at once, by a decisive proof, the error of your author's whole statement, I shall appeal to the Papal bull put forth by this *republican pastor*, A. D. 1570, for the purpose of deposing Queen Elizabeth, and to this authoritative document I shall ask my reader's best attention:—

"Pius, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God."

"In perpetual memorial of the matter, HE THAT REIGNETH ON HIGH, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed His one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation, to ONE ALONE upon earth, namely, to Peter, the chief of the Apostles, and to *Peter's successor, the Bishop of Rome*, to be by him GOVERNED WITH PLENARY AUTHORITY. Him alone hath He made *prince over all people and all kingdoms*, TO PLUCK UP, TO DESTROY, TO SCATTER, TO CONSUME, to plant and to build, that he may preserve his faithful people (knit together in the bond of charity) in the unity of the Spirit, and present them spotless and unblamable to their Saviour. In discharge of which function, we, who are, by God's goodness, called to the government of the aforesaid Church, do spare no pains, laboring with all earnestness that unity and the Catholic religion (which the Author thereof hath, for

the trial of His children's faith, and for our amendment, suffered to be tossed with so great afflictions) might be preserved sincere.

"But the number of the ungodly hath gotten such power, that there is now no place in the whole world left which they have not essayed to corrupt with their most wicked doctrines; and amongst others, Elizabeth, the pretended Queen of England, the servant of wickedness, lendeth thereto her helping hand."

Then follows a long enumeration of charges against Elizabeth, after which, this Papal bull concludes in these words :—

"Being, therefore, supported by His authority, whose pleasure it was to place us (though unable for so great a burden) in this supreme throne of justice, we do, *out of the fulness of our Apostolic power*, pronounce the said Elizabeth to be a heretic, and the favorer of heretics, and her adherents in the matters aforesaid to have incurred the sentence of excommunication, and to be cut off from the unity of the Body of Christ. And moreover, we do declare her to be *deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever*, and also the nobility, subjects, and people of said kingdom, and all others who have in any sort sworn allegiance unto her, to be for ever *absolved from any such oath, and all manner of duty, dominion, allegiance, and obedience*. And we also do, by authority of these presents, absolve them, and do deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdom, and all other things before named. And we do *command and charge all and every the noblemen, subjects and people, and others aforesaid*, that they PRESUME NOT to obey her, or her orders, mandates, or laws; and those who shall do the contrary, WE DO INCLUDE IN THE SAME ANATHEMA."

Here then, Most Reverend Sir, we have the genuine character of your true system. There is not one word about Dr. Milner's *Christian republic*; not one allusion to the Pope, as the father of Christendom, deciding the point that *resistance became lawful on the part of the people*, when they were oppressed by the despotism of a Nero or Heliogabalus; nor yet the slightest reference to his power being given by general consent, as the *accredited head* of this same republic. But on the contrary, there is the distinct claim of a *divine right, conferred by Christ Himself*, and therefore quite independent of human consent, *to pluck up, to destroy, to scatter, to consume*, as a PRINCE over all kingdoms and all people, WITH PLENARY AUTHORITY. Truly, one cannot help admiring the notions of government which could connect the term *Christian republic* with such a sweeping despotism.

But this was only a consistent adherence to the whole modern history of your Papal system. For Pope Innocent III. expressed the true theory of your Church, long before, in these words: "In the firmament of heaven, viz., of the Universal Church, God made two great lights, that is, He instituted two great dignities, *the authority of the Pope*, and *the power of kings*. But that which rules over the day, namely, in spiritual things, is the greater, and that which rules over carnal things, is the lesser. So that THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PONTIFFS AND KINGS may be understood to be as great as BETWEEN THE SUN AND MOON."

Nay, the principle is laid down in your Roman Canon Law, on the authority of Pope Boniface VIII.: "All the faithful of Christ are *of necessity of salvation* under the Roman Pontiff, who has both swords, and judges all men, but is judged by none. We are instructed by the Gospel that in the power of the Pope there are two swords, the spir-

itual and the temporal. The one to be used *for* the Church, the other *by* it; the one by the priest, the other by the hand of kings and soldiers, but *at the nod and sufferance of the priest*. For one sword ought to be under the other, and the temporal authority to be subjected to the spiritual. Finally, we declare, say, define, and pronounce, that it IS NECESSARY TO SALVATION FOR EVERY CREATURE TO BE SUBJECT TO THE ROMAN PONTIFF."

Such is, and such has been, since the twelfth century, the claim of your Papal supremacy. But Dr. Milner saith that in these later ages, meaning since the Reformation, "it has been generally WITHDRAWN." When? Where? On what occasion? I have set forth the very words of the bull in which the Pope assumed the power to depose Queen Elizabeth. How has it been abandoned? Is it not a notorious fact that the clergy of France denounced this claim of the deposing power in their celebrated "Declaration," A. D. 1682? And is it not equally notorious that this act was condemned by Pope Innocent XI., and afterwards by Pope Alexander VIII.? Even so late as the present century, did not Pope Pius VII. absolve all Frenchmen from their obedience to Louis XVIII., and authorize an oath of allegiance to Napoleon Bonaparte? And in A. D. 1809, did not the same Pope excommunicate the same Napoleon, because he invaded the Papal dominions? The language of this last bull breathes the old spirit. "Let our persecutors learn once for all," saith the pontiff, "that the *law of Jesus Christ has subjected them to our authority and our throne*. For we also *bear the sceptre*, and we can say that our power is far superior to theirs. Already have so many sovereign pontiffs been forced to proceed to similar extremities against rebellious princes and kings, and SHALL WE BE AFRAID TO FOLLOW THEIR EXAMPLE?"

Thus, then, I show the utter delusiveness of Dr. Milner's statement. True, indeed, it is, that the Romanists of France, of Germany, England, and the United States, refuse to allow that this Papal dominion is the doctrine of your Church; but equally true it is that the Popes themselves, who are theoretically the ultimate judges in all your controversies, have claimed the power from the time of Gregory VII., and have invariably exercised it whenever they were able. It is positively, therefore, a fraud upon the ignorance and simplicity of the public mind to pretend that Dr. Milner's account of the matter is either fair or candid. He ought to have set forth the true views of the Papacy which divide your Church, the *ultramontane* and the *cismontane*, as they are termed in Europe. He ought to have stated that the Italians, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Jesuits everywhere, maintain, to this day, the same prerogatives of the Pope which we have seen claimed by all your Pontiffs even so late as the nineteenth century. He ought to have stated that on this vitally important subject there is no real unity amongst you. And instead of leading his readers to suppose that there is anything *republican* about your idea of the Church, even on the most moderate ground, he should have honestly repudiated such a notion as abhorrent from your whole system.

Your favorite author next notices the dogma of Papal infallibility, but only to pass it over by saying that he has nothing to do with it, as being merely a scholastic question. This was wisely done, inasmuch as he could not have denied it, without giving offence to the Pope, the ultramontane party, and the whole Jesuit school. And he could not have admitted it, without alarming his Protestant readers, and thwarting his main object of making Popery look as mild and moderate as possible. But in truth, if he had thought

that honesty was his best policy, he would have set forth the two theories which divide your Church in this matter also. These theories I have already explained in my observations on the extracts from Fleury. Your Ultramontane, or High Church party, claim infallibility for the Pope, whenever he speaks of the doctrines of faith officially, or *ex cathedra*: while your Cismontane, or Low Church party, only predicate infallibility of the decisions of a General Council. For to this day, your Church has not discovered whether the Pope is superior to a General Council, or a General Council to the Pope. So far are you from having any real unity, even in this fundamental point of your Papal system.

Dr. Milner proceeds, however, to what he calls "*the question itself*, which is, whether the Bishop of Rome, who, by pre-eminence, is called *Papa* (*Pope or father of the faithful*), is, or is not, entitled to a superior rank and jurisdiction, above other Bishops of the Christian Church, so as to be its spiritual head here upon earth, and so that his See is *the centre of Catholic unity*?"

Now here, I must observe, by the way, that this title of *Papa*, or *father*, which your modern Church has confined to the Pope, was given in the primitive Church to *all Bishops equally*. But with respect to the string of *proofs*, which your favorite gives from Scripture and the fathers in favor of the Pope's supremacy, I must refer my readers to the 23d and 24th letters, where he will find them all answered by authorities which no sophistry can overthrow.

The concluding portion of Dr. Milner's 46th letter is devoted to a statement of the sentiments of certain eminent Protestant writers, some of them being men of high reputation in the Church of England. And here there is no difficulty whatever, when the true character of such con-

cessions is properly understood. For the amount of all these opinions is precisely this: that those writers would have made no serious objection against granting a certain *primacy of honor* to the Bishop of Rome, provided his office and influence were only used in the service of truth and holiness, with due regard to the doctrines of the Scriptures, as held by the primitive Catholic Church, and to the rights of his brethren. Not because he is entitled even to this, by any divine rule, or by any apostolic precept. But because, in consideration of unity and peace, thus much might be conceded to the established habits and feelings of a large and powerful portion of Christendom, if such a concession would restore the Church of Christ to harmony, and put an end to dissension and strife.

This, however, was only put forth as an hypothesis. In point of fact, none of our writers ever supposed that a primacy of mere honor would be enough to satisfy the ambition of your pontiffs, or that the attendant conditions of a return to scriptural and primitive truth could be accepted by a Church which has boasted so long and so loudly of her unchangeableness and infallibility. The prevailing sentiment amongst our divines has been the very contrary. There was much ground for hope that the principles of the Reformation, in the early part of the sixteenth century, would have operated to purify the whole mass of your modern corruptions, but the slavish subjection to the Papacy which your great Council of Trent displayed, seemed to rivet the bondage of your Church more firmly than ever. And I believe that I speak the general opinion when I say, that Popery will never be done away until the second advent of the Redeemer, when the kingdom of Antichrist, according to the language of prophecy, shall be "destroyed by the brightness of His coming."

Most true it is, indeed, that the primitive Church was really a *Christian republic*, resembling, in many respects, the Constitution of the United States. For every Bishop was elected, not by the fiat of the Pope, but by the voice of the clergy and the people; and his office, in point of government, was like that of the Governor of each State, whose main duty it is to see that the laws are obeyed, and that the internal administration proceeds with regularity. Every Bishop, too, like the Governor, might be impeached, and deposed, not by the sentence of the Pope, but by a Council of his brethren. After the first three centuries of persecution had passed away, the unity of the Church at large was exhibited by the General Councils of Bishops, the power which executed their decrees being the religious conscience of Christians, which, in case of violent opposition, was sustained by the laws of the State, as it still is amongst all civilized communities. But there was no supremacy of jurisdiction given to the Bishop of Rome until the Emperor Valentinian granted to him the prerogative of hearing appeals from his brother Bishops, A. D. 366. The Council of Sardica had recommended the same kind of appeal some years before, but only to the extent of authorizing the Pope to commit the cause to a new tribunal of Bishops, which of course did not vest in the pontiff the right of pronouncing a final decision. Even this, however, was more than the Church was willing to allow, as I have proved in the 24th Letter, by the testimony of Jerome and the decrees of subsequent Councils. And a long period elapsed before the Pope rose to the eminence of undisputed supremacy over the Churches of Europe; while the Oriental Church steadily and constantly resisted, contending that an equal jurisdiction should be allowed to the Bishop of Constantinople. The result was a gradual concentration of power, a total

destruction of the original *republican* principle which maintained the official equality of all Bishops, an incurable schism between the East and the West, and a final substitution of monarchical and feudal law, on the pretended foundation of divine right, derived from a false interpretation of the words of Christ addressed to the Apostle Peter. And thus the THRONE AND THE SCEPTRE, of which Pope Pius VII. spake so strongly in his Bull against Napoleon, in the year 1809, took the place of the original Apostolic system, and the kingdom of Antichrist was established over the Church of God.

Where, then, Most Reverend Sir, do you find a trace of this *Christian Republic* in your modern Church? Since the twelfth century, the election of your Pope is confined to the College of Cardinals, and these Cardinals are all appointed by the mere will of the reigning pontiff. Thus, each Pope has the monstrous power of limiting the choice of his successor to a very small and partial circle, and the rest of the Bishops, the clergy and the people, are totally disfranchised, and have no voice whatever in the election of the monarch of Christendom. Do you call this republicanism?*

The style in which your Pope has used this prerogative of appointing the Cardinals, from whom alone his successor could be elected, was worthy of the kingdom of Antichrist, for they were usually his own devoted partisans, elevated to this high dignity by motives of personal partiality, or policy, or caprice. Mere boys and children were sometimes nominated, of which Fleury gives many instances, and Pope Julius III., even during the Session of the Council of Trent, gave his own Cardinal's hat to a man who had been pre-

* Letter VI., vol. i., p. 110.

viously the keeper of his monkey ! Since the Reformation, I grant that these matters are managed with far more prudence and discretion, but there is as little *republicanism* about them as ever.

And what is the condition of your Church under this antichristian despotism, which Dr. Milner presumes to call a Christian republic ? The Pope appoints the Bishops, the Bishops appoint the priests. The priests are absolute over the people. Have your congregations any power to elect their own pastors ? Have the clergy and the people any voice in the electing of their own Bishop ? Have the Bishops, clergy, and people any voice in electing the Pope ? Can there be a greater outrage on the meaning of words than the calling of such a government republican in anything ? True, the history of your Church, as I have shown by the extracts from Fleury, exhibits an abundance of complaint, resistance, schisms, bloody wars, mutual hatred among contending parties, cruelties, tortures and blood—the natural appendages of an antichristian tyranny. True, also, that the salutary loss of Papal power has been succeeded by a far milder administration, through necessity, and policy, and fear. But your system remains to this day, as it has been for seven centuries, a pure, unmitigated despotism. And you lack nothing but a restoration of the element of *power*, to display the old fruits, in all their former atrocity. Alas for the principles of Christian republicanism, for Christian liberty, for the personal right to read even the Word of God, if ever the judgment of the Most High, in punishment for our sins, should bring us to behold that day !

In perfect contrast to your whole system, our own branch of the Holy Catholic Church is indeed a *Christian republic*, respecting the rights of all our clergy and laity, from first to last, in our whole system. Our highest legislative Council

is the General Convention, in which no law can be established or changed, without the free consent of a majority of Bishops, priests, and laymen, in strict accordance with the decree of the first Apostolic Council, which was published in the name of "*the Apostles, elders, and brethren.*"* The Bishops sit in this assembly in a separate body, like the Senate of the United States, but with equal powers, as in the primitive Councils. The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, like the House of Representatives, sit together in another body, but vote, when it is required, in separate orders ; so that the laity alone, if so disposed, can nullify the action of the clergy and the Bishops : proving the care with which the rights of our people are guarded from invasion. These clerical and lay deputies, moreover, are all freely elected in the previous Conventions of every diocese, the members of which are the Bishop, the clergy, and the delegates from each parish. These delegates, again, are elected by the vestrymen of the parishes. And the vestries are elected annually by the free votes of the parishioners themselves. Thus the republican principle is carried out from first to last. Our Bishops are elected by the concurrent votes of the clergy and the laity in every diocese ; and when consecrated, they can exercise no arbitrary power. They cannot ordain, without the consent of the Standing Committee, who are themselves elected to their office by the clergy and laity. They cannot appoint a rector to the smallest parish, without the free election of the vestry, who are laymen elected by the parishioners. They cannot depose a clergyman, or excommunicate a layman, without a fair trial and a verdict by his peers. They cannot separate a pastor from his flock, without the consent of the parties,

* Acts, xv. 23.

unless there be a trial and a sentence for some delinquency. And thus we claim the privileges of a Church which is emphatically a *Christian republic*, where we are governed by the LAW AND ORDER established by common consent, and in which, nevertheless, the clergy and the Bishops, though all equally subject to the laws, enjoy as much influence and power as are consistent with the true nature of their office. For we desire to remember that we are appointed, not to be LORDS OVER OUR BRETHREN, but to be the *servants of Christ*, to lead them to Him, who is their Master and ours, in the unity of faith, and love, and holy obedience, as members, each in his own order, of that Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.*

* Eph., i. 23.

L E T T E R X L I I I .

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I HAVE promised, before I close my humble work, to devote a little space to your book on the Primacy of the Apostolic See, written in reply to my volume on the Church of Rome, in the year 1837. And here I must content myself with a few remarks on the general course of your argument, not wishing to repeat what has been proved already.

In the first place, you labor very ingeniously to sustain the Roman sense of our Lord's address to Peter, *Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, &c.* But you have left untouched the large amount of evidence which I adduced from the Scriptures, proving, conclusively, that your doctrine is perfectly inconsistent with the language and conduct of the other Apostles, and of St. Peter himself. Not one sentence can be found in the Gospels or the Epistles to favor the idea that he was invested with a supremacy over the rest, and the whole strain of the subsequent history is at war with your position. I must refer to my book itself for the various passages, and shall only observe here, that in the interpretation of the Scriptures, the first great rule is to give them the sense which makes them consistent with themselves, instead of deriving, from a single text, found only in St. Matthew, a meaning which involves a host of other and clearer passages in confusion and perplexity.

Secondly, I would observe that your hypothesis requires not only the supremacy of Peter over the other Apostles,

but further, that he was the Bishop of the Church of Rome at his death, and that his successors in office were intended to continue the same supremacy to the end of the world. But it is historically certain that Peter was not the Bishop of Rome, for Irenæus, the oldest witness on the point, positively declares, A. D. 170, that the Church of Rome was founded by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, and that they DELIVERED TO LINUS THE EPISCOPAL RIGHT OF GOVERNING IT. TO HIM SUCCEEDED ANACLETUS; AFTER HIM, IN THE THIRD PLACE FROM THE APOSTLES, CLEMENT IS CHOSEN, &c. Eusebius, the father of Church history, adopts the same statement in the following century: "LINUS WAS THE FIRST," saith he, "THAT RECEIVED THE EPISCOPATE AT ROME." It is demonstrably evident, however, that even if Peter had been Bishop of Rome, and had also possessed the supremacy which you claim for him, it could not have passed to Linus without a special grant of authority over the whole world, which was quite distinct from the Episcopate. For the headship which your theory supposes, being personal to himself, not as a *Bishop*, but as an *Apostle*, remained in him as much after as before the consecration of Linus; and hence your notion that it devolved on Linus by the mere act of consecration, is a pure absurdity: since, in that case, Linus, the Pope, would have become immediately the superior of Peter the Apostle.

But there is a further absurdity attendant upon your doctrine, derived from the unquestionable fact that the Apostle John lived more than thirty years after the Apostles Peter and Paul became martyrs under the tyrant Nero. On your hypothesis, therefore, he must have been subject to Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, by virtue of St. Peter's supposed supremacy! And yet St. John does not even mention that part of our Lord's address to Peter, on which you rest your

whole Papal claim. His writings were published towards the close of the first century, long after the establishment of the Roman Church, which you call the *Mother and Mistress of all the Churches*. But neither in his Gospel, nor in his Epistles, nor in his Apocalypse, does this inspired Apostle give the least hint of this supremacy, which, as you would fain persuade the world, was not only an *authority above himself*, but the very foundation of the whole Church, and the essential bond and centre of Catholic unity !

Thirdly, your theory fails when it is brought to the test of history. Your hypothesis is, that the Papal supremacy was a *divine appointment*, essential to the unity of the Church, because the Pope is the *centre of unity*. But it is certain, from the testimony of your own historian, Fleury, that unity was not attained by this supposed enactment of the Saviour. On the contrary, the claims of the Pope produced the great schism of the Oriental Churches in the ninth century. Disputes, wars, contentions, persecutions, and, above all, a frightful declension into licentiousness and immorality, marked the whole course of the Papacy, anterior to the Reformation. The order of the Jesuits, which is distinguished, above all others, by its devotion to the Pope, has been expelled over and over again from all the Papal territories of Europe. And it is only since the Reformation that the declension of this very Papal power has produced a better and more peaceful state among yourselves. How, then, I pray you, could that have been intended as a *centre of unity*, which has been the chief cause of destroying unity ? And why is not the profession of the same primitive creed, protected, as at first, by the Councils of Bishops, a far safer and more effectual preservative than the maintenance of an irresponsible monarchical power,

which nothing short of a continual miracle could possibly keep from degenerating into a corrupt and irritating despotism?

Fourthly, you have adduced, from many of the fathers, expressions of high, and sometimes very rhetorical, respect towards the See of Peter and the Bishop of Rome, as if they were proofs of your Papal theory, when, at the most, even if those passages are genuine, they could only be taken as indicating a primacy of *honor*. But this is a very different thing from the supremacy of *jurisdiction*. The one is the language of reverence—the other is the acknowledgment of rightful power. The pre-eminent importance and influence naturally attached to the wealthiest and greatest of the primitive Churches, may easily account for these words of deference. While, at the same time, the very same fathers and Councils plainly demonstrate, not only by other declarations, but by public acts, that they held no such principles of Papal domination as were afterwards established and maintained. The proofs are given at large in my 24th Letter, where Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Eusebius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and also the Council of Antioch, the first General Council of Constantinople, the Council of Milevi, the sixth Council of Carthage, and the General Council of Chalcedon, are cited in full on the point in controversy, and in language which no general expressions of compliment to the See of Peter or the Bishop of Rome can do away, in the judgment of any intelligent and candid reader. For words of praise and outward reverence to men in high official station cost nothing. It is only when the point of *direct interpretation*, or of *positive jurisdiction*, is presented, that the true opinions of the primitive fathers can be correctly ascertained.

Tried by this sound rule, Most Reverend Sir, I hesitate

not to say, that your able and elaborate reply has not in the least shaken the evidence against your system. You have favored me with several small verbal criticisms upon my translations, for which I thank your superior accuracy. But I am happy to see that even your microscopic eye has found nothing in them all which affects the substantial truth and correctness of my statements. The most important one among the whole, viz., my quotation from Irenæus, was vindicated fully in our pamphlet correspondence some years ago. Nor could I fail to derive from your volume the most satisfactory conviction of a success which I hardly ventured to anticipate, when I saw that your eminent ability, united with ingenious talent and research, had labored in vain.

Let me now briefly state the chain of evidence which your Papal hypothesis would strictly require before it could deserve the assent of a sound judgment, in the face of its antecedent improbability, and its historical failure as a centre of unity to the Christianity of the world.

It should be clearly shown from Scripture, as the only proper basis, that a supremacy of government and jurisdiction over the other Apostles was conferred on St. Peter.

But this can never be shown, because it is plainly inconsistent with all the other Scriptures. Peter never claimed it. The Apostles nowhere acknowledged it. And the Saviour Himself invariably put down the inquiry which they frequently raised among themselves, Who should be the greatest? by saying: "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." Neither can such a doctrine be supported from the fathers, as I have clearly proved already. Their laudatory language of St. Peter as the chief, the prince, the key-bearer of heaven, the rock of the Church, &c., is manifestly insufficient to prove an official right of *superior jurisdiction*, although it may pass well enough for a

primacy of *honor*. But this kind of primacy would yield no support whatever to the Papal superstructure.

Next, it should be clearly proved, not only that St. Peter established the seat of his spiritual government as Bishop at Rome, but also that he transferred his apostolic supremacy, whole, entire, and unconditionally, to all his successors in that See, by inspired command, to the end of the world. But this can never be shown, because it involves, as I have proved, an absurdity; and further, because it is in direct contradiction to St. Paul's claim, in the Epistle to the Galatians, of having the Gospel of the Gentiles *specially committed to himself*, as the Gospel of the Jews was to Peter:—a claim assented to by Peter and all the rest, and *acted upon*, as we see in the narrative of the Acts, where St. Paul's journey to Rome, and his preaching successfully for two years together, are expressly related, without one word about St. Peter. The same appointment is further proved by St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, since this, like his Epistles to the Corinthians, the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, and the Thessalonians, naturally suggests his relation to the Church of Rome as its founder; while, if St. Peter was actually the Bishop of Rome at the time, according to your hypothesis, it would be utterly unaccountable that St. Paul should have written such an epistle without taking any notice of his brother laborer, with whose diocesan rights he was thus so strangely interfering. In truth, however, your whole assumption that St. Peter was for seven years Bishop of Antioch, and then, for twenty-five years more, Bishop of Rome, is perfectly irreconcilable with the scriptural record. It is opposed also, as I have shown, to all the statements of the more ancient fathers, and deserves no confidence whatever from any mind which values the rules of historical evidence.

Lastly, you should be able to get rid of the *positive* and *plain* contradictions to the Papal claims, which stand on the face of the early Councils as I have cited them. The 28th Canon of the General Council of Chalcedon, alone, is perfectly fatal to your whole hypothesis. It is no answer to this Canon that the Pope refused to adopt it, although he assented to all the other acts of the Council: because that special Canon concerned his own official prerogatives, and it was against the first principles of justice that *he should be the only judge in his own cause*. And hence, your Papal theory stands not only *unproved*, but distinctly *disproved*, so late as the fifth century, by the highest testimony in the Church, the voice of one of the four General Councils, to which all Christendom was bound to render the strongest confidence and veneration.

I shall not spend any further time upon this fundamental point, which has been more than sufficiently established by all the evidence which the Scriptures, the fathers, and the Councils, could furnish. In presuming to make it an *article of faith*, necessary to be believed in order to salvation, your Papal Church has stamped upon her brow the character of ANTICHRIST, and has brought upon the whole cause of Christianity a complicated mass of corruption and calamity, most clearly foretold in the divine prophecies, and mournfully exemplified in the past history of the world. The whole foundation of the monstrous doctrine was in the pride of earthly ambition. Satan beguiled your Popes, as he tried to tempt the Saviour, by the glittering bait of promised sovereignty over "the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them;" and they did not see that before they could attain the splendid prize, it would first be necessary that they should "fall down and worship him." Policy, expediency, and interest, became their real guides, under the specious

name of religion. Policy, expediency, and interest, have continued to be their guides to this day. But their course throughout the palmiest ages of Popery was marked with wars and dissensions, plots and intrigues, licentiousness and immorality, persecutions, cruelty, and blood, until at length the sceptre of their despotism was broken. And now look, I pray you, at the downward progress of Papal influence and power since the English Reformation. What country on the globe cares one straw for pontifical interdicts or excommunications? Where is the old majesty of the triple crown, before which, four centuries ago, the nations trembled? What monarch values the alliance of the Pope, or dreads his enmity? And how manifestly, in every quarter, has his usurped dominion dwindled away! While the reformed Church of England, strong in the word of God, is growing, without effort or ambition, far beyond her own anticipation; gaining, quietly and steadily, a foothold in every land; dispersing the blessed Scriptures of divine truth in all directions; enlightening the barbarians and the heathen in China, Africa, Australia, and the East Indies, in union with civilization and the arts; reclaiming a multitude in Ireland to the knowledge of the pure Gospel, and maintaining her unbroken apostolic unity, in connection with liberty, gentleness, and perfect toleration, and in favor with God and man.

LETTER XLIV.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I NOW return to your favorite, Dr. Milner, whose 47th letter is devoted to the defence of your Church, in retaining her Latin Liturgy all over the world, notwithstanding there has not been, for nearly a thousand years, a single nation upon earth, the mass of whose people could understand the worship which your priests set before them.

His justification of this absurdity affords an amusing specimen of his peculiar talent and sophistical dexterity. First, he saith that it is *not the Church which has introduced a foreign language*, but it is the *people who have forgotten their ancient language.*" This assertion of your author, however, is not relevant, and it is not true. It is *not relevant*, because it is the duty of the Church to accommodate her worship to the *understanding of the people* ; and for that end, to translate the Liturgy as well as the Scriptures, everywhere, into the tongue of the country. And it is *not true*, because the Latin was not the *universal language*, even of Europe, at any time. It was more general, doubtless, than any other, during the old Roman Empire. But it never was the common language of England, Ireland, Germany, Gaul, or Scandinavia. And hence it never was the proper medium of worship among the numerous races of Slavonic, Teutonic, or Celtic origin.

Next he informs us, that "the High Priest, under the Mosaic law, went into the tabernacle *alone* to make the atone-

ment, and Zachary offered incense in the temple *by himself*, while the multitude prayed without." Suppose they did, what then? Are these parts of the old Jewish economy set forth as models for the *public worship* of a Christian congregation?

Thirdly, he saith, that the use of the Latin tongue is "no detriment to the faithful, because they have translations of the Liturgy in their hands, by means of which they can unite with their priests." But he forgot to state that these translations have only been made since the Reformation: that they are of no use to those who cannot read: that in point of fact, the people are *not allowed to make a single response*, although the Liturgy is full of responses which were originally intended for them; whereas, for many centuries, all these responses are taken out of their mouth, and entirely confined to the boys or men who minister as the priest's assistants at the altar. Moreover, it is perfectly obvious that since your Church has been compelled to allow translations for the use of *the people*, there is no reason why the same translations cannot be used by the *minister*, if you really mean that they should unite in the same worship intelligently.

Your ingenious advocate comes next to the 14th chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, in which the Apostle condemns so strongly the use of *unknown tongues* in the worship of God, and here he tries to escape from the difficulty by boldly declaring that *no allusion is made in the whole chapter to the public Liturgy!* An admirable distinction, truly! As if the prohibition of an unknown tongue in *public prayer* did not cover the whole question. For what is the Liturgy, but the established form of *public prayer*?

Fifthly, Dr. Milner defends your Church's rule on the ground that it is necessary for *uniformity* of worship, for

decency and order. But this is mere trifling. The laws of every land are in the common language of each nation. So is the public administration of justice. So is your own preaching. Are not *conformity, decency, and order* required in them all? Must the language of worship be in Latin, in order that it may be uniform? Or is it consistent with the very nature of a *living* worship, that the language of it should be *dead* and unintelligible?

Sixthly, your indefatigable sophist edifies his readers with three arguments more, as follows: 1st, that St. Paul wrote an epistle to the Romans in *Greek*. I answer, so he did; and the Romans lost no time in translating it into *Latin*, which was then the common language of the people. If the Apostle had ordered them to *read the original Greek to a Latin congregation*, it would have been a case in point for Dr. Milner; but as the matter actually stood, the old Church of Rome, in this, as in many other things, gave an open and direct rebuke to the practice of her modern successor.

2. Your favorite tells us next, that the Jews continued to perform their Liturgy in the Hebrew language, "after they had exchanged their original Hebrew for the Chaldaic tongue, during the Babylonish Captivity, *though the vulgar did not understand it*;" and that "our Saviour and His Apostles attended this service in the temple and the synagogue without ever censuring it." But where did your learned advocate find out that the Hebrew language was lost in the Babylonish Captivity? Did he not know that the Chaldaic was a dialect of the Hebrew, and bore to it a very close affinity? Certain it is that when Pontius Pilate placed the inscription on the Cross, it was written in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which it would hardly have been if the Hebrew had become unintelligible to the mass of the Jewish population. Certain

it is, moreover, that when the Apostle Paul addressed the "multitude of the people" in Jerusalem, in order to defend himself from the accusation of his enemies that he was hostile to the Jewish law, "he spake to them in the *Hebrew tongue*." "And when they heard that he spoke to them in the *Hebrew tongue*, they kept the more silence."* Certain it is, likewise, that Origen, and others of the old fathers, held that St. Matthew's Gospel was first published in *Hebrew*, and from thence translated into Greek. Nay, it is certain that the Jews have not lost the knowledge of the Hebrew to this day. Hence, your favorite author is again found *making his facts* to suit his argument. He refers to Walton's Polyglot and Key for his authority, indeed, without specifying the page. But St. Paul knew better than any modern philologist what language was understood by his countrymen in Jerusalem. And the simple fact that he chose *the Hebrew* in which to make a popular address to the multitude, is decisive of the whole question.

Lastly, your favorite advocate asserts that "the Greek Churches in general, no less than the Latin, retain their original Greek tongue in their Liturgy, *though the common people have forgotten it*, and adopted different barbarous dialects instead of it."• And here, too, he misrepresents the main fact; for the modern Greek, or *Romaic*, retains the main body of the ancient language, so that it is still substantially intelligible to the mass amongst their people. And if it were otherwise, on what ground does Dr. Milner seek to justify Rome, by appealing to a Church which you denounce as heretical?

Such is the specimen of argument by which your subtle apologist tries to justify your practice of holding all your

* Acts, xxi. 40, xxii. 2, Douay Bible.

public worship in the Latin tongue, although it is self-evident that in doing so you oppose the maxim of the Apostle, run counter to the whole primitive Church, your own among the number, deprive your people of their unquestionable right and privilege, shut up from them effectually the teaching of the Liturgy, and shock the common sense and reason of mankind. But, nevertheless, I doubt not that you have a motive for your course, which your prudent advocate does not mention. You secure the superstitious veneration of the mass, who are led to imagine that the Latin is more *acceptable to God* than any other language, *because it is the language of the priests*. You probably prefer it, too, because, to the common mind, there is always a touch of the sublime about what is unintelligible. You understand perfectly the value of the maxim, *omne ignotum pro magnifico est*, and you are quite aware that, in your Church, *ignorance is the mother of devotion*.

Such reasons as these, however, did not suit the policy of Dr. Milner, although, to my humble judgment, they are much more likely to be the true ones, than those which he thought proper to assign. You do not, of course, see anything to apprehend from the affectation of *mystery*, because you do not apply to the Papal Antichrist the prophetic language of St. John: "Mystery, Babylon the Great." Neither do you care for the interpretation which Irenæus, in A. D. 170, gave to the mystical number, 666, *λατείνος*, or *Latin*, and which your Church so singularly fulfils in her worship, as well as in her whole history.

But in this, as in every other feature of her reformation, the Church of England takes the SCRIPTURES and the primitive rule for her guide. Her Liturgy is intended for the instruction and edification of her people, and all is plain, simple, and intelligible. And the two systems are well ar-

ranged for their respective objects, for we only seek to make men depend on Christ, while the great end to which modern Romanism seems adapted is to keep them dependent on the priesthood.

Your author next discusses what he calls the "*wicked calumny* that the Catholic" (i. e., Roman) "Church undervalues the Scriptures, or prohibits the use of them." Here are two denials—the first, of the charge that your Church *undervalues* the Bible ; and the second, that you *prohibit* its use. I shall briefly remark on each in their respective order.

I maintain that the Holy Scripture, as St. Paul saith, "is divinely inspired," and "is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, *that the man of God may be perfect*, furnished unto every good work."* This is the language of your own version, and you cannot dispute its truth.

In precise accordance with it is the doctrine of the Church of England, as I have shown already in my 2d Letter. And in the same accordance was the doctrine of the primitive Church, as proved abundantly by the extracts from all the eminent fathers, establishing the Holy Scriptures as the complete RULE OF FAITH AND MORALS, on the express authority of God. Therefore we *value them* as such, and deny that any other rule of faith can be set up beside them.

In direct opposition to the Apostle and the primitive Church, which was *truly Catholic*, your Papal Church sets forth a set of doctrines in addition to the scriptural rule of faith, on the ground of what she calls "Apostolical traditions," and calls them the "unwritten word of God," and commands them to be received under the penalty of her

* 2 Tim., iii. 16, Douay Bible.

anathemas. These traditions I have examined and disproved, by the authority of Scripture, and also by the best testimony of the fathers and Councils, and we reject them as false, heretical, antichristian, and perilous to the soul. On that strong and irrefragable ground stand the DUTY and the WARRANT of the English Reformation.

Now, therefore, we maintain that your Church does necessarily *undervalue*—nay, she *utterly destroys* the proper character of the Holy Scriptures, because she deprives them of their great office as the *perfect rule of faith and morals*, and proclaims *her own teaching* in their place. St. Paul saith, the “divine Scripture is profitable to *teach*, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, that the man of God may be *perfect, furnished unto every good work*.” Your Church insists that the man of God *cannot be perfect* from its teaching, because it is *not capable of teaching the whole faith*: that the man of God *cannot be furnished unto every good work* by its instruction, because there is a large amount of good works of which it makes no mention whatever. And herein lies your fearful exposure to the condemnation invoked by the Apostle, where he saith, “Though we or an angel from heaven preach a gospel to you beside that which we have preached unto you, let him be *anathema*.”* Herein lies the awful usurpation of the Papal dominion, as the predicted *Antichrist*, who, sitting in the Temple of God, should show himself that he is God, by prescribing another imperative law of saving faith and obedience to Christ’s flock and people, in entire independence and contempt of the divine record of the Lord’s perfect will.

That Dr. Milner did not see this subject in its true light, I am very willing to believe, and as willing to make all al-

* Gal., i. 8, Douay Bible.

lowance for every man who is subject to the same delusion. But the real nature of such a claim is easily shown by an obvious analogy.

Suppose that all the judges in the State should adopt the notion that the existing laws of the legislature were just and binding as far as they extended, but that they ought to be greatly enlarged, in compliance with the wishes of the citizens ; and thereupon should undertake to give their own official sanction to a variety of popular measures, from time to time, and should resolve, at last, that their decisions should be taken for the *only law*, independent of, and entirely superior to, the acts of the legislature, and should proceed accordingly to enforce their assumed powers, even to imprisonment and death, against all who presumed to dispute their authority. Would not the combined act of such judges amount to treason ? For it would be virtually setting aside the true legislature, and assuming an irresponsible mastery over liberty and life which did not belong to them, and thrusting themselves into the supreme seat of government, instead of being content to administer the law as it was laid down by the proper authority. And hence it is obvious that those judges would not only be liable to impeachment, but must actually be condemned for the gravest offence against the duties of their office ; since they whose express function it was to execute the law laid down to them by the real legislature, were the very men who had set the authority of that law aside, and presumed to usurp the whole sanction of the law-making power, for new and unauthorized acts of their own dictation.

Such has been, in effect, the course of your Papal system. Your Bishops were commissioned to administer, as the *judges* of the Church, the laws of faith and morals laid down in the Bible, by the inspired messengers of the " Only Law-

giver, who is able to save and to destroy." Superstition came in, after some centuries, and was patronized extensively by the monks and the idolatrous tendencies of the people. And the Bishops, after vainly trying to check and to rebuke, gave themselves up to indulging it, and, by and by, submitted to the Papacy, undertook to *establish* the pestiferous innovations as *articles of faith*, and persecuted, even unto death, those who refused to receive their law from anything except the original Scriptures, which were the only true records of the divine legislation. And thus was finally set up the *Antichrist* of Papal power, which dared to exert the prerogative of Christ in the Church of God, to supersede entirely the authority of the sacred records, and to consummate, with a high hand, this act of treason against the word of the Redeemer.

Dr. Milner next asserts that your Church never *prohibited* the reading of the Scriptures to the laity, while he is obliged to confess that she "required, by way of preparation for this most difficult and important study, that they should have received so much education as would enable them to read the sacred books *in their original language, or in that ancient and venerable version, the fidelity of which she guarantees to them.*" But this was a virtual prohibition to the vast majority for the last ten hundred years. Your own historian, Fleury, expressly states that no restriction of the kind was passed by any Canon, until the thirteenth century. And it is notorious that the primitive Church of Rome had the Scriptures as well as the Liturgy in Latin, at the time when Latin was the common spoken language of the people, and read the Scriptures in her public service, and encouraged all others to read them, as we do.

Your subtle apologist proceeds to state, that "in case the laity are desirous to read the Scriptures in a modern tongue

they must be furnished with some attestation of their piety and docility, in order to prevent their turning this salutary food of the soul into poison, as it is universally confessed so many thousands constantly have done." Here, we have an admission of the fact that your laity must have *the permission of the priest* to read the Bible, as if the right to read the revealed word of God was not strictly a *universal right*, to every human being. And the priest must limit his permission to those who furnish an *attestation of piety and docility*, that is, to those who are in no danger of taking the Bible for the RULE OF FAITH, but merely peruse it as an interesting and divine *history*: while it is to the *unwritten word of Church tradition*, as laid down by the priest, that they look for all their religious doctrine.

But here your apologist states by the way, quite *incidentally*, according to his usual habit, how it is "*universally confessed*" that *thousands have constantly turned* the reading of the Bible *into poison*. And this is assigned among the reasons for restricting the sacred volume to those who are properly prepared! And then he proceeds to set forth the mischief which an indiscriminate reading of Scripture did in the case of Hugh Peters, Oliver Cromwell, Swedenborg, Joanna Southcote, "hot-brained dissenters" in general; and in particular, the advocates of the Bible Society!

The whole of this, however, is absurd and irrelevant. He might as well pretend to restrict *preaching* to those who can give *attestations of piety and docility*, because thousands turn it into ridicule, and treat it with contempt. And yet, it was the commission of Christ to his Apostles, that they should "go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." Why should the Bible, which is the *writ-*

ten message of God to mankind, be more restricted than the ministry who are commanded to deliver the same message orally? That men in general are more disposed to turn the *Scriptures* into a cause of scandal than they are the *priests*, is notoriously untrue, for it is admitted by your own historians that for long ages before the Reformation, it was not the Bible, but the *priesthood*, that scandalized all Europe, and made the whole Church a by-word and a hissing in the mouths of multitudes. It was not the Bible, but the *priests*, that gave point to the ridicule of Voltaire and Rousseau. And in our own day, it is not the Bible, but *the priests*, that are despised in South America and the States of Papal Europe. It is not the Bible, but the Pope, and the Cardinals, and the Bishops, and the clergy, that are hated by thousands in the city of Rome. And even in Protestant countries, it is well known that for one tongue which is moved against the Bible, there are hundreds employed against the worldliness, the formalism, and the inconsistencies of the preachers.

Hence, Most Reverend Sir, I maintain that your ingenious advocate has totally failed in his attempt to justify you in restricting the reading of the *Scriptures*. You have no right whatever to shut them up, directly or indirectly, by any kind of management, from the universal and free access of all mankind. You might as well presume to forbid the light and air of heaven, until the individual has first obtained a priestly license. For, like the air and the light, they are intended for the whole human family. They are the recorded wisdom and truth of the same God who made the sun and the atmosphere. In them, the soul breathes the breath of spiritual life. In them, the soul beholds the Sun of Righteousness. And the Church which seeks to restrict them to a favored few of her own "docile" adherents, and

gives them only to those who are sure to regard them as an *imperfect and insufficient Rule of Faith*, only vindicates by her course another of her claims to the name of *Antichrist*.

And this brings me, in conclusion, to the *real reason* for your restriction, which Dr. Milner, as in the case of your *Latin Liturgy*, takes good care, like an adroit advocate, to keep entirely back from his simple Protestant readers. It is, then, precisely, because *the reading of the Bible is the most perilous of all things to the false doctrine, the idolatries and superstitions, of the Papal Church of Rome*. Therefore it was that the first care of all the great Reformers was to translate the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, in order to make them accessible to the people. Therefore it is that the great instrument in the conversion of the sixty thousand Irish Romanists, within the last ten years, is known to be the Irish version of the Bible. Therefore it is that you regard, with such pious horror, the work of the Bible Society, and that your priests burn the Bible, when they dare, with so much zealous exultation.

Thank God! the Church of England pursues in this the very opposite course, because she reveres the written Word of God, as the great *constitution* given by the divine Lawgiver, to be the *unerring standard of faith and practice to His people*. On it she rests for all her teaching and all her principles. Whenever she authorizes the act of public worship, she commands its solemn and simple records to be read in the ears of all. She places it in the schools of the young, according to the express precept of the Almighty to His chosen Israel. She urges its diligent study upon the old, to be their daily and nightly meditation. She appeals to it as the supreme rule of belief, of feeling, and of conduct, through the whole course of life. She re-

coils, as against a deadly heresy, from all which contradicts, or presumptuously dares to add to, its perfect doctrines. And she adopts to its full extent the counsel of the holy Jerome: "Love the Scriptures, and Wisdom will love thee."

LETTER XLV.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE 48th letter of Dr. Milner is occupied with a defence of his Church against what he calls "various misrepresentations." There are many among these topics which have been fully discussed already, and a repetition of the argument would be equally tiresome and useless. I shall only notice, therefore, those subjects which now occur for the first time.

The first of these is your doctrine that "*the intention of the priest is essential to the effect of the sacrament.*" And your advocate remarks on this, that every sensible person must see the essential difference "between an action that is *seriously performed*, and the *mimicking or mockery* of it by a comedian or buffoon."

Certainly this a very light and shallow mode of treating a very important question. The statements of your own historian clearly prove that, for many centuries before the Reformation, the Church supported an immense number of priests who were licentious, immoral, and even a cause of extensive public scandal. During those ages, too, there was abundant proof that the heathen philosophy of Aristotle infected, to a fearful extent, the very schools of theology, especially the famous University of Paris. Yet all these priests were constantly engaged in administering baptism and the Eucharist. Bishops, of like sentiments and life,

were performing ordination, which you hold to be a sacrament. It is, therefore, a very grave inquiry, whether the efficacy of their acts *with respect to others* depended on the integrity of the actors' intention. They may not have performed their official duties *like a comedian or a buffoon*, because an open mockery would not have been borne by the people. And yet it is impossible to suppose that such men could have had the *intention* which the solemn nature of religious acts requires, when they were living, in all other respects, a life of open abomination. If, then, the *intention* of the priest is *essential to the effect of the sacrament*, the consequence inevitably follows, that multitudes who thought themselves baptized were not baptized at all! That multitudes who supposed they had received the Eucharist, received nothing! That, in a word, there could be no certainty that there was any visible Church remaining, since all agree that there can be no visible Church without the sacraments.

Now your Church, in this matter, has needlessly put forth a very dangerous doctrine. It is perfectly hostile, moreover, to another part of your system, where you teach, as we also do, that the wickedness of the priest does not destroy the validity of the sacrament with respect to the faithful receiver. For the *intention* of the priest is *a part of his piety*. He sins, undoubtedly, if he lacks the true intention which belongs to his office, and for that sin he will be condemned. But he sins, likewise, if he lacks the piety belonging to his office; and for that, too, he will be destroyed. Nevertheless, the grace of God is not withheld from the *faithful receiver* of his priestly acts because the priest himself is destitute of a pious intention, nor even if he should be destitute of piety altogether; for this would be to make one man suffer spiritually for the sin of an-

other, which is quite opposed to the principles of the Gospel, and even to the fixed maxims of justice and equity.

Next, your favorite advocate tries to justify your Church in her rule of taking none for her clergy, except those who voluntarily embrace celibacy. And he quotes the expression of the English statute to prove that this is "better for the estimation of the priesthood." He also declares, in a note, that the second Council of Carthage and St. Epiphanius trace the discipline of sacerdotal continence up to the Apostles, and that St. Paul and the Saviour Himself gave it a preference over matrimony, as "a state of greater perfection."

The question, however, is not whether it would be better if priests were continent, nor whether, in such case, they would enjoy a higher estimation, nor whether continence is a state of greater perfection. But it is whether the Lord, who instituted marriage in paradise before the fall, and who commanded the priests of the Mosaic dispensation to marry, thought fit to order the very contrary to his Christian ministry. And here we have the direct rule laid down by the inspired St. Paul, notwithstanding his own personal preference of celibacy, in the 3d chapter of his 1st Epistle to Timothy:—*

"It behoveth a Bishop to be blameless, *the husband of one wife*,—one that ruleth well his own house, *having his children in subjection with all gravity*. But if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?" "Let deacons be *the husbands of one wife, who rule well their children and their own houses*." And again the same Apostle saith,† "Marriage" (is) "honor-

* Douay Bible.

† Heb. xiii. 4.

able *in all*, and the bed undefiled. For God will judge fornicators and adulterers."

There is the DIVINE LAW. Who gave your Church the right to violate it? And what did she gain by the violation? Let the reader recur to the extracts from your own historian, and see the horrible consequences of the Anti-Christian scheme which refused to let the priesthood have lawful wives, but allowed them to indulge in the most shameful and public concubinage; so that from the Pope on his throne of pride, down to the humblest sub-deacon, the grossest licentiousness was the general rule, and chastity was the rare exception; and that for at least seven hundred years together, during the whole of which there was a vain outcry for priestly reformation.

Very certain it is, therefore, that if clerical celibacy is to be adopted as a state of *greater perfection*, the style in which your Church kept it up made it a state of dissolute depravity. But where does the Scripture call it a state of greater perfection. Nowhere. To most men, on the contrary it is a state of greater temptation; and I doubt not that your priesthood find it so even now, notwithstanding the improved sense of morals, established through the Reformation in the sixteenth century, makes it impossible for any class of Christian ministers to live, as the great majority of your clergy were accustomed to live through all Europe, four hundred years ago.

From this, your favorite author turns to another "vile hackneyed calumny" about your not keeping faith with *heretics*, if the promise made is to the prejudice of the Church. But although he repels this charge with a show of virtuous indignation, it is too well established by multiplied facts in your history to allow any intelligent mind to doubt its truth. Nor do I regard it as by any means the worst or most dan-

gerous feature in your system. I have already examined the matter, however, largely enough, and shall not here enter into it again. As to the power assumed by your Popes, to absolve the subjects of heretical sovereigns from their oath of allegiance, and give away their thrones to any Roman monarch they please, which your advocate very properly connects with the former subject, he thinks it enough to tell his readers that "more princes were actually dispossessed of the whole or a large part of their dominions, by the pretended Gospel reformation, within the first fifty years after it was proclaimed, than the Popes had attempted to depose during the preceding fifteen hundred." And here, he not only asserts what is wholly false, but he endeavors to mislead his readers into a kind of comparison which has not the slightest relation to the question.

For, in the first place, there would have been no wars at all on the Continent, produced by the movement of the Reformation, if your Church had been willing to allow mere *liberty of conscience*. Her despotic tyranny, which determined to extirpate the heretics in her old style, by fire and sword, as she was unable to put them down by fair argument, was the real cause of all those civil commotions. She denied them their right to take their religion from the Word of God, and to cast off the accumulated frauds and impositions of centuries. And if Rome would have remembered the Saviour's declaration, "My kingdom is not of this world," and have followed the command of our Lord to Peter, "Put up thy sword into the sheath, for all that take the sword shall perish by the sword," she would have saved herself from the guilt of lighting those flames of religious persecution, and again steeping her hands in blood.

Those wars, therefore, on the part of Protestants, were wars of *defence for Christian liberty*, while they were wars

of tyrannical and impious aggression on the part of the Papacy. It is notorious to all the world that such was their history. The Pope was the assailant, and your Church, therefore, must take the responsibility. Point out, if you can, a single instance, in which a reformed State or Kingdom made an attack on any other, for the purpose of forcing its own religion down their throats. There is no such instance, and Dr. Milner knew it well. But this despotic violence had been the policy of Antichrist for many centuries. In the same style, precisely, your Papal Church had devastated Europe in the wars about investitures, in the wars against the Paulicians, the Henricians, the Albigenes, the Waldenses, the Bohemians, and others. In the same spirit she established the laws throughout Europe, which punished all that she called heresy with flames, and gave existence to her favorite engine, the nefarious Spanish Inquisition. In the same spirit the Pope offered a *Te Deum* and struck medals in honor of the horrible butchery of St. Bartholomew's. And in the same spirit, I doubt not, Rome would again proselyte the world, if God had not, in mercy, broken the yoke of her proud and implacable dominion, and cast her fierce and despotic empire to the ground.

With respect to England, I have already stated the mode in which this characteristic of pontifical paternity was exhibited when your Pope Sixtus V. fulminated his Bull against Queen Elizabeth, deposed her from her throne, absolved her subjects from their allegiance, gave away her kingdom to Philip II. of Spain, and commanded every one to obey the invader. In a word, it is your PAPAL SYSTEM. Dr. Milner says, indeed, that "some Popes may have been too free in pronouncing such dispensations. Should this have been the case, *they alone personally, and not the Catholic*" (i. e., Roman) "*Church, were accountable for it, both to*

God and man." But this I aver to be a most uncandid and palpable evasion.

What! the Popes *personally* accountable for a prerogative which they claimed *by virtue of their office*, and which they exerted without scruple or remonstrance from any of their own Councils since the time of Gregory VII., in the eleventh century! During these 500 years, in which the Papal Antichrist reigned in his maturest vigor, there were many Popes accused by Councils for high crimes and misdemeanors, and yet the assumption of this deposing power was never named amongst their transgressions. Was this because it was a trifling or unimportant matter? What could be of more grave and even fearful significance than a claim of *divine right* to depose sovereign princes, absolve their people from their oaths of allegiance, transfer their dominions, and light up the flames of war, at the Papal will and pleasure? Yet the rulers of your Church sustained it, proclaimed it, defended it, and, by its means, kept Europe in an almost constant fever of agitation, until the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The clergy of France, under the eminent Bossuet, in 1682, were the first who openly attacked the principle, and that was more than an hundred years after the Council of Trent, which had not lisped one word against it. And those French ecclesiastics were immediately assailed by a storm of invective from their Ultramontane brethren, in which they were stigmatized as heretics, traitors, and enemies of the Holy See. Nay, Pius VII. tried to exercise his prerogative again, against Napoleon, in the early part of our own century, as I have already shown. And yet your favorite coolly tells his readers, that it was only a matter for which the Popes were *personally* accountable, and that your Church has nothing to do with the responsibility, although all your

priesthood maintained it either tacitly or openly until the Gallican declaration of 1682, and not one of your Popes, your Jesuits, or your Ultramontane party have given it up to this day !

LETTER XLVI.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

THE 49th letter of Dr. Milner is devoted to the defence of his Church on the subject which I have just been occupied in noticing, and his argument is worthy of attention as an admirable specimen of the most specious sophistry and the boldest art ; put together with so much skill as to impose, without difficulty, on the ignorant or thoughtless reader.

He begins his defence with a positive assertion that your Papal Church, so far from "*maintaining a claim to punish heretics with penalties, imprisonment, tortures and death, actually disclaims the power of so doing.*" And this he undertakes to prove by referring to Pope Leo, St. Ambrose, and St. Martin, Tertullian, and Gregory I., in whose times the Church did certainly disclaim the whole work of persecution. But these writers all flourished before the end of the sixth century, while the Papacy was still unformed, and not one of the more serious errors against which the English Reformation was directed was yet established. What did those witnesses know of your subsequent career ? Nay, what have we been doing, all along, but proving, from the authority of the early ages, how greatly your modern Church differs from her own primitive original ? The adulteress might as well attempt to establish her innocence by appealing to the first innocent years of her marriage union ; or

the murderer, by calling witnesses to testify that his boyhood was unstained with blood : as your Papal Church might vindicate her present character, by showing what the *original faith of Rome had once been*, before Antichrist polluted her.

But when the time arrived that the Church became divided, and the Papal power grew to such a height that its true dominion could be displayed, how did it operate ? So early as the ninth century, we find some heretics burned alive ! This new and horrible punishment became universal through all the countries in Europe, by *established law*. Who were the men that had the greatest influence in making the laws during the whole period of the dark ages ? The Popes, the Bishops, and the priesthood. The little learning that remained was all in their hands. The governing and commanding power was in their hands. The extracts from your own historian show how it was exercised, and the cruel spirit of your Papal Church is written on the annals of seven centuries of religious despotism, in a series of systematic acts which have no parallel since the world began.

Your apologist next passes to the fourth Council of Lateran, A. D. 1215, which your Church holds to be one of the General Councils, and here he cannot deny that the persecution of heretics was enjoined on all temporal rulers and magistrates, even to the fearful extent of *exterminating* them : under the penalty that if the lay lords and magistrates neglected this new duty, they should be excommunicated, and their property and dominions should be confiscated to the sovereign ; while the Bishops and clergy should be deposed, and their goods should be taken into the revenue of the Church.

Dr. Milner's attempt to get rid of this is simply prepos-

terous. "It must first be observed," saith he, "*who were present* at this Council, and by *whose authority* these decrees of a *temporal nature* were passed. There were then present, besides the Pope and the Bishops, either in person, or by their ambassadors, the Greek and the Latin Emperors, the kings of England, France, Hungary, the Sicilies, Aragon, Cyprus, and Jerusalem; and the representatives of a vast many other principalities and States; so that, in fact, this Council was a Congress of Christendom, temporal as well as spiritual."

Now, suppose it was, what then? Was it *the less a Council of your Church*? Was it not summoned by Pope Innocent III.? Was it not attended by a larger number of patriarchs, Bishops, and abbots, than any other ever holden before or since? Were not the *votes confined to the ecclesiastical members*, as in all your other Councils? Did it not deal, throughout, with *excommunications*, which belong to the sole province of the Church? Did it not establish the obligation on all *Archbishops and Bishops* to *search out* the heretics, by a regular visitation of their dioceses once or twice a year, and give them the power of *compelling the laity* to swear whether they knew of any heretics or secret conventicles among them, and of bringing the accused persons before them, who should be punished if they failed to *clear themselves* of the imputation? Did it not also establish the *compulsory private confessional*, by which every individual of the laity was compelled to pass the regular annual inspections of the priest, under the penalty of being pronounced excommunicate, and deprived of Christian burial? And when, in the 3d Canon of the whole 70 enactments, this famous Council fastened the duty of *exterminating heretics* upon all the lay princes, governors, lords, and magistrates in Europe, was there the slightest mark of difference

to distinguish this act from the rest, as if it were the separate work of the laity ?

Indeed, the very suggestion of your crafty apologist involves a total absurdity, on your own principles. For, in no case whatever have you ever allowed the laity a distinct voice in your Councils. They are the *sheep*, committed, along with the whole Church, to the supreme pastor, the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of Christ, the king of kings and lord of lords, the POPE ! And if their chief pastor should play the wolf instead of the shepherd, it does not belong to the *sheep* to rebel against his unquestionable authority. The *Cardinals* may try to call him to account, if they are able. But it is the duty of the laity to submit and obey.

Hence, the numerous attendance of the princes on this occasion, as on others, was not intended to be any check upon the Pope and the clergy. It was only to give the Council a larger measure of *éclat*, and of influence. And truly there never was a Council in your Church which was so terribly effective. It gave new sanction, new principles, and new powers to the horrid work of persecution in every quarter ; and henceforth, the obligation to *hunt out and exterminate* the poor heretics, by confiscations, and fire, and sword, and imprisonment, and torture, and every form of studied cruelty, became *engrafted on the Gospel of Christ*, as a primary work of piety and devotion.

The next effort of your dexterous but most unscrupulous apologist, is, to show that the *principal business* of this great Council was to defend the *common cause of Christianity and human nature*, by the extirpation of the *Manichean heresy*, which he proceeds to describe in the most revolting terms. The decree of the Council, he saith, “regarded only the prevailing heretics of that time, who were all tied together

in the same bond of Manicheism. Nor was this exterminating Canon ever put in force against any other heretics except the Albigenses : it was never so much as *published or talked of in these islands* : so little have Protestants to fear, by reason of the third Canon of the Council of Lateran."

Now it so happens that there is hardly a word of truth in this whole argument. The objects for which the Council was assembled were set forth in the circular epistles of the Pope. The first was *for the recovery of the Holy Land* ; the second, *for the reformation of the Church* ; the third, for the extirpating heresies *generally*, without one word of specification about the Manichees. And in the third Canon itself, the language is as follows :—

III. CONCERNING HERETICS.

"We excommunicate and anathematize *every heresy raising itself against this holy orthodox and Catholic faith*, which we have set forth above ; condemning *all heresies, by whatever name they may be called* ; for they have different faces, but their tails are tied mutually together."

Your advocate refers, very unwisely for his cause, to the testimony of "the Protestant historian, Mosheim," in a note, and therefore I shall transcribe from this authority some further proof upon the subject.

"During the whole of this (*i. e.*, the 13th) century," saith Mosheim, "the Roman Pontiff carried on the most barbarous and inhuman persecution against those whom they branded with the denomination of *heretics, i. e.*, against *all those who called their pretended authority and jurisdiction in question, or taught doctrines different from those which were adopted and propagated by the Church of Rome*. For the sects of the Catharists, Waldenses, Petrobrussians, &c., gathered strength from day to day, spread imperceptibly

throughout all Europe, assembled numerous congregations in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, and formed by degrees such a powerful party as rendered them formidable to the Roman Pontiffs, and menaced the Papal jurisdiction with a fatal revolution. To the ancient sects new factions were added, which, though they differed from each other in various respects, yet were all unanimously agreed in this one point, viz. : That the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstition ; and that the dominion which the Popes had usurped over Christians, as also the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical.”*

With respect to the *Albigenses*, the term was applied generally to a great variety of heretics by the Papal writers, as we know from the express testimony of *Petrus Sarnensis*, who, in his book on the subject, addressed to this same Pope, Innocent III., divides them into various sects, and even counts the Waldenses amongst them. It is true, however, that many of the Albigenses were supposed to be strongly inclined towards the Manichean system, and these were known by the names of Catharists, Publicans, Paulicians, and Bulgarians.† But it is necessary, in mere justice, to remember, that we have no account of them except from the Papal writers, whom Dr. Milner himself warrants us in saying could hardly be trusted implicitly, when the opponents of Romanism were to be held up to reprobation. Certain it is, that if those authors exhibited no more regard for truth in the case of the Albigenses, than *he* has manifested towards the English Reformation, the chance of a fair judgment from posterity was hopeless indeed.

* Mos. Ecc. Hist. 3, 259.

† Mos. in note 3, 266.

Thus, then, stands the evidence, in perfect contradiction to your reckless advocate's assertions. 'The fourth Council of Lateran was *a regular General Council of your Church*. All that was done in it was by your *Church authority*. It was called for three objects: the Crusade against the Turks, the reformation of the Church, and the extirpation of heretics. And the Manichean heretics were not once specified: but *all heretics*, of whatever name, who opposed the Roman system, were excommunicated and cursed, and were consigned to the sword of persecution, to be *exterminated* without distinction.

As to the averment of Dr. Milner, that the decree of this Council "*was never so much as published or talked of in England,*" it is simply ridiculous. For England, like all the rest of Europe at that time, was under the Papal Antichrist. It was to this very Pope Innocent III. that the infamous King John surrendered his crown. England had the same laws as all other countries, for punishing heretics with the flames. The Archbishops and Bishops of England were obliged to the same duty of *hunting for heretics*, which the Council imposed on all other prelates. And the followers of the celebrated John Wickliff, long afterwards, were the victims of the very process set forth by this Council of Lateran. They were imprisoned, condemned, and burned alive, without even a pretence that they held any *Manichean* doctrine. The bones of Wickliff himself were dug up from the grave and burned for the same crime of heresy. The system of the compulsory confessional, established by the same Council, was in as full operation in England as anywhere else. And yet Dr. Milner asks us to believe that the third Canon of the Council was never so much as *published or talked of in these islands!*

He proceeds next, however, to the Smithfield fires of

Queen Mary's reign, and here he saith, "I have unanswerably demonstrated elsewhere, that if Queen Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of the tenets of her religion that she persecuted." But it is impossible that Dr. Milner could *unanswerably demonstrate* this proposition, because it is manifestly untrue. It was her religion, and nothing else, that made Mary a persecutor. For, first, she had the fourth General Council of Lateran, which is the highest authority in your Church, commanding it as a duty to *exterminate* heretics. Secondly, she had the example of all the most eminent Popes and Bishops of her Church for more than three hundred years before. And thirdly, she could look to the special case of the Holy Inquisition in Spain, established under the express Papal sanction, and commended to her reverence by her own immediate ancestors, Ferdinand and Isabella, where she knew that heretics were imprisoned, tortured, and then burned alive, year by year, in the presence of the king and all the great ecclesiastics, with the most constant and admirable spirit of pious devotion, FOR THE GLORY OF GOD! How, then, I ask, could Queen Mary have done otherwise, on the principles of her Church? It is impossible to blame her for a faithful adherence to the rules in which she had been trained, however we may be inclined to execrate the false system which set at naught the plainest precepts of Christ and the Apostles, while it claimed the sole prerogative of infallible guidance to the kingdom of heaven.

Your unscrupulous apologist passes on from this to another plain violation of historical fidelity, where he saith that James II. "*lost his crown in the cause of toleration.*" But all the world knows that this monarch was a *declared Romanist*, and had formed a regular plan to bring England back to her old subjection under the Papacy. His *tolera-*

tion had no other aim than this, and hence it was not the spirit of *religious liberty*, but the manifest determination to restore the *Papal bondage*, which roused the nation against him, and forced him to abdicate the throne.

The next argument of Dr. Milner is really amusing. He tells his readers, gravely, that the gentlemen who travel to Rome are as cordially received by the Pope himself in the character of English Protestants, as if they were the most zealous members of his own communion! Truly, a wonderful proof of *Papal toleration*, that the Pope should be willing to enrich his people by the influx of Protestant foreigners, when he allows even the fixed residence of Jews. But what has this to do with his *religious* policy? Are Protestants allowed to worship God according to their consciences within the walls of Rome? Are they even able to commit their dead to the ground with the rites of Christian burial? You know, Most Reverend Sir, that they are not; and your favorite apologist knew it also.

But now he comes to his main defence, which consists in an elaborate display of *recrimination*. He says that he knows of but "one argument to stop the mouths of accusers," which is, to prove to them that "persecution has been more *generally practised*" and "*more warmly defended and supported*" by Protestants than by the Church of Rome! Then follows a long enumeration of instances, set forth with skilful art and misrepresentation, with just enough of truth to give plausibility to error. It would be an interminable task to follow him in detail, and as wearisome to the reader as to myself, even if I were to undertake the labor. Nor is it necessary. The whole matter is reducible to a very narrow compass, and the result, to any candid mind, must be perfectly conclusive.

Let it be remembered, then, that with the Church of

Rome, persecution of *all heretics* unto death was a *fixed principle*. We have seen this in her whole history for five hundred years together. We have seen it in the positive enactments of her fourth General Council of Lateran; in her crusades against the Albigenses and Waldenses; in the laws for burning heretics throughout all Europe; in the establishment of the Inquisitions of Spain, Portugal, and Goa; in the strenuous efforts of the Popes, which your own historian mentions, to establish the same nefarious tribunal everywhere else; in the persecution of the followers of Wickliff in England, and in the martyrs of Queen Mary's reign. We have seen it in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, for which the Pope offered a *Te Deum*, and struck medals of commemoration in Rome; and we know that, to the present hour, your Church has repudiated everything like *toleration* in every part of the world where she holds the sway. These facts are indisputable.

Now I have not the slightest wish to disguise the truth, that it took many years for England to discover and reduce to practice the principle of religious toleration. But she *did* discover it, and acted on it, to the full extent of all the Protestant Dissenters, in the reign of William and Mary; and the course of her legislation has been such, even in the case of Romanists, that they have been, for many years, admitted even as members of Parliament, and enjoy the entire exercise of their religion as freely and publicly as the Established Church herself.

That the laws passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth against Popish recusants were exceedingly severe, is certainly true. But the claims and acts of Rome made them *necessary, in self-protection*. For the Pope had excommunicated the queen and all her supporters, had undertaken to absolve all her subjects from their allegiance, had transferred the king-

dom to Philip II. of Spain, and had induced that powerful monarch to make a warlike attack, which was defeated by the destruction of the Spanish Armada. The same danger continued to hang over the head of England, and, according to your Papal theory, may be brought down upon her at any moment when the Pope has the power which he once possessed, and hopes to possess again. The *right* which he professes is based upon a *divine authority* to reign, in undisputed supremacy, *over all the kingdoms of the earth*. And England could not exercise her Christian liberty, nor hope to preserve it, if she did not regard the Pope as the enemy of the State, as well as of the Church. For, as the *sole vicar of Christ*, that paramount master of the world claims, in his own person, the authority of God, and saith, "*By me, kings reign, and princes execute judgment.*"

But all this concerns the *secular government* of England, with which the *Church of England* does not and cannot interfere. By what act of that *Church* is persecution authorized? When and where did she pronounce *anathemas* against Romanism, or any other form of religious error? When did she make it the duty of her Archbishops to *hunt out heretics*, in their visitations every year? When did she affix the penalties of her severest discipline to the *neglect* of this active barbarity? In what part of her standard system does she recommend that heretics shall be *exterminated* by direct attacks upon their liberty and life? In what act of hers will you find a *Te Deum* ordered to celebrate the butchery of Romanists? When did her clergy publish such nefarious rules of moral abomination as your Jesuits, or direct the assassin's knife against the persons of kings? When did they hold up, as glorious martyrs, the perpetrators of such deeds as those of Jacques Clement and Ra-

vaillac, in France ; and raise religious murders to the rank of the loftiest virtue ?

The difference, therefore, between the two Churches of Rome and England is enormous. Your Papal system had fastened upon all Europe, for centuries, the positive obligation and duty to *exterminate all heretics*, by the laws of every land, by crusades, by fire and sword, by inquisitions, dungeons, tortures, and death by flames. And yet, in the very reign of Elizabeth herself, the Parliament confined the punishment of heretics to those who should oppose the decrees of the first four General Councils, by which an immense number of those whom your Church brands with that odious name were set free from the terrible penalties which were executed upon them in the reign of Mary. And in a little more than *one* century, all *Protestant Dissenters* were tolerated by law ; and in a little more than two centuries, all the hardships of Romanists themselves were gradually removed, with the approbation of the majority of the Bishops. For a long series of years, the Government has even supported your Irish Seminary at Maynooth, while an English Cardinal, and all your accustomed array of Bishops, priests, and convents, have been allowed to sustain your religious principles, without let or molestation.

On the other hand, your Church stands precisely where she placed herself, *on principle*, in the fourth General Council of Lateran. She curses with her multiplied *anathemas*, all *heretics* ; and she holds all to be heretics who oppose her awful assumption of universal sovereignty. She has never *retracted* a single one of her antichristian claims, and cannot consistently retract them, so long as she maintains that she is infallible, unchangeable, and has, on her side, the direct warrant of a divine and universal supremacy, as the *mother and mistress of all Christendom*. She has

lost her *power*, indeed, and even allows her priests and Bishops, in *Protestant countries*, to gull their ignorant and simple dupes, by such artful sophistry as that of your favorite, Dr. Milner. But in all this your Popes and Bishops are only *biding their time*. Your supposed rights, privileges, and authority are just what they have been since the days of Gregory VII., in the eleventh century. And the fourth General Council of Lateran is the *law* of your Papal Church, carried out, whenever you had the power, throughout your whole history; and certain to be carried out in all its old atrocity, if your Popes and priesthood should ever have the same power again.

LETTER XLVII.

MOST REVEREND SIR :

I HAVE now gone through the skilful, but most deceptive, work of your favorite, Dr. Milner ; and as he has summed up, in his last and 50th letter, the whole of his supposed demonstration in support of the Church of Rome, I shall follow his example by setting before my readers a general statement of the evidence in justification of the Church of England, and of our own, which is descended from her, and forms a branch of her great and rapidly growing communion.

I began by showing the true historical facts of the English Reformation, in opposition to the absurd and false statements of our adversary ; and proved the real state of the case by the highest testimony, from your own most respectable and authoritative writers.

The first axioms of Dr. Milner, that *Christ has appointed some rule or method of learning His revelation* ; that this rule must be *an unerring one*, and that it must be *adapted to the capacities and situation of mankind in general*, I willingly accepted, precisely as he laid them down ; because they are just and reasonable.

His accusation against Protestants, that they held the Holy Scripture to be that rule, *according to each individual's conception of its meaning*, I proved to be in no respect applicable to the Church of England, because our Articles and whole system, while they maintain the Bible as THE

RULE OF FAITH, carefully protect it from the *abuses of private judgment*, and define the *true interpretation* of the Word of God according to the fixed sense of pure Christian antiquity. I agreed, likewise, to his statement that the Gospel provided not only for the *law of faith*, but also for the *commissioned ministry*, whose office it was to apply it, in the actual work of the Church, to the end of time. And I showed that the authority of the Church, as the *living interpreter*, was secured to a vastly greater extent and more practical efficiency by the Church of England, than by the Church of Rome, since with you, the Church only *teaches the priests*, while with us, *the people* as well as the priests *HEAR THE CHURCH* continually.

I proved next, however, that the ancient Church of Israel was also a divine institution, founded by the express authority of God, in the midst of signs and wonders, with its inspired Scriptures as the rule of faith and practice, and its commissioned priests as judges and interpreters, and a sure promise of perpetuity forever. That notwithstanding all this, that divine Church became awfully corrupted by false worship and idolatry, in the course of time. That this corruption, together with the judgments of Heaven consequent upon it, was all predicted by Moses and the other prophets, as were, likewise, the reformation of Israel and their reinstatement in the divine favor, in the last days. And I then proved that the Church of Christ, under the Gospel dispensation, had also become corrupted. That this corruption was, in like manner, foreseen and plainly foretold by the inspired Apostles ; so that if, in point of fact, it had continued united and pure up to the present period, that alone would constitute a ground of doubt, as to the prophetic certainty of the New Testament Scriptures.

I then proceeded to give a regular statement of the his-

tory and progress of corruption in the Church of Christ, in which I took for my basis, as to the facts, the authority of the fathers, the Councils, and your own historian, Fleury ; thus assuming nothing but what was distinctly proved by your own witnesses, and clearly showing that there was a general complaint of flagrant corruption throughout all Europe, and an urgent call for Reformation on all sides, for seven centuries together, before any real reformation was effected.

This series of historical testimonies being closed, I resorted to the argument of Dr. Milner, and proved from all the primitive fathers that the *rule of faith in the early Catholic Church was the WRITTEN WORD OF GOD, OR THE HOLY SCRIPTURES*, and that the only place allowed by them to tradition was in the office of *interpretation*; which great principles our Church has most carefully preserved and embodied in her whole system. And hence it resulted that the notion of an *unwritten Word of God*, on which Rome founds her rule of faith in all those points which are not in the Bible, was in truth *uncatholic, false, and substantially heretical*.

My next labor was to justify the Church of England against the allegations of your favorite author, with respect to her version of the Bible, her Canon of Scripture, and her historical independence of the Church of Rome.

And then, I considered the great question, "Which is the true Church?" according to your author's own characteristic notes of *Unity, Sanctity, Catholicity, and Apostolicity*, and proved that by the principles of Scripture, of the fathers, and of right reason, the Church of England had the advantage, in all these respects, over the claims of the Church of Rome.

In answer to the third series of Dr. Milner's letters, I exhibited the true scriptural and Catholic doctrine against

your corrupt worship of the Virgin and the saints, of relics and images ; your purgatory, indulgences, celibacy, and private and compulsory confessional ; your antichristian Papal sovereignty, your laws against heretics, and your system of persecution. And throughout the whole, I trust that I have fully vindicated the honor of God's own word, THE HOLY SCRIPTURES ; the character of His Church, according to the ancient rule of *real Catholicism* ; and the irrefragable authority by which our own Communion is entitled to claim the highest place in Christendom, as the faithful exponent of the original, divine, pure and Apostolic system.

And now, Most Reverend Sir, I commit the care of Dr. Milner's reputation to you, as his special admirer and friend. You remember that you called upon us, by a public printed circular, to *read Milner's End of Controversy, and come at once into your Church, lest our flocks should come before us.* And I trust these volumes will prove that some of us *have read* the book; thus endorsed and recommended, and that we are compelled to arraign it before the public as a work which, though it does indeed abound in talent and dexterity, is yet totally unworthy of any confidence for justice, for candor, or for truth.

I have done what I could, in answering its calumnies, its perversions, and its sophistry, to keep my own pen within the bounds of Christian moderation. But it was totally impossible, on such a subject, and dealing with a writer so utterly reckless and abusive, to avoid strong and plain language, which will probably jar very painfully at times upon your nervous system. Still, I cannot think that I have gone farther, on any topic, than the vast importance of the question demands, and the facts of incontrovertible history most fully justify. My personal feelings towards yourself, and

the members of your Communion generally, are of the kindest character. I do not doubt that your people are very honest and sincere in their delusion. I do not doubt that even those among you who ought to know the truth, have some mode by which you reconcile the defence of error to your conscience. And my prayer for you all is, that the Lord, in His infinite mercy, may lead you to the genuine source of all religious knowledge, the INSPIRED SCRIPTURES, as your only rule of faith, and thus bring you back to the divine principles of that ORIGINAL CATHOLIC CHURCH, which taught, in simplicity and purity, the celestial way of salvation.

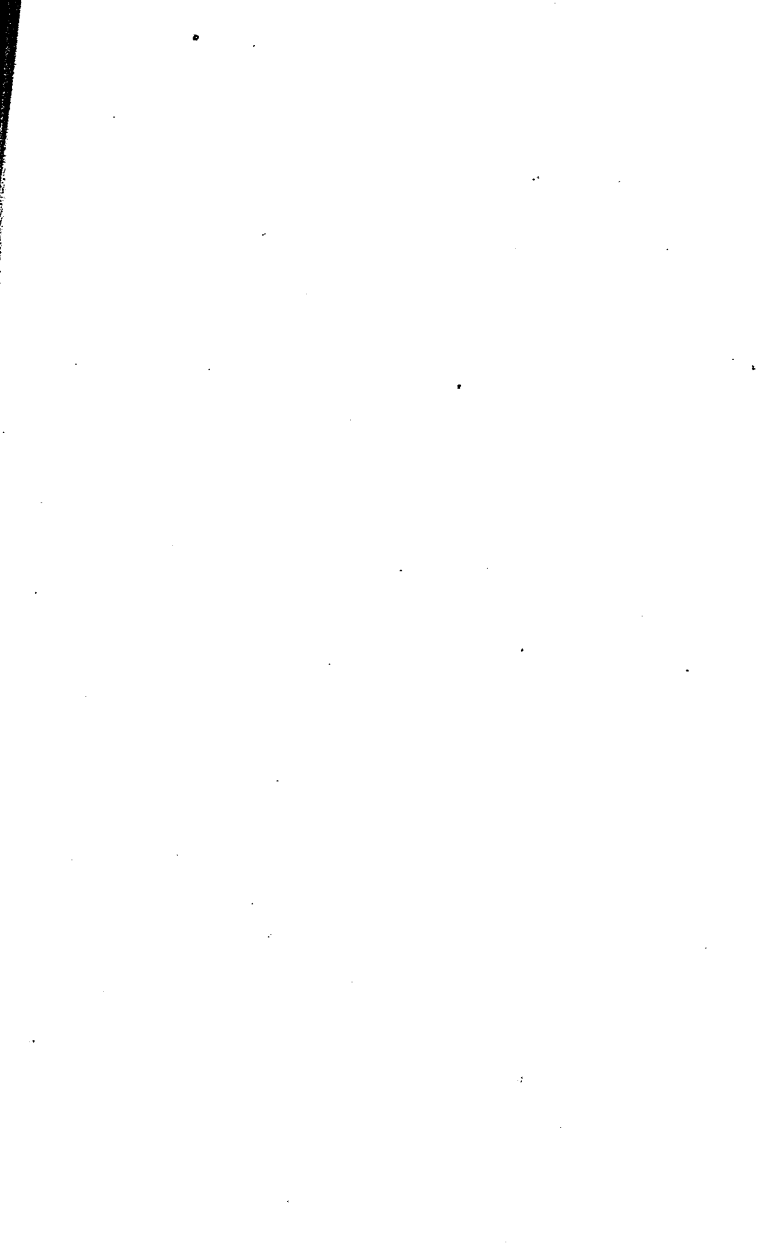
I do not mean, by this, as I have fully shown elsewhere, that you have formally separated from that original Catholic Church, or that you are no longer entitled to a place in the comprehensive body of the Church Catholic or universal. For you have retained the Scriptures, and the ancient creeds, and the sacraments, and the Apostolic ministry, and I doubt not, will retain them to the end. . Neither do I mean that you should leave your own Church, and come to ours. But I do mean that, instead of vilifying and misrepresenting the Church of England, you should rather imitate her example, by casting away the multiplied innovations and corruptions which deform and oppose the true Apostolic system. That system is fairly represented in our Church, and you are both schismatical and heretical in presuming to condemn and anathematize it. You have taken away from that Apostolic system on the one side, by robbing the Scriptures of their prerogative as the rule of faith ; by robbing the laity of the imposition of hands in Confirmation, of the chalice in the holy Eucharist, of worship in the vulgar tongue, and of the free access to the sacraments without money and without price ; by robbing your priests

and Bishops of the right to marry, or to elect their own Episcopal head; and by robbing both priests and laity of all voice in your ecclesiastical legislation. You have added to it, on the other hand, by a fearful mass of errors—the worship of the Virgin, of saints, of images and relics; purgatory and indulgences; enforced auricular confession and private absolution; solitary Masses for the dead, incense, chrism and holy water, baptism of bells; compulsory monastic vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience, the Papacy, with its tremendous powers of persecution, anathema, and interdict; and the enormous figment of oral Apostolical tradition and consequent infallibility, by which the whole false and perilous structure of imposition is sustained. Many of those errors you have made articles of faith, and your Councils and your Popes have excommunicated and anathematized, *as heretics*, all who would not subscribe to them. If, therefore, they are false additions to the true Apostolic creed, as they surely are, they are heresies on your own principles. Our 19th Article does not, indeed, employ the term “heresy” in speaking of your Church, merely declaring that “the Church of Rome *hath erred*, not only in their manner of living and ceremonies, but also in *matters of faith*.” Yet it is certain that “error in matter of *faith*” is *heresy*, if it be maintained obstinately and pertinaciously. And no obstinacy can be equal to that of your priestly rulers, in proclaiming their *infallibility* in these very errors, *anathematizing* the maintainers of the truth, and even destroying them in multitudes, by the Inquisition, by the Crusades, and by the stake, for centuries together.

All this antichristian mass of heretical pravity, therefore, we would gladly see you cast away, with the loathing it deserves, that you might return to your “first love,” and to the pure Apostolic Church from which you sprang, and

from which, in these respects, you have so awfully departed. BUT YOU WILL NOT ! Prophecy declares that Antichrist is to be destroyed by the brightness of the Saviour's coming. And therefore your Papal system will remain until the end of the present dispensation. Let us be content and thankful that its strength is broken. Your old power has passed away. Your laity are fast becoming too enlightened for their priests. Excommunications, racks, and inquisitions have lost their terrors. In vain may you struggle to regain your dominion. In vain may writers like Dr. Milner be cherished and sustained, in the hope of restoring that anti-christian supremacy which is gone forever. There are thousands, I doubt not, among your ranks at this moment, who think as we do. There are tens of thousands who would rejoice to purify their Church after the English model, if they had the power. And if only for their sakes, we will still pray that the reforming light of Truth, and the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit, may be poured in merciful abundance upon your Church and people.

THE END.



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